

1812 War of

Second War Independence



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, BY THOMAS BALL
From an etching by Sears Gallagher

THE AMERICAN NATION

BY

RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA



GINN AND COMPANY

BOSTON • NEW YORK • CHICAGO • LONDON
ATLANTA • DALLAS • COLUMBUS • SAN FRANCISCO

COPYRIGHT, 1929, BY RICHARD J. PURCELL

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

629.2

The Athenæum Press

GINN AND COMPANY · PROPRIETORS · BOSTON · U.S.A.

In Memory of

John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul

Great Prelate and Outstanding American

PREFACE

In writing this volume the author has striven to be fair and accurate. For its interpretation of American history and Catholic participation in the growth of the nation, he alone is responsible. At the end of each section, books are listed for class assignments, which of necessity must be confined to occasional, special topics. Such topics are sufficiently indicated in paragraph headings throughout the text. Stereotyped questions are not added. All this is left to the teacher's initiative, for in the last analysis everything depends upon the teacher. Selected bibliographies have been added for the convenience of teachers and advanced students who may desire to investigate some special problem.

The writer desires to express his appreciation for the kindly encouragement of Bishop Thomas J. Shahan, rector emeritus of the Catholic University of America, Monsignor Humphrey Moynihan of The St. Paul Seminary, Doctor John F. Burns of Villanova College, and to his colleagues, Doctor Charles H. McCarthy, and the Reverend Doctors N. A. Weber, P. W. Browne, Peter Guilday, William J. Kerby, and George Johnson. He is also indebted to Thomas B. Lawler for reading the manuscript, to the teaching sisters of the Sisters' College who have borne with a reading of the text, and to his wife, Clara Fick Purcell, whose aid merits joint authorship.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. EUROPEAN EXPLORATIONS	I
1. THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND	I
2. THE WORK OF COLUMBUS	8
3. SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS	14
4. FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS	24
5. ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND ENTRANCE INTO AMERICA	39
II. THE PLANTING OF ENGLAND IN NORTH AMERICA	51
1. THE DOMINION OF VIRGINIA	51
2. MARYLAND AND THE CAROLINAS	61
3. THE PLYMOUTH COMMONWEALTH	73
4. THE FOUNDING AND EXPANSION OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY	82
5. NEW NETHERLAND, NEW YORK, AND PENN'S COLONY	100
III. FROM THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE CONQUEST OF CANADA	112
1. NEW ENGLAND	112
2. THE MIDDLE COLONIES	127
3. THE SOUTHERN COLONIES	136
4. EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM NORTH AMERICA	144
IV. THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA	160
1. THE MOVEMENT TOWARD REVOLUTION	160
2. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR	181
3. THE REVOLUTION	195
V. THE NEW NATION	236
1. THE CRITICAL PERIOD (1783-1789)	236
2. FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION	254
3. LAUNCHING THE NEW GOVERNMENT	268
VI. THE ERA OF REPUBLICAN RULE	298
1. JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY	298
2. THE SECOND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE	321
3. THE RISE OF NATIONALISM (1816-1829)	334

CHAPTER	PAGE
VII. JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY TO LINCOLN	361
1. THE REIGN OF ANDREW JACKSON	361
2. EXPANSION AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO	387
3. SLAVERY AND SECTIONALISM	410
VIII. CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION	443
1. THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES	443
2. RETURN OF THE SOUTH AND POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTH	495
3. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION	520
IX. BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICS	557
1. POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS (1880-1900)	557
2. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR	603
X. AMERICA A WORLD POWER	616
1. THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME	616
2. WILSON'S NEW DEMOCRACY	646
XI. AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR AND AFTERWARDS	674
1. AMERICA AT WAR	674
2. RETURN TO NORMALCY	703
APPENDIX I	
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	i
APPENDIX II	
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES	v
APPENDIX III	
THE AMERICAN'S CREED	xxii
IMPORTANT DATES	xxii
THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS	xxiv
TABLE OF STATES	xxvi
CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT	xxviii
THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES	xxviii
INDEX	xxix

LIST OF COLORED MAPS

	PAGE
The United States in 1783	262
The Confederate States, 1861	454
Territorial Growth of the United States on the American Continent, 1776 to the Present Time	576

FOREWORD

The American Nation is a textbook in history written for Catholic high schools, academies, and junior colleges. It is not a mere compilation, but has been written newly to fulfill the requirements of the College Entrance Examination Board, New York State Board of Regents, and state boards of education, as well as the requirements in history laid down by the Catholic University of America for its affiliated high schools. The teacher of history and civics in parochial schools should find this volume a desirable supplement for the elementary-class manual. The general reader will discover in it much that is instructive.

Professor Purcell, the author, is prepared fully to write a work of this character. As a student of history in the College of Arts and in the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and later in the Graduate School of Yale University, he won recognition for sound historical scholarship. As a teacher, he has gained broad experience in St. Thomas College and at the Catholic University of America. He has developed the impartial method of presentation of one who is scientifically minded through years of scholarly service in the field of history.

The methods of the new school of historical research have been followed, as well as the recent literature on the subject of American history. There is a refreshingly modern viewpoint in this pioneer study. While the usual factual information found in standardized histories of high-school size is not neglected, the author stresses the interpretation and coördination of facts. He describes America in terms of movements. He portrays the life of the nation in a broad way. He has not written in a conventional and colorless style. The political and military phases of our national development are not overlooked, but emphasis is placed, as it should be, upon social and economic factors, on political parties, the growth of the Constitution, diplomatic relations, reform movements, westward expansion, the influence of the frontier, the contribution of immigrant peoples, the rise of religious toleration, the slow growth of democracy,

Pan-American relations, the industrial development, and the organization of labor. This is indeed the new history. It should not only inform but inspire the reader with patriotism based upon a true appreciation of the United States in its gradual evolution from primitive Jamestown to the first place among the powers of the world.

Written for Catholic schools, *The American Nation* quite naturally emphasizes the rise and development of the Catholic Church in America. There is included in this work much material which does not find its way into a purely secular history. The contribution of medieval Europe to America, the governmental heritage of Catholic England, the era of the explorers, the missionary labors and the discoveries of Franciscans and Jesuits, the New World as a refuge for the economically and religiously oppressed of the Old World, and the position of dissenters and Catholics in the English colonies of North America are not glided over in the account of the colonial period. Catholic participation in the Revolution and the establishment of the new nation are stressed, as are the direct contribution of Christianity toward the development of the nation as a whole. This material is woven into the fabric of the story as narrated. The accomplishments, too, of individual Catholics are suggested in the text and in footnotes in as far as space permits. The growth of the Catholic Church from the days of John Carroll to the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago is traced in separate paragraphs in their appropriate chapters. The difficulties which the Church has overcome and still must overcome are suggested in an account of the nativist movements, which are depicted with commendable moderation as befits a historian of Professor Purcell's caliber.

The American Nation sings no song of hatred. In it there is a remarkable lack of bias — racial, sectional, or political. The reader will not penetrate far into this interesting little book before he realizes there are two sides to every question, even the American Revolution, the War between the States, and the conflicts between labor and capital.

I bespeak for *The American Nation* a wide circle of readers and a continuing influence in our schools.

JAMES H. RYAN

RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

THE AMERICAN NATION

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN EXPLORATIONS

I. THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

Unconsciously Europe prepared for the work of Columbus. As long as there was another continent, its ultimate discovery was only the natural result of economic and social conditions, of geographical curiosity aroused by travelers and maritime explorations, and of inventions helpful to the navigator. Columbus was the product of the last half of the fifteenth century. It was the age of a new Europe characterized by an adventurous spirit, an inquiring mind, and a commercial interest. It was a period of peace, of proud nationalism, and of great rulers. The rising nations of the West were turning toward the Atlantic Ocean. That ocean could not long remain uncharted.

Norse Discoveries. Unterrified by the sea, the hardy Northmen discovered Iceland about 850 and colonized Greenland under Eric the Red in 985. Of this the Norse sagas tell and of how the pleasant name of the colony attracted settlers who engaged in fishing and grazing.¹ Eric's son, Leif the Lucky, converted from the paganism of Thor and Woden, proclaimed Christianity in Greenland. The Church thrived with a dozen chapels, a Benedictine convent, a monastery of St. Olaf, and an

¹ Dr. Noerlung's recent archæological discoveries in Greenland have uncovered an episcopal palace of red sandstone which covered about five acres, a bishop's ring and crosier, and the skeleton of a man supposed to be Bishop John Sverresfostre, an adopted son of King Sverre of Norway. The site is also marked by the remains of chapels and a runic stone. Runic stones found on the mainland have never been authenticated. Greenland should prove a rich field for investigation, for in the thirteenth century it is estimated to have sheltered ten thousand Norsemen.

episcopal see with a succession of some sixteen bishops, one of whom was lost on a journey to Vinland. About the year 1400 the settlements were totally destroyed by the barbarous natives and the Black Death. In the year 1000 Leif had been blown from his course, and his ships touched upon the mainland of North America. To this fateful landfall in modern Labrador or Nova Scotia he gave the pleasing name of Vinland, or Wine-land, despite its frigid climate. From this land all traces of the vikings have disappeared. Their chance discovery had no more bearing on later events than the rather well-founded traditional discoveries of the Irish monk St. Brendan or of Chinese sailors, cast adrift off the Western coast.

The Crusades (1096-1272). The Northmen may have made some contribution to geographical knowledge, but to the Crusades was due the awakening of Europe. Eight great crusades were organized by Christendom under the leadership of the papacy to wrest the Holy Land from Saracen control. In its main purpose the movement failed. Yet it saved eastern Europe from the Mohammedan and postponed the fall of Constantinople for two centuries. The intangible results of this conflict between the West and the East cannot easily be overestimated.

Hundreds of thousands of men of every rank and race traveled the length of Europe and came to know the Near East at first hand. Their spirit of adventure was aroused; their knowledge was increased; and their vision was enlarged. Never again could a crusader think solely in terms of his manor, his city, or his province. Feudalism as a decentralized form of government was undermined, though its end was still far off. In the face of the enemy racial rivalries appeared, and national jealousies explained the failure of the crusaders to occupy Jerusalem permanently. The crusaders realized that they were Frenchmen, Germans, or Englishmen. Nationalism commenced to appear, and the medieval idea of Christendom and the empire of feudal states was doomed to give way to the idea of a national state. National hatreds and rivalries were henceforth to be a deciding force in European development and expansion.

There was a general awakening. The influence of the Church was increased. There was a lesson in democracy as king and peasant fought under the single banner of the cross. In the West slavery decreased and the lot of the serf was improved. As crusaders compared their small walled-in towns or even London and Paris with Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, they recognized the superiority in material ways of the Byzantine civilization. They saw wealth and luxury beyond their dreams. In science and medicine much was learned as well as in military tactics. They brought back a taste for the products of the East: fruits of various kinds, sugar, tea, spices, silks, rugs, jewels, and swords of Damascus steel. Europe learned the art of living. The luxuries of the East were in demand, and a lucrative trade commenced as the ancient commercial routes were reopened.

Medieval Travelers. A renewed interest in the East marked the period following the Crusades. Pilgrims and palmers related marvelous tales of the wondrous wealth of the Indies. The first accurate information appeared in the *Book of the Tartars* by the Franciscan friar John of Carpini, whom the Pope sent, about 1245, as an emissary to the court of the Great Khan in Tartary. Friar Odoric and an Irish monk wandered through Persia, India, Ceylon, Java, and China, and served for a time in Peking (1323-1328). It was on Odoric's travels that the fictitious Sir John Mandeville based his wondrous book which was so long accepted as a true account of the unknown East. The sainted Louis IX of France dispatched Friar William of Rubrouck as an envoy to China. John of Monte Corvino succeeded in establishing the Church in Peking, where he died an archbishop in 1328. Other Franciscan friars carried on his labors until the fall of the friendly Mongolian dynasty ended Christian activities in China (Cathay). The most noted travelers were the Polos of Venice, who traded from the Crimea to Cathay (1260-1292) and obtained wealth and position at the court of Kublai Khan. The young Marco Polo became an official, thus learning at first hand of Cipango, or Japan, and India as well as of China. Later he was captured in a war between Venice and Genoa, and as a prisoner dictated the fascinating and fairly authentic story of his

exploits together with an elaborate account of the peoples and lands of the Orient which he had visited.

Trade Routes. The aroused interest in the East and the ready European demand for its products, which were rapidly becoming necessities of daily life, gave rise to an extensive trade. The goods of the West were bartered for those of the East. The products of Japan and the Spice Islands found their way to China; thence, along with Chinese wares, they were carried thousands of miles by caravan to Constantinople. The products of India, Persia, and Arabia were brought by caravan and boat along the Red Sea to Alexandria and to the ports of Asia Minor. These were the main routes with many branches and breaks in portage wherever a waterway could be utilized. Such costly land transportation added to the price of the goods, which were stored in warehouses for exchange or sale to the Western merchantmen who sailed the Mediterranean waters.

Rise of Italian Cities. The Italian cities, especially Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and Venice, had grown prosperous in the days of the Crusades by selling supplies, providing transports for troops, and financing expeditions. Their merchants and speculative brokers had accumulated wealth; they were ready to take advantage of the new trade. Their location was strategic, and they immediately gained a monopoly of this Eastern business and carrying trade. They emulated the Phoenician traders of an earlier era. Italian vessels were seen in every port. Italian harbors were crowded with ships, and the wharves were piled high with Eastern freight en route westward and Western goods billed for Eastern ports. It was a bustling time. Large fortunes were amassed by famous merchant bankers who ruled these city-republics. The cities in turn were endowed with splendid cathedrals, palaces, and municipal buildings. Schools were founded by princely patrons and by enriched craft guilds, much as American merchant princes and industrial magnates endow favored universities. Artists, sculptors, painters, and writers found patrons. A leisure class, freed from the burden of making a living, was able to dedicate itself to the higher, cultural side of life. Wealth prepared the way for the Renaissance. It was indeed a glorious age.

Fall of Constantinople (1453). Suddenly Italy's golden age ended. The warlike, semibarbarous Turks overrunning Asia Minor endangered the Eastern trade which the Saracens had fostered with business wisdom. Finally Constantinople fell before their advance. Then they occupied Syria and Egypt. The tribute levied on caravans and on ships passing through the Hellespont became prohibitive. In addition there was the menace of robber bands preying on the rich caravans. The trade routes



ROUTES OF TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND CITIES OF
SOUTHERN EUROPE

were virtually destroyed. With the loss of trade the Italian cities declined; their wharves no longer bustled with business; and their unemployed mariners and sailors were forced to seek service under foreign flags. Yet Europe could not be isolated; the demand for Eastern products gave an impetus to Portuguese explorations. A Western all-water route with lower transportation costs must be found to the Indies. This the Portuguese were about to discover.

Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460). Portugal, freed of the Moors and the overlordship of Castile, had established itself as an independent nation. Hemmed in by mountains and the Spanish

kingdoms, Portugal, like ancient Phœnicia, turned toward the sea-front. This time the sea was the Atlantic. Prince Henry was ready to lead. Weary of soldiering, he established under the royal patronage of his father and brother a palace, chapel, and observatory on a rocky promontory near Cape Saint Vincent. Here for forty years the prince lived and labored with geographers, astronomers, and men of the sea whom he attracted from various lands, but especially from the declining Italian ports. No man of his nation did greater service or is so well known in world history.

Portuguese Explorations. In the fourteenth century the Portuguese explored the Madeiras and took possession of the Azores in the fifteenth century. Sea captains were becoming bolder as charts were perfected and as the astrolabe (for determining latitude) and the mariner's compass came into general use.

Prince Henry was desirous of founding a colonial empire, of spreading Christianity, and of rescuing from Arab control the Christian Prester John, who, according to the then widely believed legend, ruled a huge state in central Africa. Hence he dispatched expedition after expedition, each cautiously venturing a little farther than the last down the African coast, planting the flag, and erecting a stone cross. Unfortunately, returning expeditions brought back negro slaves, thus inaugurating the wretched slave trade in which western European nations were so soon to be engaged. One of the most famous of these captains, Bartholomew Diaz, courageously sailed past Cape Blanco and Cape Palmas, beyond the mouth of the Senegal River, finally touching the point which he named Cape Verde. Soon the Cape Verde Islands were discovered, and the coast thus made known was described in a revised map of the world drawn by a Venetian monk.

Route to India. The work was continued after Prince Henry's death despite the heavy burden of expense on the slender resources of the little nation; for the Portuguese were inspired by a hope that the African shore line would end and that a new route to India would be discovered. Diogo Cam reached the Congo River in 1484, incidentally dispelling an old fear that the equatorial zone's boiling waters would destroy men and ships.

Two years later Diaz unknowingly rounded the African terminal, to which the name Cape of Good Hope was given. It was well named, for of India there was now hope. The goal was not attained until 1498, when Vasco da Gama boldly sailed around the cape and for days proceeded up the eastern coast of Africa. Swinging eastward across the Indian Ocean, he arrived at Calicut in India, the very heart of the Far-Eastern trade. Portugal profited by the trade, though her monopoly was not long-lived, as the route was followed by the trading fleets of Spain, England, Holland, and France. Yet her trading stations and missions marked the long road.

References for Students

N. A. WEBER, *The Christian Era*, Vol. I, pp. 192-203, 292-321; CARLTON J. H. HAYES and PARKER T. MOON, *Modern History*, pp. 46-66, 77-96; A. B. HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 28-35; F. ROLT-WHEELER, *In the Days before Columbus*.

HARPER'S *Atlas of American History* (edited by D. R. FOX) should be available.

Bibliography of Suggested Books for Teachers or Advanced Students

JOHN FISKE, *Discovery of America*, Vol. I, pp. 1-334; L. M. LARSON, *The Church in North America in the Middle Ages* (*Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 175-194); "The Norse Church in Medieval America," *Catholic Historical Review* (New Series), Vol. V, pp. 179 ff.; E. P. CHEYNEY, *European Background of American History*; J. E. OLSON and E. G. BOURNE, *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot* (Original Narrative Series), pp. 3-76; J. FISCHER, *The Norsemen in America*; C. R. BEAZLEY, *Prince Henry the Navigator*; JOHN MASEFIELD (Ed.), *Travels of Marco Polo*; K. G. JAYNE, *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*.

Teachers will find any one of the following college texts of value in supplementing this history, though no further reference will be made to them: R. V. HARLOW'S *The Growth of the United States*, H. C. HOCKETT and A. M. SCHLESINGER'S *Political and Social History of the United States*, H. W. ELSON'S *History of the United States*, D. S. MUZZEY'S *The United States of America* (2 vols.), J. S. BASSETT'S *Short History of the United States*, R. G. CALDWELL'S *Short History of the American People*, and E. B. GREENE'S *Foundation of American Nationality*, followed by C. R. FISH'S *Development of American Nationality*. Interpretative histories: T. J. WERTENBAKER'S *The American People*, CHARLES and MARY BEARD'S *Rise of American Civilization*, and MAX FARRAND'S *The Development of the United States* are most serviceable.

2. THE WORK OF COLUMBUS

Early Career of Columbus. Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa about 1450. As his family were weavers, he was trained in a guild school. His attention turned in boyhood from cloth-weaving to a study of Latin, map-reading, and navigation. As hard times came upon Genoa with the loss of the Eastern trade, Columbus sought service as a sailor in Portugal. There he married the daughter of one of Prince Henry's old sea captains, and as a mariner and captain engaged in trade. His sailings took him along the Guinea coast of Africa, to the Canary Islands, to England, and possibly to far-away Iceland. Association with seamen familiarized Columbus with recent discoveries, probably with the traditional Norse tales, and the weird stories of the "Ocean of Darkness" which passed current concerning the Atlantic. Pilots told of driftwood and the bronzed bodies of strange men and unknown animals which high seas occasionally wafted in from the west. Such stories impressed Columbus as he dreamed of a round earth which would permit a westward sailing to Cipango and Cathay.

Columbus and the Sphericity of the Earth. Columbus had the speculative, inquiring mind of the Renaissance. With zest he read the *History* of Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II), *The Image of the World* by Cardinal d'Ailly, and a new edition of Marco Polo's *Book*. He may have written to Toscanelli, the astronomer of Florence, for verification of his own belief in the sphericity of the earth. If so, he was reassured, but provided with no information not already at hand. The idea was at least as old as Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), who believed that the same ocean washed the shore of China and the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). This theory was not lost to scholars of the Eastern Empire or to the Mohammedans who preserved much of the classical learning which later reached western Europe through returning crusaders and by way of the Moors of Spain. At any rate Roger Bacon, the Franciscan friar of Oxford, included the theory in his *Opus Majus*, from whence it found its way into other Christian books on geography.

Ptolemy's *Geography*, which was written in the second century and which gave expression to the sphericity idea, passed through several editions during the time of Columbus. Truly the new art of printing, invented about 1450 by John Gutenberg of Mainz, was making books cheaper and information more available. There were globes representing a round earth, like that of Behaim, whom Columbus may have known as an associate in Portuguese service. Their error was in underestimating the size of the earth and in placing Japan about in the position of modern Mexico, and China off the coast of California. Later this error led Columbus astray. Other mariners as well as philosophers suspected that the earth was round; only unlettered men believed unquestioningly in a flat earth. Columbus the practical dreamer differed from other men in his determined will to test the theory by a voyage.

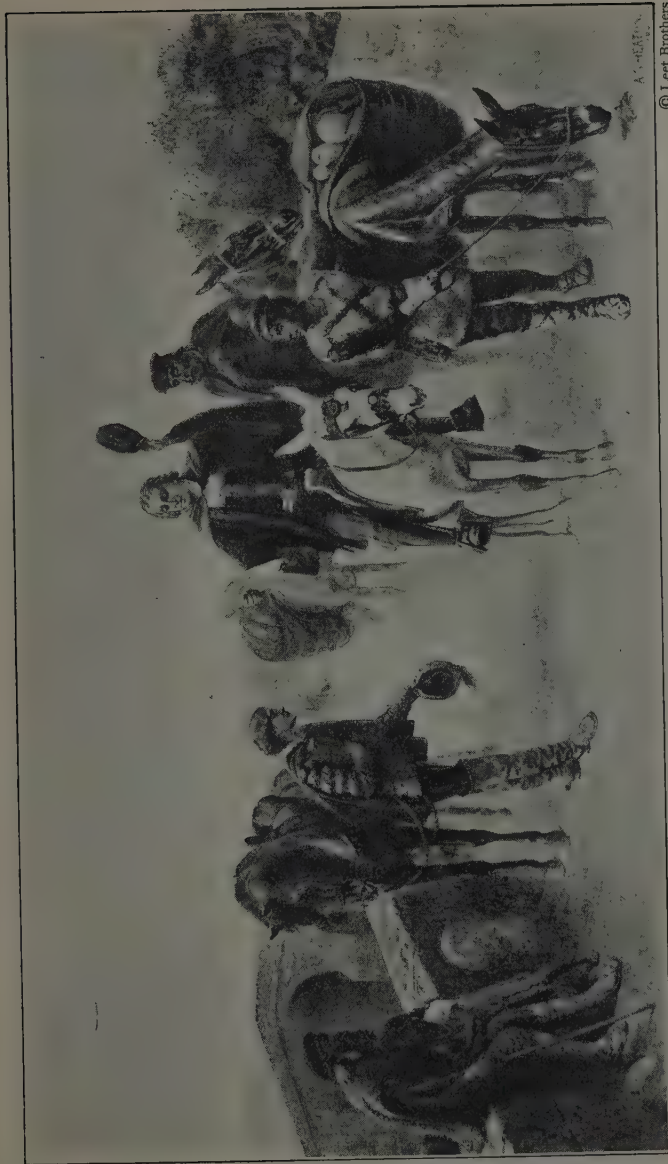
Motives of Columbus. The lure of the East with its gold, precious stones, silks, satins, and spices had a strong hold on Columbus, for he was eager for wealth and ambitious for power and honors. Yet the material motive was not greater than his zeal to Christianize pagan lands, for Columbus was deeply religious. His journal gives striking proof that he thought of the propagation of the faith quite as much as of the advancement of trade. Religion, adventure, commerce, and wealth were the dominating desires of the Romance peoples of his generation; and Columbus was a true Latin.

Columbus leaves Portugal. Exacting of his inferiors, courtly to his superiors, vigorous of mind and body, romantic, tenacious of purpose, handsome in appearance, Columbus made a striking appeal. His enthusiasm gave force to his eloquence. He was afire with his project. Influential friends interested themselves in his visions. He was received at court, but King John II refused the high rewards which Columbus demanded in the event of success, though the sovereign lived to regret his refusal. Portugal was a weak nation, and her treasury had been strained by the costly explorations of Prince Henry so that the royal refusal was justified. Dejected, Columbus secretly withdrew (1485) to Spain, where in a monastery near Palos he found a refuge for himself and his little son, Diego. For a time he lived in improv-

erished obscurity, shunned as a foreigner with strange ideas. In after life Columbus complained that in these years "everyone had derided him, save two monks," Marchena and Diego de Deza. Above all he was indebted to the prior of Palos, Juan Perez, who was the confessor and an adviser of Isabella.

At the Spanish Court. Father Perez procured for Columbus an audience with the joint sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, whose marriage had merged their respective kingdoms of Castile and Aragon into modern Spain. They were at Santa Fé directing the final assaults against the tottering old Moorish stronghold of Granada. The centuries-long Crusades were ended; the work of Charles Martel at Tours (732) was completed, for the Moors were expelled from Europe. Spain, ever the land of romance and adventure, was ready for new ventures. Suddenly it had become the most powerful nation in Europe. Columbus struck at an opportune time. Learned men were summoned to consider his proposals. Diego de Deza of the University of Salamanca, later archbishop of Seville, was deeply impressed. Again Columbus nearly wrecked his chances by demanding three equipped caravels, the admiralty of the seas, and vice-royalty over discovered lands. Dismissed, he turned toward France, when a courier recalled him to court lest a rival nation profit by his explorations.

Again the council of wise men and merchant mariners was consulted. Columbus gained the support of Luis de Santangel, treasurer of Aragon, who with Bishop Deza urged that the risk was small in view of the possibilities for God and kingdom. Isabella, according to the pretty story, volunteered to pawn her priceless jewels in security for the enterprise. This was far from necessary, for Spain was no impoverished kingdom. The project of Columbus was agreed upon, and a large part of the cost was laid upon the port of Palos in lieu of a feudal debt owed the crown. The total cost proved to be about \$8000 in our money, though with a present purchasing power of at least ten times that amount. If new lands or a route to India were found, Columbus was to be ennobled, named high admiral and viceroy, and guaranteed a tenth of the profits from trade or the discovery of precious metals. The admiral drove a hard bargain.



THE RECALL OF COLUMBUS TO SPAIN

From a painting by Heaton, which hangs in the Capitol at Washington

The First Voyage. Columbus was given three vessels, the *Pinta*, *Niña*, and *Santa Maria*, the last being slightly the largest, with one hundred tons' capacity and a length of eighty feet. Today one would hesitate to venture from a protected coast in such tiny sailing vessels. Finally Pinzón, one of the captains and a skilled pilot, procured sailors by promising a share in the profits. On August 3, 1492, after receiving the Sacraments, the little force of one hundred and twenty officers and men sailed from Palos to the Portuguese islands, the balmy weather being "like April in Andalusia." On September 6 they left the Canaries, sailing westward over the endless expanse of the Atlantic waters. The fears of sailors were quelled by promises of reward and by the stern discipline of the intrepid admiral. At length, on October 12 they landed on an island (probably Watling Island in the Bahamas), which Columbus named San Salvador. They chanted a fervid litany of thanksgiving as they claimed the land for God and country. On October 28 Columbus discovered Cuba, which he believed to be a part of the mainland of the Indies. Hence he described the natives as Indians. At Haiti, or Española, he established Fort La Navidad, with a third of his crew as a garrison.

Tempests were encountered on the return, but Columbus reached Palos in safety. At the Spanish court he was created an admiral and governor of the Indies. His story of the long voyage, the new lands, the natives (of whom he brought back a half dozen), golden treasure, and missionary labors to be done was heard with wonderment. Fêted and honored, Columbus laid plans for a second voyage. There was no difficulty in obtaining ships for the fifteen hundred adventurers who sought passage.

Later Voyages. Returning to the Indies in 1493 and finding his colony destroyed, Columbus established Fort Isabella, with his brother Diego in command. Española was circumnavigated; some gold was mined; the town of San Domingo was founded; the coast of Cuba was explored; and Jamaica was discovered. Back in Spain, he found less enthusiasm for his third voyage. However, with two hundred colonists, he set forth to learn whether there was a mainland beyond, and this he found near

the mouth of the Orinoco River (1498). Later, falling afoul of enemies at San Domingo, he was sent back in chains to Spain along with Diego and his other brother, Bartholomew. Released by order of the king but deprived of honors and wealth, Columbus did not lose heart; his superior moral courage was the better displayed. Tenaciously he sought a passage to China on his fourth voyage (1502), skirting the coast of Central America and Panama for a whole year, only to fail gloriously.

The "Failure" of Columbus. In the eyes of Spaniards Columbus had failed. He was almost alone in his faith. The Portuguese had found the Indies; the lucrative trade was in the hands of a rival nation. His hope of great profits to be devoted to the rescue of the Holy Land was shattered. Columbus was avaricious of wealth but not entirely for himself, as he wrote: "Gold is most excellent, gold is treasure, and he who possesses it does all he wishes to do in this world, and succeeds in helping souls into Paradise." Death came in 1506, to the relief of the discouraged discoverer of the New World, who in reality was one of the greatest figures in the story of mankind.

References

A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 35-49; C. H. MCCARTHY, *Columbus and his Predecessors*; *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Vol. I, pp. 129-147; I. B. RICHMAN, *The Spanish Conquerors* (Chronicles of America), pp. 1-64; JAMES J. WALSH, *The Century of Columbus*; C. K. ADAMS, *Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of the New World*; P. F. ALEXANDER, *Discovery of America*; MILDRED STAPLEY, *Columbus*. The Yale University Press publishes an elaborate, expensive pictorial history of the United States under the title *Pageant of America*, in fifty volumes.

Bibliography

There are lives of Columbus by HENRY VIGNAUD, J. B. THACHER, C. R. MARKHAM, and JUSTIN WINSOR. C. R. MARKHAM, *Journal of Columbus*; E. G. BOURNE, *Spain in America*, pp. 8-19; J. E. OLSON and E. G. BOURNE, *Historical Essays; The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot* (Original Narratives Series), pp. 77-278; EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 1-33; JOHN FISKE, *The Discovery of America*, Vol. I, pp. 334-516; *Catholic Historical Review* (New Series), Vol. III, pp. 74 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff.

3. SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

Papal Line of Demarcation. Spain and Portugal were in dispute over discoveries the location of which was scarcely known. An appeal was made to Pope Alexander VI as a recognized arbiter, and he decreed in a formal bull that all newly discovered lands west of an imaginary line a hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands should belong to Spain and all east of the line to Portugal. The following year (1494) a new treaty between the two nations placed the line three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. As a result, Portugal acquired Brazil, which was discovered by Cabral when he drifted from his course on the way to India (1500). All other lands were west of the line and belonged to Spain. Later this division lost importance as England, France, and Holland entered the field of exploration.

The Name "America." Americus Vesputius, an alert but inconspicuous Florentine clerk, aided in outfitting Columbus's second expedition and shortly afterwards in a minor capacity made four voyages himself, one to La Plata River (1501). These explorations he described in letters published under the title *Mundus Novus*. Columbus had written in his journal of another and boundless land, but this unpublished report was unknown. A German geographer, Waldseemüller, in a revised edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, suggested the name "America" for the New World and so labeled it in his chart of 1507. Despite the geographer's later correction, an otherwise unknown man was permanently honored in the name of two continents. Thus does fate play with the ambition of men.

Spain in the West Indies. Hispaniola, or Española, was the center of Spanish power for a quarter of a century. Expeditions were sent to explore and colonize the neighboring islands. Porto Rico was conquered in 1508 by Ponce de León, a picturesque mariner who came with Columbus on his second voyage. The town San Juan was founded in 1520, and hence is the oldest city now under the American flag. D'Esquivel, in 1509, planted settlers on the island of Jamaica. Cuba was circumnavigated

in 1508 and conquered by Velasquez three years later, though the towns of Santiago and Havana were not founded for seven years. The smaller island groups, the Leeward Islands and Windward Islands, were known as well as the Bahamas, but for a time had no permanent settlements.

Prosperity was not lasting. No wealth of metals was found. The Indians were not tractable. Despite royal orders and the admonitions of the friars, the natives were virtually enslaved and suffered a dreadful mortality through disease and enforced labor. Intermarriage with the natives was not frowned upon. The homeland encouraged emigration. About one thousand to two thousand colonists arrived annually during the sixteenth century, many of whom were of poor stock. After Mexico was conquered few new arrivals turned to the islands. Indeed, there was danger that the richer mainland would depopulate the island colonies, for only the missionaries were satisfied with their rich harvest of souls. In the later plantation days, when negro slavery was introduced and there was an end of experimentation with unsuitable products, sugar became the staple crop and the prosperity of planters was assured.

The Spanish Mainland. From Española, parties under audacious captains explored the mainland. Pinzón, in seeking a southwest passage explored the coast of Central America. Juan de Solis cruised along the Brazilian coast in 1515, dying among the cannibals. Córdoba two years later found habitations and gold in Yucatan. Pineda coasted from Florida to Vera Cruz, noting the mouth of the Mississippi, or possibly the Mobile River, which he called the Rio del Espíritu Santo (1519). Holy names appealed to Spanish captains. Ojeda and Pizarro attempted settlements in Venezuela. The colony of Santa Maria was established at Darien on the isthmus about 1510, and flourished for a time as a base for further expeditions.

Balboa and the Pacific. It was from Darien that Balboa set forth with less than two hundred Spaniards to find the sea beyond. Despite wild natives, reptiles, swamps, and disease he pushed forty miles across the isthmus until he saw the mountains. Climbing alone to the summit, he long and prayerfully

looked out upon the Pacific Ocean, or the South Sea, as he termed it. It was St. Michael's Day of 1513, and as he rushed out into the waters, claiming the sea and the lands washed by its waters for his sovereign, he called the place and the gulf San Miguel. Balboa had not found a sea passage to the Orient, but he had hit upon the shortest land route between the oceans. With prophetic wisdom he counseled the building of a canal about four hundred years prior to the opening of the Panama Canal. In a few years Balboa was beheaded, a victim of the rivalries and intrigue which flourished at the post of Santa Maria. Tragedies were too often the lot of the bold explorers — executions, chains, cannibals, poisoned arrows, shipwreck, or disgrace. Their contemporaries failed to appreciate their immortal feats, leaving posterity to pay homage to heroes who frequently died in disgrace as victims of sordid plots.

Ferdinand Magellan's Voyage. A small man of valiant courage and a stout mariner was Magellan. Failing of support in Portugal, he entered the Spanish service with a commission to complete the work of Columbus by finding a southwest passage to India. Sailing in August, 1519, with five ships, a crew of about three hundred men, and provisions for two years, he reached the Brazilian coast and explored the South American shore until he came upon the passage — the Strait of Magellan — in October, 1520. For three hundred miles he sailed through the strait, and then entered an ocean so placid that he named it the Pacific Ocean. Advancing along the western coast for several weeks, he then turned his ships northwestward until by mere chance a landfall was made in the Philippines, 1521. There he was killed in a skirmish with the natives. The survivors in a single ship found their way to India and over Vasco da Gama's route back to Spain. They had sailed around the world. The sphericity of the world was a proved fact. The New World was clearly not a part of Asia, but another continent. A knowledge of the extent of the Pacific Ocean and of the size of the world was determined by this momentous voyage.

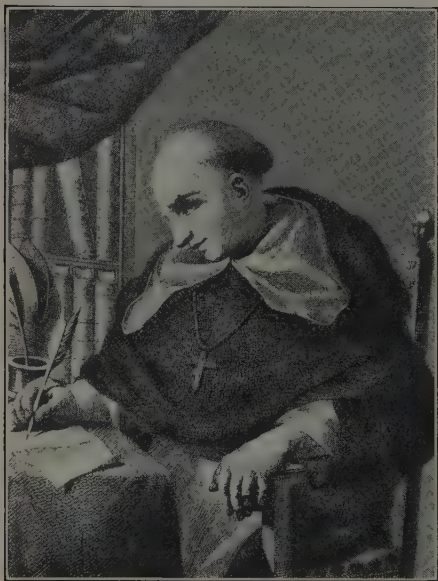
Hernando Cortés and Mexico. Yet there was no stopping. New captains, swordsmen, and missionaries evidenced the same

zeal for religion, adventure, and gold. The goal was in sight; at last Indian tales of wealth were materializing. The noble Cortés, a graduate of the University of Salamanca, a planter in the Indies, a judge at Santiago, a muscular fighter, calculating and hard, yet religious even beyond the average, was turned by these tales to Mexico. With an expedition of eleven vessels and six hundred men with horses, dogs, and cannon, he embarked from Cuba, landing at the Mexican port of Tobasco, on Palm Sunday of 1519. Destroying his fleet that there might be no thought of retreat, he led his men perforce into the interior. After three years of desperate fighting the Aztec empire of Montezuma fell before his sword. Mexico City was in Spanish hands, the port of Vera Cruz had been established, and the silver mines were furnishing wealth beyond the wildest dreams of the conquerors. The idols of the pagan but half-civilized Indians were giving way before heroic priests who were in the van of every action.

Central America and Peru. Andréas Nino and Gonzalez Dávila were conquering Nicaragua; Cortés after his Mexican success subjugated Honduras. Old Francisco Pizarro, who had served long as a lieutenant in the work of exploitation, together with the father vicar of Panama and a number of ranchers, left Darien in search of the famous Incas of Peru and their mines of gold and silver. Again the Indian story, usually a will-o-the-wisp, proved true. From these Peruvian mines the silver galleons of Spain were long loaded down with precious freight which attracted swarms of English piratical captains. If not the East Indies, at least a wealth equal to that of the long-sought Indies was within Spanish control, and the land was exploited by the conquerors with an efficient greed.

Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Indians. The practice developed of giving to Spaniards in the islands or on the mainland plantations (encomiendas) together with a number of Indians under a native chief. For practical reasons, if the colonies were to prosper and mining and agriculture advance, this seemed necessary. Despite a code of protecting laws, the system resulted in cruel abuses. The Indians were virtually enslaved, as they were without protection against harsh masters. The efforts

of the friars to educate and Christianize the natives were made more difficult. Hence there was a growing opposition to the system on the part of churchmen and leading conquerors. Among the most aggressive opponents was Las Casas, a lawyer of Seville, who surrendered his plantation in disgust. Becoming a secular priest and later a Dominican friar, he urged reform with the



LAS CASAS

aid of the religious and the support of Emperor Charles V. He was so much an idealist that he lost sight of practical problems. He magnified the virtues of the natives and exaggerated their wrongs in his voluminous writings. In his *Historia de las Indias* the abuses of the conquest are painted so black that future historians with an anti-Spanish bias rested heavily upon his charges. Yet many of these abuses have resulted wherever civilized men have come in contact with inferior, native races. The "apostle of

the Indians" was carried so far in his zeal that he actually advocated an extension of black slavery to relieve the Indian of forced labor, an action he later deeply regretted.

Contact with civilization brought ruin on innumerable Indians; smallpox and fever were most destructive. Yet in spite of the charges of Las Casas there was no decimation of the Indians, as in New England; for their descendants have continued to form the bulk of the population in the Spanish lands. His work resulted in the abolition of Church encomiendas, an improvement in the priesthood, more zealous efforts at conversion,

native marriages, legalized intermarriage between whites and natives, and an elaborate code of rules governing native labor in fields and mines which was enforced as well as unpopular laws could be in distant provinces.

Ponce de León and Florida. Ponce de León, grown old in hardy exploits and in the search of wealth, gave ear, it is said, to a hoary Indian tradition of an island of Bimini where there were precious stones and a fountain of youth-restoring waters. In search of this elixir of youth he sailed about the Bahamas and then turned his prow westward to follow the rainbow trail. Sighting what appeared to be an island, he sought a harbor and landed. It was a pleasant land of flowers and foliage, and, as it was the Easter season (1513), he named the place Pascua Florida. Neither wealth nor fountain was found, but no Spaniard's hopes could be broken so easily. He returned again in 1521, putting into a bay north of Cape Sable on the Gulf coast, and as governor took possession in the name of his sovereign. The warlike Seminoles, unlike the weak Caribs of the islands, fought off the invaders. The bold cavalier failed in his last undertaking, yet won a posthumous fame.

Florida was not to be lost. Narváez, on Good Friday of 1527, landed north of Tampa Bay, or the Bay of Espíritu Santo of the religious mariner. De Soto too marked a trail through Florida. Some ten years later four Franciscan friars from Havana found martyrdom at the hands of untamed natives. In 1559 Tristan de Luna, accompanied by a few Franciscans, sailed from Vera Cruz, already a Spanish center, to Pensacola Bay (then Santa Maria Bay) with a fleet and a thousand sailors and soldiers. No permanent settlement was made, however, until the coming of Menéndez to Florida.

Menéndez and the Founding of St. Augustine. France without warrant had designs on Florida, and under Jean Ribaut, a stout-hearted corsair, established a colony of Huguenots at the mouth of the St. Johns River. Since French buccaneers raided Spanish treasure ships and a few years before had attacked Havana, burning and killing as they went, the Spaniards regarded this settlement as a pirates' nest from which raids would

be made. Again, the Huguenots, or French followers of Calvin, were heretics, and the narrow policy of Spain sought to keep such men out of the New World. The French must have realized that this settlement would challenge hostilities.

Pedro Menéndez had a governor's patent for Florida, backed with ample force to drive the French from this strategic point. Arriving in September, 1565, he built a fort at St. Augustine, the nucleus of the first permanent city in the United States.



ANCIENT CHURCH AND WALLS, ST. AUGUSTINE

From an old print

Then he turned upon the French. Ribaut's protecting fleet having been scattered by a storm, Menéndez stealthily marched upon the fort and sleeping village. Killing the men, he spared women and children. The crews of the storm-tossed vessels later surrendered with little hope of mercy, and no clemency was displayed save to a few Breton sailors. Ribaut accepted death with the bold statement that "twenty years more or less, it is all the same thing." Of the last lot to surrender, many were spared, though some Huguenots preferred to take their chances among the savages. It was a cruel fate, but Menéndez was a stern man who believed in his own righteousness. He offered no apology, nor would his king give reparation to France

or do aught but commend the captain. Only a Cromwell at the massacre of Drogheda nearly a century later could appreciate Menéndez and justify his savage conduct. At any rate, the Spanish empire in America was preserved from French assault.

Exploring the Southwest. Vásquez de Ayllón, of the superior court of San Salvador, sent out an expedition to explore the Gulf region and locate a northwest passage (1521). Five years later he personally undertook the work with a large company, including three Dominican priests. After the death of the leader, disease and Indian attacks caused the remnant of the colonists to abandon the settlement near Cape Fear and return to the islands. Estevan Gómez sailed from Spain to Nova Scotia and probably southward for five hundred miles along the coast of modern New England, but the ice-locked channels destroyed any hope of a northern passage (1525).

Narváez, who landed probably at Tampa Bay, dispatched a party by land and followed in his ships along the Gulf coast (1528). Blown out to sea, he was never heard of again, but a number of his followers, after dire sufferings from sea and wilderness, found their way along the Mexican shore to civilization. Cabeza de Vaca and a few companions continued the work. Captured by the Indians, they passed from tribe to tribe, living five years in the wilderness as slaves and medicine men. They tramped over the whole Southwest, across the present state of Texas, over northern Mexico to the Gulf of California, and finally arrived at Mexico City (1536).

Hernando de Soto and the Mississippi River. De Soto, a veteran of Peru and Mexico, tired of the ease of a governorship in Cuba. Sailing from Havana with nine vessels and about six hundred men and horses, and a drove of hogs for food, he boldly entered the interior of Florida. In two years he explored the region now marked by the states of Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi. In 1541 he crossed the Mississippi River at modern Memphis. A year later he was buried by night in its murky waters, lest the natives find his remains. About half the original force made a tortuous way along the Mexican coast to Vera Cruz. The horses and hogs of this and similar

expeditions account for the mustangs and wild hogs which were found in the Southwest by later settlers. The survivors told tales of riches and of the seven imaginary Indian cities of Cíbola which rivaled the stories of Cabeza de Vaca.

Francisco Vásquez Coronado. Thus further explorations were encouraged. Friar Marcos, with a negro servant and Indian



PUEBLOS OF THE ZUÑI INDIANS

guides, was commissioned to explore the wondrous land. Coming upon the pueblos of the Zuñi Indians, the good Franciscan visioned in the distant mirage a city like Mexico City, which, as a veteran of the missions of Peru and Mexico, he knew well. It must be Cíbola! Of its size and wealth his account gave a mighty picture. And Coronado was ordered to explore the region with a strong force of horsemen, foot soldiers, servants, Indians, and four friars. The Yaqui Indians were conquered; the populous villages of the Zuñi were captured; the Gila and Colorado rivers the Rio Grande, and the Grand Canyon of the Colorado were explored; and the whole region of modern

Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Kansas was brought within the Spanish empire. The Indians were not wealthy; but they were advanced beyond the nomadic state, and lived in pueblos, or terraced and fortified dwellings of adobe bricks, often several stories high. They raised cotton and grain on irrigated lands. Chagrined, Coronado returned. He had extended the empire, but apparently only Cortés and Pizarro were gifted with the touch of gold. It was forty years later (1582) before Santa Fe was established as a trading frontier outpost and a missionary center.

Work of Spain. Although a nation of only seven million people, Spain in three generations accomplished enormous achievements. A new world had been discovered, and its coast minutely explored from Labrador to Cape Horn and along the Pacific to modern Oregon. The Mediterranean age of ancient and medieval times was replaced by the commercial age of the Atlantic Ocean. The seven seas had been navigated; the Pacific held no further terrors; the Spanish flag was high in the distant Philippines. Some two hundred thousand colonists were located in the Americas, and scores of cities and posts were founded. The wealth of Mexico and Peru was enriching the motherland. Christianity, civilization, and Spanish culture were permanently established in half the New World. Millions of natives were nominally converted to Christ; hundreds of missions were established; innumerable Indian villages were protected; and native languages were reduced to writing by missionaries. Monasteries and primary schools for Indians and whites were flourishing under Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Jesuit priests.

The College of Santa Cruz in Mexico City was founded in 1535 with a faculty of high repute. In 1551 under royal orders the University of Mexico and the University of Lima were chartered. In this connection Professor Bourne has written:

That the Spanish authorities in church and state did much to promote education is abundantly evident, and modern sciences of anthropology, linguistics, and history are profoundly indebted to the labors of the early Spanish-American scholars and missionaries.

By 1700 the University of Lima had two thousand students, a number which few American colleges could boast of a generation ago. It has been pointed out by Bourne that "in number, range of studies, and standard of attainments by the officers, they surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth century." Thus has modern scholarship revised the older interpretation. No longer does one look so lightly on Spanish achievement and the culture of the increasingly important republics of Latin America.

References

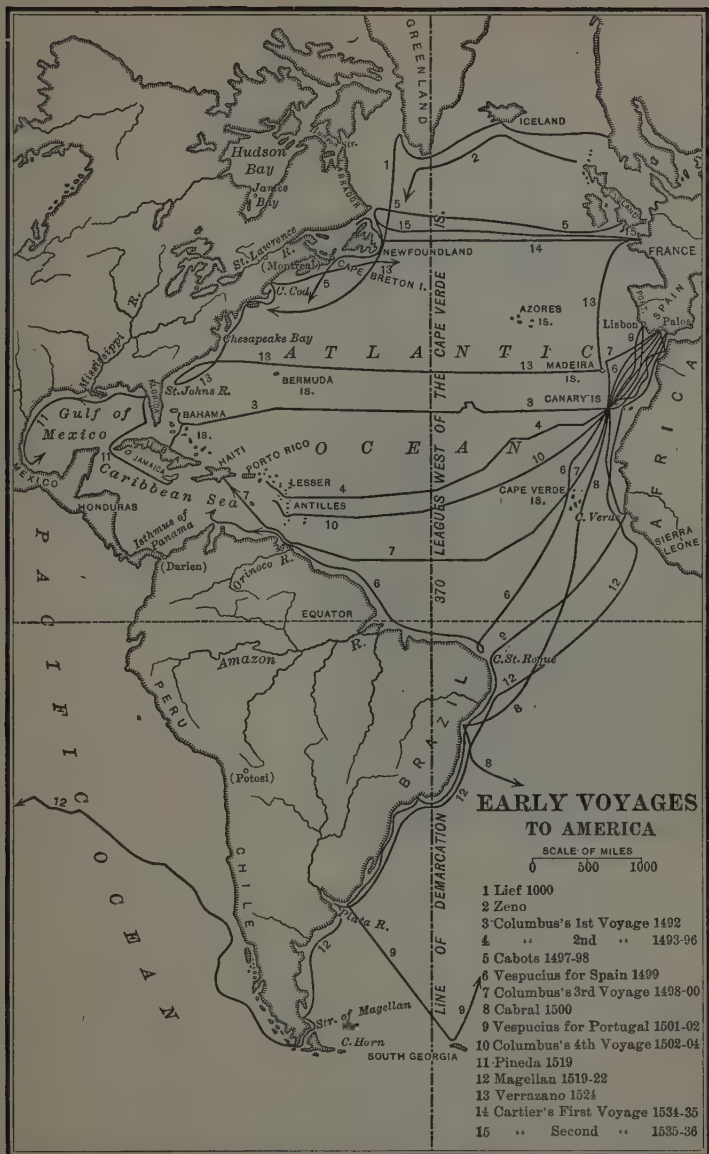
I. B. RICHMAN, *Spanish Conquerors*, pp. 64-217; C. F. LUMMIS, *The Spanish Pioneers*; A. S. HILDEBRAND, *Magellan*; JOSEPH J. WILLIAMS, S. J., *Whisperings of the Caribbean*; GRACE KING, *De Soto and his Men in the Land of Florida*; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 49-68; FRANCIS ROLT-WHEELER, *The Quest of the Western World*.

Bibliography

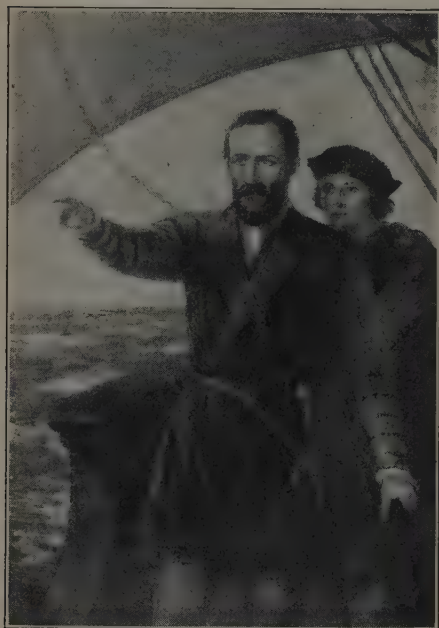
EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 33-89; BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization*, pp. 13-77, 233-256; JOHN FISKE, *Discovery of America*, Vol. II, pp. 22-527; TSCHAN, "The Fundamental Causes of the Decadence of Spain," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 265 ff.; E. G. BOURNE, *Spain in America, Narratives of De Soto*; SIR ARTHUR HELPS, *Spanish Conquest in America*; WOODBURY LOWERY, *Spanish Settlements, 1513-1574*; W. H. PRESCOTT, *The Conquest of Mexico and A History of the Conquest of Peru*; J. A. ROBERTSON (Trans.), *Magellan's Voyage around the World*; A. F. BANDELIER (Ed.), *Journal of Cabeza de Vaca*; G. P. WINSHIP, *Journey of Coronado*; C. E. CHAPMAN, *History of Spain*; H. D. SEDGWICK, *Cortés the Conqueror*.

4. FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS

Jacques Cartier. Breton and Norman fishermen plied their trade off the banks of Newfoundland as early as 1500. Attempts to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence and settle Sable Island were made without success. Francis I, stirred by Spanish and Portuguese successes in the New World, dispatched Verrazano, a Florentine captain, to search for the Northwest Passage (1524). He sailed down along the coast from Labrador to Cape Fear, possibly sighting the future harbor of New York. War with Spain



ended further activities until 1534, when Jacques Cartier, sea-rover and corsair of Saint-Malo, sailed westward to Newfoundland. From there he explored the Strait of Belleisle, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the island of Anticosti, and Cape Gaspé, where he raised a wooden cross and claimed the region for his sovereign.



© Haskell Coffin

JACQUES CARTIER

Owned by the Northern New York Telephone Corporation, Ogdensburg, New York

On a second voyage Cartier, sailing up the St. Lawrence, landed at an Indian village on the site of Quebec and again at Lachine Rapids, where he named the overlooking hill Mount Royal (Montreal). Wintering there, the adventurers experienced the cold of the North. With spring the survivors gladly returned to France from this scene of intense suffering. Not until 1541 did Cartier, together with Roberval, make another attempt to find the passage and secure furs. His efforts failed, yet his work aroused colonial interest and gave France claims to an empire in America.

The northland proved baffling. Its conquest was destined to be a desperate feat which would test to the uttermost French courage and steel. Yet attempts in Brazil and Florida met a crueler fate at the hands of the Portuguese and the pitiless Menéndez. Thereafter active efforts ceased until the French religious wars were settled and the Spanish power had been humbled by the British victory over the Armada.

Samuel de Champlain. The beaver pelt finally brought the French to America. A fur-trading monopoly was granted to the Huguenot De Monts, who fitted out an expedition and sailed with Champlain to the Saguenay River and to Acadia, where Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia) was established (1603). De Monts withdrew from colonizing activities, and unfortunately the prevailing intolerance of the time closed the colonies to Huguenot settlers. Champlain, however, dedicated his life to wilderness exploration. In 1608 he laid the foundations of Quebec, only eight of his party surviving the severe winter with its accompanying famine and disease. The following year with four men he joined the friendly Huron and Algonquin tribesmen on the warpath against the hostile Iroquois Indians, who held vast territory to the southward, stretching from the Hudson River to Lake Erie.

Ambushed near Ticonderoga, the Iroquois suffered heavily from the white men's gunfire, and scalps were had in plenty. It was a most significant encounter. The powerful Iroquois, or allied Five Nations (Mohawks, Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas), never forgot, and in time, armed by Dutch and English traders, proved a dangerous foe to France. They offered a barrier to French expansion southward and a loyal alliance to the English in battle and in trade. Yet all this gave Champlain a rare opportunity for exploration. Going up the Richelieu River, over the beautiful lake which bears his name, and probably over Lake George, he discovered the key route into the heart of the Iroquois country. It was to be a trail of tragic importance in the series of wars between the French and English for the mastery of North America as well as in the campaigns of the Revolution and the War of 1812.

From 1613 to 1616 Champlain went on campaigns with his Huron allies and explored the Ottawa River, the highway of generations of fur-traders, to Georgian Bay, where he found the gray-robed Récollet Le Caron alone among the red men, preaching the Gospel. Crossing and recrossing the wide waters of Lake Ontario and the dreary stretches of pine forests, Champlain and his associates learned intimately the paths, habits, and woodcraft of the natives.

Cardinal Richelieu's One Hundred Associates. In 1627, with formation of the Company of One Hundred Associates, a stockholding, colonizing company with assured royal support, to replace individual patentees, it seemed that New France, as the settlements were called, would thrive. Misfortune followed: a fleet with colonists and supplies was captured by the English, and for a time (1628-1632) Quebec and Tadoussac, as well as the broad region loosely known as Acadia, were in English hands. With their restoration the company gave its agent support, and, thanks to the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, the real ruler of France, the colony prospered. Trading agreements with the Indians were obtained, buildings were erected, lands were cleared, and a fur station was built at Three Rivers. Champlain's death (1635) was the only setback. Almost irreplaceable was this sterling character, of marked honesty in his dealings with Indians and settlers, of tested loyalty to colony and king, and of hearty devotion to the Church and to the Jesuit missionaries who were introduced under his auspices.

Montreal Founded (1642). With a few followers De Maisonneuve purchased the Isle of Montreal and founded the metropolitan city of Canada. The Sulpicians built schools for the colonists and Indian children, and soon the Sisters of the Congregation were conducting a seminary for girls. In 1644 a general hospital was established to care for the infirm and afflicted. Madame d'Youville (1737) founded the community of Grey Nuns, who won fame as teachers and nurses. Montreal early became the fur center to which the Indians from afar sent their furs and from which the *coureurs de bois* set forth to erect fur stations and advance the work of exploration and expansion. In time the Grand Seminary and the Church of Notre Dame gave the city a decided religious tone as well as architectural preëminence.

Iroquois Troubles. In 1648 the Iroquois destroyed the friendly tribe of Hurons, leaving only a remnant, which was transplanted on the protected lands of the Ottawa River. It was a hard blow, which for a time menaced the fur trade and even Quebec. The Jesuits Lalemant and Brébeuf were burned at the

stake,¹ yet another Jesuit, Le Moyne, set out on a solitary mission to negotiate a treaty of peace. But the Iroquois would have no peace, for they were bent upon a massacre of the less spirited Erie Indians. In 1665 a regiment of regulars under De Tracy raided the lands of the Five Nations and burned their villages and corn stores, thus inspiring fear of the French king, or the great "White Father," as he was known to his Indian subjects. Peace was granted with the provision that Jesuit missionaries should be welcomed. Somewhat later (1673) Fort Frontenac (Kingston) was erected as a barrier, and New France no longer trembled at the possibility of Iroquois raids.

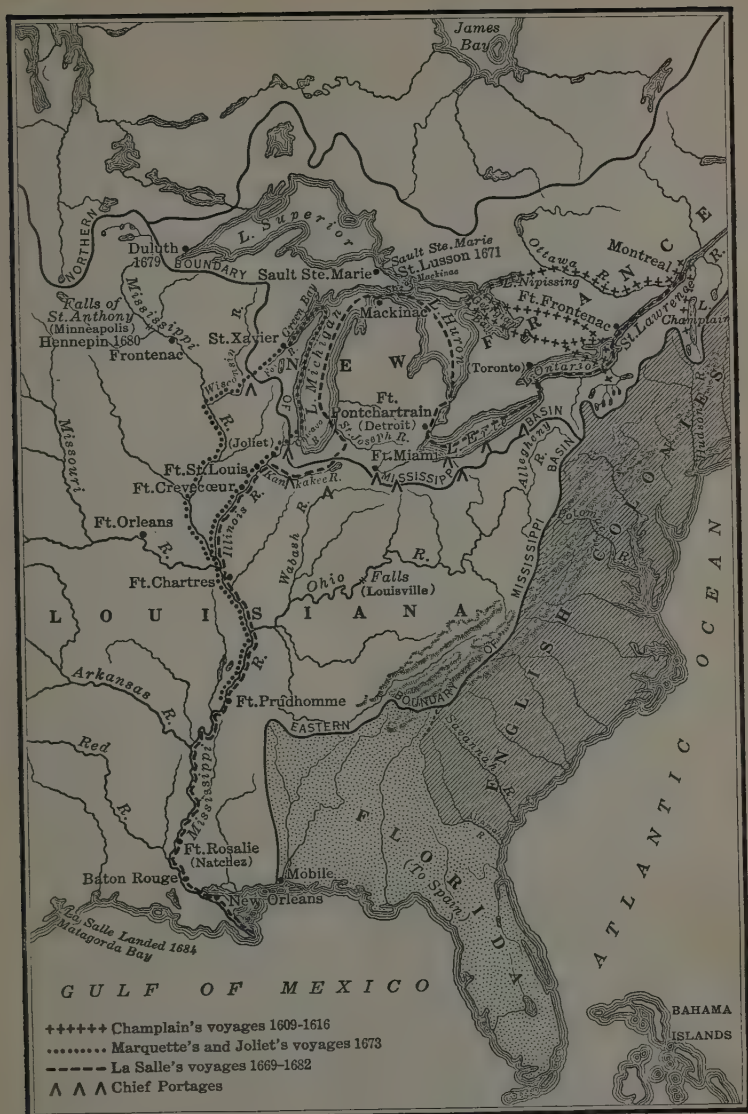
Reorganization of the Government. In the meantime on the advice of his colonial minister, Colbert, Louis XIV reorganized the government of New France as a royal colony according to the autocratic, centralized plan which had developed in France. The viceroy gave way to a special representative of the king known as the intendant, a governor, bishop, and council of twelve. All save the bishop were appointed by the king, and responsible to him. All local power was centralized in their hands or in their administrative and judicial appointees. There was considerable overlapping of power and many conflicts between intendants and governors. Again, there were spirited struggles between governors and bishops, especially concerning Indian matters. Churchmen condemned the pernicious sale of liquor by traders to the natives. It was an expensive system of government, with numerous unnecessary officials. There was no representative assembly and naturally no trial by jury. Yet the habitants were content with this paternal government which guaranteed protection and prosperity. There was no petty interference in their daily affairs or close scrutiny into their lives, as was the case in the English Puritan colonies, where there was more political but less personal freedom. New France grew slowly, but its unity of race and creed and its centralization of authority gave strength far beyond its numbers.

¹ These martyrs, along with the Jesuits Jogues, Daniel, Garnier, Chabanel, Goupil, and Lalande who suffered death on the Iroquois missions, were beatified in 1925, together with the saintly Mohawk princess Tegawitha (Tekakwitha).

Count Frontenac, Governor (1672-1698). The iron governor dominated New France during this period of astounding expansion. A bluff, impetuous soldier of many campaigns, Frontenac came as a man of mature years, yet he fitted strangely well into the life of the frontier. No man so commanded Indian respect or bred fear in the boisterous fur-traders. No man better appreciated the possibilities of the colony and the importance of the interior. Contrary to orders, he sent out parties of exploration, arranged trading agreements with distant tribes, and urged the erection of forts at strategic points along the Great Lakes and inland waterways. He himself was no stranger in the forests or at the council fires of distant tribesmen. Before his death missionaries, *coureurs de bois*, Indian guides, and half-breeds had so obeyed his orders that France had a firm hold on the wilderness empire of the Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle. The hero of this expansion was La Salle. As Parkman has written, "America owes him an enduring memory ; for in his masculine figure she sees the pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage." La Salle was induced by his Sulpician brother to accept a manor along the St. Lawrence and live the seminoble life of a seigneur on an immense estate. He soon tired of this quiet life and answered the call of the forest with its adventures and wealth-producing furs. Commissioned by Frontenac, he contrived to perform unbelievable feats.

At one time he sailed the Lakes to Michilimackinac (Mackinac) only to find there among the savages a lone Jesuit missionary. It was hard to anticipate the Jesuits. At another time (1681) he journeyed with a band of Sulpician Fathers headed for Sault Ste. Marie. Parting with them near the south shore of Lake Michigan, he struck southward to the Ohio River. Again, he engaged in trade at Green Bay. With Henri de Tonty of "the iron hand," a stout-hearted friend and wily woodsman, he paddled his canoe down the St. Joseph, Kankakee, and Illinois rivers to modern Peoria, where Fort Crèvecoeur was built. Continuing the following year, 1682, he traced the Mississippi to its delta, proving that there was no water and portage passage



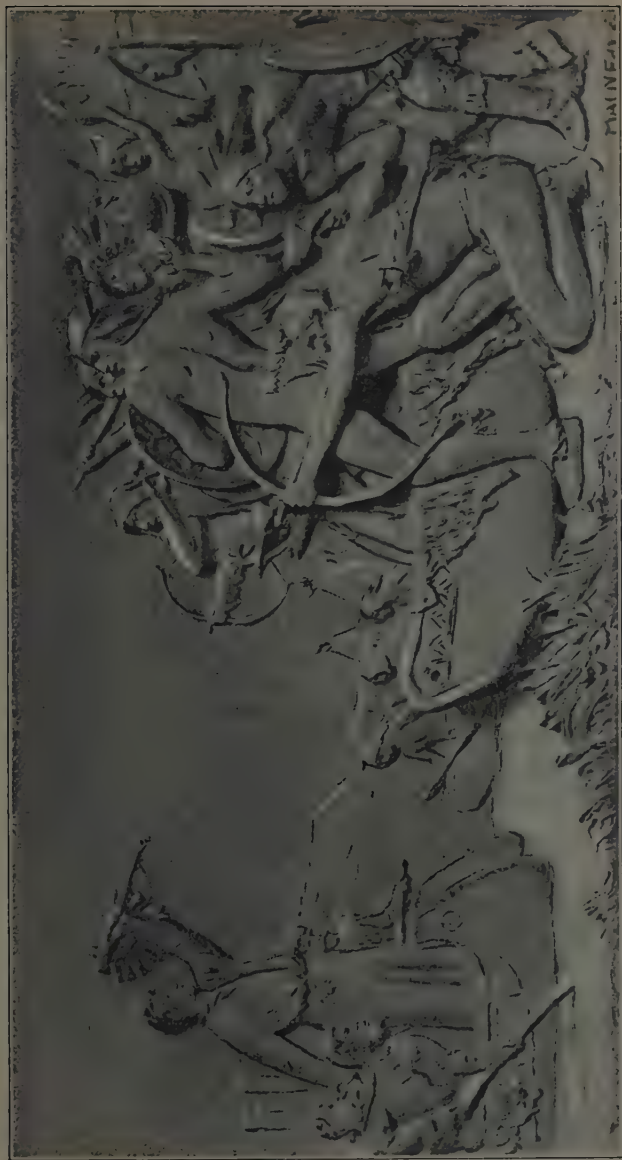
FRENCH EXPLORATIONS ABOUT THE GREAT LAKES AND
THE MISSISSIPPI

from the Lakes to the Pacific but rather to the Gulf of Mexico. Another trading expedition took him to Fort Detroit. Back in France, he urged with success that a colony be established at the mouth of the great river.

An expedition was dispatched which missed the Mississippi delta and landed on the Texan coast where Fort St. Louis was erected. Later this served as a basis for United States claims to Texas as a part of old Louisiana and hence of its purchase. With a small party La Salle started for Canada, but was assassinated by a follower near the Trinity River in Texas. No more intrepid woodsman or picturesque leader ever carried on the perilous exploration of a wild hinterland. No man did more to build the French interior empire stretching from the snow-clad northland to the sugar fields of the southland. The brave Tonty came southward to the rescue and on the way established Fort Prûdhomme in modern Arkansas.

Explorers in the Northwest. As early as 1634 the *coureur de bois* Jean Nicolet penetrated the lands of the Fox and the Chippewa Indians in the region of modern Wisconsin and the hunting grounds of the Illinois tribesmen with whom he arranged trading treaties. In 1641 Jesuit priests celebrated Mass before two thousand naked savages of various tribes at a general conference at Sault Ste. Marie, where Saint Luson proclaimed the vast domain a part of the French empire. In 1654 Radisson and Groseilliers visited the Wisconsin-Minnesota region, trading with the warlike Sioux Indians. Later, in England, they sold their services to the newly founded Hudson's Bay Company, exploring and trading thereafter under a foreign flag in the bleak North. About this time a missionary learned of the iron and copper deposits in the Lake Superior region which were rediscovered by American prospectors two centuries later.

Father Jacques Marquette. Of the Northwest missionary explorers none have gained the fame of Marquette, whom the state of Wisconsin has claimed for her own, placing his marble figure in religious garb in the hall of the national Capitol. With the fur-trader Louis Joliet he crossed from Green Bay on Lake Michigan, striking the upper Mississippi. Within the next few



MARQUETTE AND JOLIET ATTACKED BY INDIANS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

From a bas-relief by Hermann McNeil, in the Marquette Building, Chicago, Illinois. (Courtesy of Aldis and Company)

years, the one searching for furs and the other working for the salvation of souls, they explored in a minute way the lands about the great river and bordering Lake Michigan and Lake Superior (1673). Of their labors the *Jesuit Relations*¹ tell a full story. No one has paid in simple words a higher tribute than President Coolidge:

To the thoughtfulness of a Chicago friend I am indebted for the reminder that on this day 250 years ago, Father Marquette and his companions began to erect the first huts to be used by the white men on the site of what is now Chicago. I like to feel that this great city owes its beginnings to the master explorer who was first a devout missionary of religion. . . . I am glad to turn aside to add my little part to the tributes which the city is today paying to the memory of Marquette. Of the men who laid the foundations of our country he deserves his place among the foremost. His published articles and letters give, I believe, the earliest prophecies of the destiny that awaited this central valley of the vast lakes and rivers.²

In the Northwest. Fathers Allouez and Hennepin carried on missionary work after Marquette died of hardship and fatigue. Hennepin as a semicaptive paddled sixty miles up the Mississippi from Lake Pepin to Falls of St. Anthony, the site of the flour mills of modern Minneapolis (1680). About this time Tonty's cousin Du Lhut established at the head of Lake Superior a fur post which marks the beginning of the city of Duluth, the great inland shipping center of iron ore and grain. He had no monopoly, for Le Sueur traded with the Fox Indians, later obtaining a patent to work the Superior copper mines and also to erect a fort in the heart of the Minnesota-Sioux lands at

¹ The *Jesuit Relations* (edited by Reuben G. Thwaites in seventy-three volumes) were the hasty official notes often written secretly by the light of a fire in a wigwam and sent by missionaries to their provincial at Quebec and dispatched by him to France. Elaborate with detailed information of the country, the various tribes, and their labors, the *Relations* are as indispensable a source to historians of New France and our early West as the monastic chronicles are for the medieval scholar. There is a single volume of selections, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791*, compiled by Edna Kenton. On the site of Marquette's landing at the Chicago River there is a bronze figure of the explorer, together with his associate Joliet and an Algonquin Indian.

² Address in Chicago, 1924.

Mankato. Le Sueur, returning from France with Iberville, ascended the Mississippi from Louisiana to modern Minnesota. Perrot too traded in this region, with Fort Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin as a center, where the old mission is now the site of a Jesuit college. He also worked the lead mines of Galena in modern Missouri.

The Sulpicians attended the little settlement at Cahokia (1699), and a year later the Jesuits were located at Kaskaskia in the hunting grounds of the Illinois. Fort Detroit was built by Cadillac to protect the Erie-Huron trade (1701). In this huge industrial city there is a splendid memorial to the founder. A fort was erected at Cairo in modern Illinois to gain the fur trade of the lower Ohio River. Canada stretched to the highlands about Terre Haute (Indiana), which formed the northern boundary of Louisiana.

French in Louisiana. The Abbé de La Salle successfully urged at court that his brother's projected colony on the Gulf of Mexico be undertaken to prevent English seizure of the region. After the peace of Ryswick a post and colony were ordered, and Iberville of the famous Canadian seignorial family of Le Moyne was charged with the undertaking. The Spaniards, in fear, fortified Pensacola in Florida, but the French managed to found Biloxi (Mississippi), a hundred miles westward. The lower Mississippi and Red rivers were thoroughly explored; Mobile Bay was protected by Fort St. Louis (1702); and a fur trade sprang up with the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes of the Southwest. Cadillac's search for a route through Texas to Mexico forced the Spanish occupation of Texas. John Law's speculative Mississippi Scheme stirred up a tremendous interest in Louisiana and did much to encourage its growth. Manors were laid out, and agriculture based on slave labor proved profitable, especially along the delta.¹ Carmelites, Capuchins, and Jesuits vied with each other in missionary exploits.

¹ Sugar cane was introduced in Louisiana from the West Indies by the Jesuits (1751), who successfully grew "Creole cane" as well as indigo on their plantations. Fifty years later De Boré, a rich planter, improved methods of crystallization, and thereafter sugar was grown on a large scale.

Bienville, a brother of Iberville, founded New Orleans (1718), which soon became capital of the province.¹ Forts Toulouse, Assumption, Rosalie (Natchez), and Chartres were established to secure the French hold on this heart of America. Fur posts at Lafayette, Fort Wayne, and Miami controlled the Indian trade in the modern Indiana-Ohio region.

Across the Mississippi. As early as 1705 fur-traders were among the Kansas and Arkansas Indians, paddling their canoes up the muddy waters of the distant Missouri River. Bourgmont arranged treaties with the Missouri, Osage, and Pawnee tribes, thus opening vast fur and missionary fields (1723). The Mallet brothers extended the trade to the Arapahoes of Colorado. In 1731 the La Verendryes explored the territory of Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River, building posts and turning new supplies of furs to the Montreal market. On later journeys they sighted the snow-capped Rocky Mountains. Thus Frenchmen struggled to win the interior. No hardship chilled the ardor of their blood, and the hardships they suffered are beyond belief or understanding.

In the West Indies. The French settlements in the West Indies are of less interest to us, though in the eighteenth century the little sugar plantations of Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Christopher, Granada, St. Lucia, and of a dozen smaller islands were far more productive of wealth than the huge empire of Canada. For the West Indies had almost a world monopoly of raw-sugar production, as Europe had previously sweetened its food with honey.

The Jesuits in New France. The Récollet Fathers came with Champlain in 1615, but were too few to make their mark on the vast wilderness. Soon they served in the settlements. In 1625 the efficiently organized Society of Jesus entered the field with four men, though each year brought more heroic priests to serve "Our Lady of the Snows." With Richelieu in power, they obtained stout support, and their *Relations* popularized the

¹ The Capuchins opened a school for boys in 1724, and the Ursulines established a convent for girls with eleven teaching nuns (1726), which still thrives. Some instruction was given to negroes on the plantations. Wealthy planters sent their sons to schools in France or Canada.

missions and stimulated interest in New France.¹ Historians of every creed, however, have given unqualified homage to the unselfish labors, undaunted courage, and astounding success of the Jesuit Fathers.

The Jesuit was everywhere. He knew the fur posts better than the settlements. He paddled his canoe on the waterways of the interior. He carried his share of the load at the portage. He accepted the Indian's life, in tepee or in the open, with corn and venison in plenty or on rations of bark and herbs. He knew their customs and dialects. As counselor, peacemaker, and envoy to distant tribesmen, the Black Robe was an adopted son. But though he faced torture at the stake, the Jesuit never flinched nor forgot the cross which he carried, the earthly sovereign whom he served, or the religious community to which he gave full allegiance.²

The Church in New France. The outstanding figure in the foundation of the Church in Canada was Bishop Laval of the noble Montmorency family. He was a haughty man of stout physique and high intellectual talents, who unswervingly carried out his policies. Like Las Casas, he fought the trading interests to safeguard the natives from liquor bartered for furs. Trained by the Jesuits, he gave full support to the missionaries. His

¹ See page 34, note 1.

² Of the Jesuits a recent historian has written: "Their dogged zeal and iron persistence carried them to points which missionaries of no other religious order would have reached. For the Jesuits were, above all things else, the harbingers of a militant faith. Their organization and their methods admirably fitted them to be the pioneers of the Cross in new lands. They were men of action, seeking to win their crown of glory and reward through intense physical and spiritual exertions, not through long seasons of prayer and meditation in cloistered seclusion. . . . If the Jesuits could not achieve the spiritual conquest of the New World, it was certain that no others could. And this conquest they did achieve. The whole course of Catholic missionary effort throughout the Western Hemisphere was shaped by members of the Jesuit Order. . . . The physical vigor, the moral heroism, and the unquenchable religious zeal of these missionaries were qualities exemplified in a measure and to a degree which are beyond the power of any pen to describe. . . . The Jesuit went, often alone, where no others dared to go, and he faced unknown dangers which had all the possibilities of torture and martyrdom. Nor did this energy waste itself in flashes of isolated triumph. The Jesuit was a member of an efficient organization, skillfully guided by inspired leaders and carrying its extension work of Christianizing with machine-like thoroughness through the vastness of five continents." — MUNRO, *Crusaders of New France*, pp. 116-117

interest in education was marked, and later, in his honor, Laval University in the city of Quebec was named.

Almost immediately the Ursuline nuns founded an academy for girls, which, like Laval, continues to serve Catholic education. In time there were other charitable and educational institutions for colonists and natives. As in the southern part of the United States, the character of the country and the scattered hamlets made any general system of schools out of the question; but in the towns elementary and advanced schools were not lacking. Elsewhere the teaching of the "four R's" — for naturally religion was stressed — fell to the *curé*, or parish priest. A seminary for the training of priests was established in Quebec (1663) by the Sulpicians, and soon there followed a hospital, the first in North America. The Church and the religious orders were heavily endowed with lands, which they worked in feudal fashion, thus supporting all their educational, social, and religious activities.¹

There was unity in religious belief; no schism broke the peace. Loyalty to the Church was strong in explorer, official, *coureur de bois*, and peasant. It fired the spirit of the colony, as has been well stated:

The habitant of New France for his part never neglected his Church on week-days. The priest and the Church were with him at work and at play, the spirit and the life of every community. Though paid a

¹ Of the Catholic Church the late Professor Thwaites has written: "In comparison with the religious of their time in other lands, the priests and missionaries of New France will not suffer in the examination either intellectually or spiritually. Indeed, the fascinating history of their remarkable and wide-spread Indian missions, particularly those of the Jesuits — although much might be said of the less strenuous Recollects, Sulpicians, and Capuchins — furnishes some of the most brilliant examples on record of self-sacrificing and heroic devotion to an exalted cause. The career of a village *curé* was less spectacular, but his work among the simple *habitants* was even more important in the spiritual life of the people; and although seldom alluded to in history, was not barren of incidents which called for a high degree of physical as well as moral courage. It is not necessary to be a Catholic, nor is it essential that from the standpoint of the twentieth century we should endorse the wisdom of its every act in the eighteenth, most profoundly to admire the work of the Church of Rome both among whites and savages in New France. American history would lose much of its welcome color were there blotted from its pages the picturesque and often thrilling story of the *curés* and friars of Canada in the French régime." — *France in America*, p. 137

meagre stipend, the curé worked hard and always proved a laborer more than worthy of his hire. The clergy of New France never became a caste, a privileged order; they did not live on the fruits of other men's labor, but gave to the colony far more than the colony ever gave to them.

References

W. B. MUNRO, *Crusaders of New France* (Chronicles of America), *Seigneurs of Old Canada*; T. J. CAMPBELL, S. J., *Pioneer Priests of North America*, *Pioneer Laymen*; J. J. WYNNE, S. J., *Jesuit Martyrs of North America*; R. G. THWAITES, *Father Marquette*; C. W. COLBY, *Founder of New France*; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 102-121, 125-144; J. C. PARISH, *The Man with the Iron Hand*; GILBERT PARKER, *The Power and the Glory* (La Salle); E. A. DIX, *Champlain*; I. J. COX, *Journeys of La Salle*; GRACE KING, *Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville*; E. G. MASON, *De La Salle*.

Bibliography

EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 90-115; H. E. BOLTON and T. M. MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 78-103; JOHN FISKE, *Discovery of America*, Vol. II, pp. 527-543; *New France and New England*; FRANCIS PARKMAN, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, *The Jesuits in North America, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, *Count Frontenac and New France*; R. G. THWAITES, *France in North America, Wisconsin*; F. A. OGG, *Opening of the Mississippi*; JOHN FINLEY, *The French in the Heart of America*; AGNES C. LAUT, *Canada, Empire of the North*; L. P. KELLOGG (Ed.), *Early Narratives of the Northwest*; JOHN GILMARY SHEA, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*; P. F. CHARLEVOIX, S. J., *General History of New France* (translated by J. G. SHEA); JUSTIN WINSOR, *From Cartier to Frontenac*; T. G. MARQUIS, *The Jesuit Missions*; F. B. TRACY, *Tercentenary History of Canada*, Vol. I; WILLIAM KINGSFORD, *History of Canada*, Vol. I; H. C. MURPHY, *Voyage of Verrazano*; W. W. FOLWELL, *Minnesota, the North Star State*, Vol. I; S. L. MIMS, *Colbert's West India Policy*; NELISS M. CROUSE, *Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France* (Cornell Study, 1925); F. B. STECK, O. F. M., *Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673* (Catholic University Studies).

5. ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND ENTRANCE INTO AMERICA

Voyages of the Cabots. Henry VII, the thrifty business king of England, bent upon improving the merchant marine, commercial trade, national wealth, and his private fortune, determined to enter the field of exploration to reap a share for England

in the fruits of the New World. He commissioned as an explorer the Genoese captain John Cabot, who sailed in the spring of 1497 from Bristol harbor in a small vessel manned by only eighteen sailors. Returning in the late summer, he reported a landfall, probably at modern Nova Scotia. The location is as doubtful

as most information concerning Cabot or his voyages. Henry ventured little, and the discoverer's reward of ten pounds sterling and a miserly annuity proved no heavy burden on the royal purse. Yet on this expedition England based her claims to a share of North America.



SEBASTIAN CABOT, 1497

Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

The following year John and Sebastian Cabot again sailed westward. The former was probably lost on this voyage, but Sebastian reported a cruise along Greenland, Newfoundland, and southward as far as the Virginia

Capes. This geographical knowledge was accepted by Juan de la Cosa in the first dated map of America (1500).

The Age of the Protestant Revolt. Not until well into the Elizabethan period was England ready to follow up the discoveries of the Cabots. For a time the marriage alliance with Spain kept England out of the colonial field. Then the revolt of Henry VIII from Rome, with its resultant religious strife, political rivalries, and social upheaval, dominated national attention. Religious changes under Edward VI and the Catholic

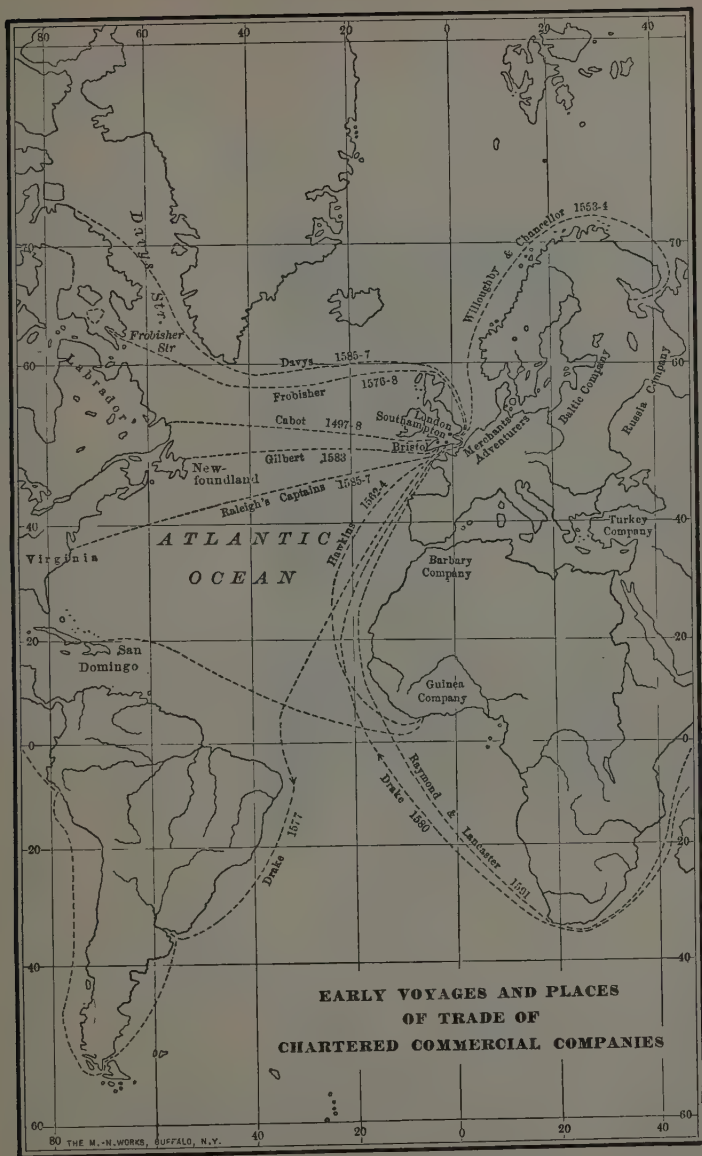
Counter Reformation of Mary Tudor added to the strain. Not only in the form but in the essence of government there was a great change. There had largely passed away the old nobility of blood and landed interests, which for centuries had served as a check on royal aggression and as a support of the constitution with its principles of limited monarchy. In its place was the new nobility of royal favorites enriched by the spoils of monastic property and of wealthy merchants whose interests were in trade. The old Church gave way to the established national church of the king with his royal appointees as its bishops. Such a nobility and such churchmen would not stand in the way of the crown. The forms of the limited monarchy were retained, but parliaments were easily packed in the interest of the new order and the Tudor autocracy. Royal absolutism was hidden behind the forms of a limited monarchy with a representative Parliament. Yet in practice the constitution was set aside and Parliament was not representative. In the government, in the church, and in the new capitalistic ruling class were found the characteristic changes of the period. Until all were solidly intrenched, the nation could not turn toward the New World and spend its energies in planting colonies.

The Period of Elizabeth (1558-1603). Under Elizabeth moderate Protestantism was established and accepted by the majority of the nation. The Catholic minority was quelled by a terrible code of persecuting laws. Factions within Protestantism were only commencing to appear as a suggestion of further religious difficulties. The absolutism of the crown and of the new ruling class was accepted. The Renaissance, which had been stifled in the trying years of religious troubles, was flowering into a golden age of poets and playwrights. It was a time of intense nationalism, of glorious patriotism, of intellectual strength, and of commercial activity. Parliament represented only the aristocratic, landed, and merchant classes, in whose interest it legislated. Trading monopolies and commercial companies were chartered. The taking of interest, or "usury," was legalized. Lands in Ireland were sequestered after each native revolt against English misgovernment and enforced Protestantism.

Thus royal favorites were enriched. It was a time of expansion, of accumulated national wealth, and the rise of large personal fortunes. It was a glorious period for the ruling class; only the poor suffered and grew more wretched. Fear of Spain gave way to a deep hatred of that strong Catholic power and its rich empire. To strike for England, for Protestantism, and for trade was the cry; and Spain became the national enemy, and her colonial empire the national target.

Elizabethan Sea Dogs. Gentlemen adventurers and seafaring men looked enviously on the silver-laden galleons homeward bound from the Spanish Main. There was no war with Spain; yet England unleashed her sea dogs, half-piratical traders and negro-slavers, to ravage the Spanish colonies and prey upon the treasure ships. Whatever the character of these mariners, there could be no doubt of their wonderful seamanship and valor. They recognized no peace beyond the Line of Demarcation. There was war to the knife against the Spaniard, with plenty of prizes and few prisoners. In this illegal assault on another power the queen and her counselors connived by accepting their share of the booty, secretly joining the merchant adventurers in financing expeditions, and knighting an occasional buccaneer. Yet with diplomatic cunning they avowed friendship for Spain. It was sordid diplomacy based on hypocrisy. Yet the gallant seamen, Sir Richard Hakluyt, who urged war in the Indies as the first step in breaking Spanish power, Drake and the Hawkinses of Plymouth, Grenville, Frobisher, Raleigh, and others, lent a romantic glamour to the business which beclouded its illegal character. Historians have been slow to use the harsh term of piracy in describing their plundering careers, but, attracted by their picturesque lives, have been inclined to glorify if not to justify their actions.

Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. Two outstanding pirates were Hawkins and Drake. England owes them a lasting debt and the navy an inspiring tradition. In his way a devout man, Hawkins on his bark, the *Jesus*, kidnaped African negroes and sold them to willing purchasers in the Spanish colonies despite Spanish laws against foreign trade. Then he would lie



in ambush for a passing "silver" ship. And many a capture he made. Drake is known for his buccaneering warfare against Vera Cruz, where the English sustained terrible losses and their captured seamen were cruelly destroyed. He is remembered for the piratical raid along the South American coast, through the



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

After an engraving attributed to Hondius

Strait of Magellan and up the Pacific coast as far as Peru. His booty was tremendous, running into millions of dollars in our money. To avoid capture, he sailed northward, making a landing south of the present bay of San Francisco. Thence he sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost tip of Africa, to England. Thus Drake was the second man and the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe (1577-1580). On his own deck he was knighted by Elizabeth, who did not fail

to claim a queen's share of the prize. In a later raid he "singd the King of Spain's beard" by attacking Cadiz and burning the shipping in its harbor.

The Northwest Passage. The sea dogs prepared the way for explorers like Frobisher, Baffin, Davis, Weymouth, and Hudson, who struggled against the arctic ice to find a northern passage to China. Although they failed in their primary purpose, they added to geographical knowledge and aided in laying the

foundations of England's power on the seven seas. Their deeds are chronicled in the names of straits, frozen seas and bays, and a fur-producing empire. Furthermore, these seamen developed the navy and paved the way for the defeat of the Armada and the first attempts at colonization.

War with Spain. War was inevitable. Philip II determined to punish England for these raids and for her entrance into his New World. Moreover, he was aroused by the material aid which Englishmen gave to his rebellious Protestant subjects in the Low Countries. He regarded Elizabeth as a heretic and as an illegitimate queen occupying the throne of his late wife and Henry's lawful heir, Mary Tudor. If his arms were successful, Philip hoped to seize that throne. The time appeared ripe. Ireland was in a state of chronic rebellion. Elizabeth had just executed her cousin and prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots, on a political charge of treasonably plotting with the duke of Norfolk, head of the Catholic group, for the throne to which she was the nearest heir. This act had thoroughly aroused the Scottish adherents of the unfortunate Queen of Scots. With France neutral and the hope of some support from Rome and the Empire, Philip's plan seemed reasonable. For the moment Elizabeth's crown and the fate of Anglican Protestantism were in danger, for Philip aimed to reestablish the old Church, whose tradition was stronger among the landed gentry in the north and west of England than its numbers would indicate.

The Defeat of the Armada. Ample were the Spanish preparations for the descent upon England. The great Armada finally sailed into the Channel (July, 1588), one hundred and thirty ships and transports with 27,000 sailors and soldiers. Ready to follow with 30,000 veterans when a landing should have been made was the greatest soldier of that age, the duke of Parma. England's feverish haste resulted in the collection of some two hundred vessels manned by 16,000 sailors. All but fifty were small merchant ships of little fighting value. Had a landing been effected, England would have been sorely tried; but her wooden walls proved impregnable. Hampered by a rough sea, the Spaniards in their high-riding ships crowded with soldiers

insufficiently armed were unable to engage at close quarters the more wieldy enemy ships. They suffered terrible losses. The heavy guns of the English men-of-war played havoc with the supposedly invincible Armada. The Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham served as chief admiral with the unsurpassed Drake in active control of sea dogs who captained each vessel. The Spanish retreat was more disastrous than the battle; only a battered fragment of the great fleet reached Cadiz. The hopes of Philip were shattered. A united English nation had warded off invasion. Nationalism was stouter than religious animosities. English Catholics gave proof of their loyalty. English seminarians in Rome are said to have sung a *Te Deum* in honor of the victory; though they were well aware that persecution and possible martyrdom awaited them on their return to England as priests.

Significance of the Armada's Failure. English fears were not over. The menace of invasion was not entirely ended. Drake's advice to strike the colonies was not heeded. Spanish silver soon built another fleet, and the old warfare on the sea continued. Drake and Sir John Norreys failed in an attack on Lisbon, then in Spanish hands, though a large amount of booty was taken and shipping destroyed.¹ With the signing of the peace treaty, the prestige of Spain was destroyed, her monopoly in America was ended, and her period of decline was henceforth marked. Freedom of the seas for English shipping was won; the work of the sea dogs was ended. North America was opened to English colonization. Sooner or later this would have come about, but the failure of the Armada hurried the time. It is only idle speculation, however, to picture a North America Spanish in language and culture, as some have done, if the "invincible" Armada had gained the day.

¹ Drake died in 1595, in the West Indies, and was buried at sea, but, according to the legend, his spirit still awaited the call:

Take my drum to England, hang et by the shore,
Strike et when your powder's runnin' low.
If the Dons sight Devon, I'll leave the port o' Heaven,
An' drum them up the Channel as we drummed them long ago.

SIR HENRY NEWBOLT, "Drake's Drum"

Early English Attempts at Colonization. England refused to admit foreign ownership to unoccupied lands and laid claim to the whole coast north of the Spanish settlements in Florida on the strength of Cabot's discoveries. Sir Humphrey Gilbert seized Newfoundland, the haven of fishermen from many lands, but found the region too desolate for a permanent colony (1583). On the return voyage his little vessel was swallowed by a high sea. Survivors on a companion ship reported that the hardy captain sank with the pious observation, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." Sir Walter Raleigh, his half-brother, continued the work.

The Contribution of Raleigh. Raleigh, a favorite of Elizabeth, and enriched through her gifts of seized monastic lands and confiscated Irish estates, dispatched two vessels by the West Indian route. Landing at Pamlico Sound and on Roanoke Island, his captains explored the shore northward (1584). Their cruise aroused enthusiasm and the hearty support of the queen, in honor of whose unmarried state the region was flatteringly named Virginia. The following year a settlement was made on Roanoke, but food supplies gave out, and the miserable colonists returned to England with Drake, who passed that way after burning St. Augustine. Two years later Raleigh sent three vessels from Plymouth with a hundred men and women colonists under John White as governor. White's own daughter was among the colonists and gave birth to Virginia Dare, who was thus the first child born of English parents in America. The governor went back to England for supplies, but did not return for four years because of the Armada fight in which he did a man's part. He found no vestige of the settlement, not a survivor. The lost colony of Roanoke will ever remain a mystery and a source of speculation for romancers, wiped out, as it was, by starvation, or by Spanish attack, or by Indian raiders.

Sir Walter later made discoveries which gave England possession of British Guiana in South America. He is reputed to have introduced tobacco into England, where, first as a drug and then as a fashionable habit, its use became so general that James I wrote a famous tract denouncing the use of the weed. Potatoes

too were brought to England and planted on Raleigh's Irish estates, soon becoming an Irish staple crop. Accused of treason and placed in prison to please the Spanish court, with which James was intriguing for a princess for Prince Charles's bride, Sir Walter was finally executed, but not before he had written his *History of the World*. Broken in fortune and disgraced, he never gave up the hope that a greater England would arise in the New World. Even from his cell in the Tower of London he inspired Englishmen to embark on the great venture of colonization.

Renewed Interest in Colonization. The success of the East India Company (1600), the journey of Weymouth to Greenland and Labrador, the Gosnold voyage along the Massachusetts coast, and the renewed interest in furs and fisheries caused a maritime revival. In 1605 Weymouth, in seeking the Northwest Passage, explored the Maine region around Pemaquid, and the Kennebec River. As he was backed by such Catholic lords as Arundel of Wardour and the earl of Southampton, there is some possibility that this was a Catholic enterprise. His extravagant report stirred men of wealth to encourage further exploration. English profits in world trade were large; land values had increased; luxuries evidenced growing wealth; the amount of gold and silver in circulation had been trebled in the century just closed. English merchants were looking for investments in trading companies and commercial ventures. Hence capital was easily available.

The Poverty of the Masses. On the other hand, the position of the poor grew worse, as wages remained stationary in an era of rising prices. Wages were determined by justices representing the propertied gentry, and labor was enforced under the vagrancy laws, by the lash if need be. Agricultural lands had been turned into sheep inclosures as wool rose in value, and many agricultural laborers were thrown out of employment, for fewer men were needed as herdsman. This movement received an impetus when the monastic lands were assigned to avaricious landlords who saw greater profits in sheep-raising than in general farming. A recent authority has written:

The dissolution of the monasteries in the time of Henry VIII threw upon the charitable people of England many helpless men and women ; the story of the dispossessed monks and nuns is not a pleasant one to turn back to. Still less pleasant is the story of the tenants and laborers upon monastic properties ; these establishments seem to have been easy landlords and masters which the new owners certainly were not. With the closing of the monasteries, also, one source of help for the poor and friendless had dried up, and new sources of aid were slowly provided.¹

The Church had served as a relief agency for the aged, the paupers, and the afflicted. This side of her work was not effectively renewed until the nineteenth century. The poor, driven from the lands by unemployment, turned to the cities ; agricultural hamlets became deserted villages of the type which Goldsmith described. In the cities the poor found intense hardship. Manufacturing was not developed ; the factories were of a later era. The unemployed found their way to jails and poor-houses. Crime, vagrancy, and vice increased among them. A harsh criminal code met them at every turn. Without political rights, uneducated, and unorganized, they were helpless. No longer could they turn to the Church or to the old feudal nobility for leadership. They were without patrons. Merry England had become for the dispossessed unhappy England. The ruling class in this capitalistic age thought not of men but of profits.

The position of England's poor must be stressed in order to understand immigration to America during the whole period of colonization. Economic pressure drove men and women to cast their lot in the colonies. Some came as indentured servants ; some were deported as prisoners ; some, convicted of vagrancy or of petty thefts, were sent from jails ; some were exiled for political offenses ; some came of their own accord. Religious and political motives drove some men to seek a new home in America, but an overcrowded England accounted for the majority who were forced to seek a refuge in the free spaces of America. At any

¹ Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 147.

rate, not only was there a capitalistic class ready to exploit the New World but a never-failing supply of colonists created by the harsh conditions of life in the British Isles.

References

WILLIAM WOOD, *Elizabethan Sea-Dogs* (Chronicles of America); A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 69-102; E. J. PAYNE, *Elizabethan Seamen*.

Bibliography

EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 115-142; H. E. BOLTON and T. M. MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 104-111; JOHN FISKE, *Discovery of America*, Vol. II, pp. 1-18; E. P. CHEYNEY, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, Vol. I, pp. 309-460; JOHN BUCHAN, *Sir Walter Raleigh*; A. L. ROWLAND and G. B. MANHART, *Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth*; R. A. WALLING, *A Sea-Dog of Devon* (Hawkins); JULIAN CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*; W. O. STEVENS and A. F. WESTCOTT, *A History of Sea Power*, pp. 145-168; HENRI HARRISSE, *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America*.

CHAPTER II

THE PLANTING OF ENGLAND IN NORTH AMERICA

I. THE DOMINION OF VIRGINIA

The Virginia Charter (1606). The first Stuart sovereign was hardly seated on his throne when Englishmen prepared to found their first permanent colony. The coast from Cape Fear to Nova Scotia was opened for settlement by James I, who authorized a company of merchants and adventurers of London to establish a settlement between 34° and 38° north latitude, and a company of Plymouth merchants to plant a colony between 41° and 45° with the intervening land open to either group. The first settlement would control a hundred miles along the coast and a hundred miles inland, and a plantation by the other company must be at least a hundred miles away. The form of government was complicated. Each company had a governing council or board of directors appointed by the king and resident in England, which in turn appointed a president and council of twelve residents of the colony to govern there, subject to the instructions of the home council. Prospective colonists were guaranteed the legal rights of Englishmen at home, such as jury trial, the writ of habeas corpus, and the benefits of the common law. The Church of England was to be established; explorations were to be undertaken; and for five years the settlers would be supported out of the company's common fund, into which the profits of their joint labor were to be paid.

Founding of Jamestown, Virginia. The London Company sent three ships and one hundred and five settlers under Captain Newport, who sailed up the James River and established Jamestown, on a low, malaria-infected peninsula (May, 1607). A fort, storehouse, church, and rude huts were erected. The interior was explored as far as modern Richmond; the Indians were

beaten, with some losses ; the friendship of Chief Powhatan was won ; and finally the fleet was loaded with fool's gold (glittering iron pyrites) for return shipment. Supplies soon gave out, there was no crop, the Indians had little spare corn, and the settlers were unskilled in fishing or hunting. Starvation and disease carried off half the settlers during the winter. Of the



THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN IN 1607

From an old engraving

appointed councilors only two were alive and at liberty. President Edward Maria Wingfield, suspected of Catholicism, was in chains awaiting deportation to England, and Captain John Smith was under a death sentence. Such was the colony on Newport's return with supplies and additional settlers. Of a total of two hundred colonists, only a fourth were alive on his departure the following April. Yet Jamestown was destined to be a permanent colony, while the Plymouth Company's settlers on the Kennebec were forced to give up the venture in the bleak northland.

Captain John Smith's Service to the Colony. Desperate days brought Smith into leadership. A resourceful individual was Captain John Smith, whose experiences as a sea fighter, a soldier in the Low Countries, a crusader in Austrian campaigns against the Turks, a slave in Turkey, an adventurer, and soldier of fortune made him a picturesque figure. And his story lost nothing in the telling. His labors in Virginia were magnified in his *Trewe Relaycion* (1608) and *Generall Historie* (1624), for he was not a humble soul. Yet his books contain some reliable information. They served to popularize the colony as a place of settlement and as a field of investment. Smith compelled every settler to work, gentlemen as well as laborers. Land was cleared; better defenses and houses were erected; the interior was explored as far as modern Washington; the Indians were quelled and encouraged to sell their corn. New immigrants brought the population to five hundred in the fall of 1609, when Smith, wounded by a powder explosion, returned to England. Later he explored the coast line as far as Newfoundland, naming a part of the region New England in his account and on his chart, which pictured the coast with sufficient accuracy to be of service to later voyagers.

The Starving Time. When the hard hand of Smith was removed the colony sank. The winter brought death through starvation, disease, and renewed Indian attacks, so that barely sixty souls survived. Most of the colonists were unsuited for pioneer life in a new land. Some of the English gentle class were unaccustomed and unwilling to labor. Of the laborers too many were from London and the cities, and unused to farming. There was no knowledge concerning what to plant and when to seed. Too much time was wasted in experimenting with products unsuited to the soil and climate, as well as in futile searching for gold and western passages. In no other way can the hardships of the colonists in a fertile land with a temperate climate be explained. Giving up hope, the survivors were embarking for England when they were turned back by the newly commissioned governor, Lord Delaware, who came in the nick of time with supplies and new colonists.

The Charter of 1609. A new charter described the boundaries of the colony as two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, and west and northwest to the sea. The stockholders were given complete control of the company and of the plantation. Each planter over ten years of age was given at least one share of stock, and more if he was a professional man or artisan, and every English investor or adventurer was given one share for every twelve pounds sterling which he risked. All profits were to go into a common fund, which should be divided among all stockholders at the end of seven years. Sufficient interest was aroused to cause the raising of a subscription of £200,000 by 1624, all classes being represented in the speculation. Broad-sides like those of a modern land company, and about as truthful, encouraged settlers to stake their future in the colony and adventurers to risk their money in hope of large dividends.

Improved Conditions. The council was replaced by a governor with despotic powers. In the absence of Delaware Sir Thomas Dale served. A natural autocrat, hardened and intolerant from service in the Netherlands, Dale forced the colonists to labor and inspired evildoers with fear of death, the lash, and mutilation of ears or nose. Not only stealing, idleness, and disobedience to authority but nonattendance at services of the established church and profanity were savagely punished. Yet under his rigorous rule all danger of famine was banished and agriculture was improved. Realizing that the communistic system of the common storehouse had failed, he allowed each laborer a month in the year in which to work for himself, and to gentlemen he gave a lease of three acres of ground. Far more work was done, for men were encouraged by private ownership and a share in the return, no matter how small. John Rolfe, who married Pocahontas, daughter of Chief Powhatan, learned the art of curing tobacco for the English market. Thereafter tobacco became the staple crop and the source of the colony's prosperity. On Dale's retirement the colonists numbered about three hundred and fifty, including sixty-five women and children, out of a total of about fourteen hundred immigrants since 1607. The survivors were hardy individuals, inured to climate and wilderness trials.

Samuel Argall succeeded Dale, but proved a wretched ruler, pillaging Virginia as he would a Spanish ship. Argall is best known as the destroyer of the Jesuit mission on Mount Desert Isle, off the Maine coast (1613), and of a French settlement at Port Royal in Acadia. His corruption was far more deadly to the plantation than the tyrannical efficiency of the hated Dale.

A Representative Assembly (1619). In a further revision of the charter the king allowed a majority of the stockholders to determine all important matters. As the shareholders increased, the merchants outnumbered the more conservative gentry. Liberals gained control. The clergy showed more interest as the missionary possibilities were realized. Sir Edwin Sandys became treasurer. Though a son of an Anglican archbishop, he was a liberal in religion and in politics. In Parliament he favored toleration, and even a degree of religious liberty for Catholics. He struggled against royal aggression and thundered against restricted trade and monopolies. As treasurer, he led the group which advocated more liberal treatment of the colony and some share of self-government for the settlers. This would be reflected, it was urged, in a more prosperous colony and a fair return on the investment.

With this in view Sir George Yeardley was commissioned governor with instructions to call a popular assembly. This he did, and each of the eleven plantations, or towns, elected in 1619 two burgesses to sit with the governor and his six councilors. The Assembly took the oath of supremacy, judged the credentials of representatives, tried a few cases, and passed a code of laws according to English practice but adapted to local conditions. Laws passed were subject to the governor's veto and to royal disallowance or veto. This House of Burgesses marked the beginning of representative government in the New World, and hence it is most significant. It was the model which later colonies followed, and it in turn was patterned on the home government of King, Lords, and Commons.

Reforms — Economic and Social. Other reforms followed. Fifty acres of land were given to every voluntary immigrant. In addition a master was allotted another fifty acres for every

servant whom he imported. Thus large estates or manorial plantations were created and immigration was encouraged. Despite all legislation silk culture and glass-making as well as efforts to cultivate mulberry trees, grapevines, flax, and hemp failed. Tobacco, which once sold at the rate of sixteen pounds for a horse, had dropped to a few shillings a pound, but continued profitable as the English demand increased and production was undertaken on a large scale. Later it was estimated that in a good yield one man could raise a crop worth £500. With labor cheap, big planters prospered.

Women for wives were sent as early as 1619. The next year a hundred girls were shipped by the company to be sold to planters desirous of marrying them for the cost of their passage in tobacco. Thereafter women made a fair share of the passengers on every boat. Thus family life was established. Englishmen came to stay and founded permanent homes. They were not birds of passage, who would remain only until their fortunes were bettered. Again, they married within their own race, and rarely with natives, as did the French and Spanish.

Introduction of Slavery. The enlarged plantations and tobacco culture required more labor. Indians were not suitable. About twenty negroes were brought by a Dutch ship (1619) and sold to the planters. This traffic increased. By the end of the century African slaves were replacing white servants in Virginia and throughout the South. The slavery question, or the negro problem, has been with us ever since.

Indentured Servants. Another source of labor supply was the indentured servant, so known from his indentured, or perforated, contract, half of which was retained by the servant himself and the duplicate sheet by the purchaser of his labor. Vagrants, debtors, and paupers of both sexes and all ages were shipped to the colony by court order or by parishes anxious to be rid of the burden of their support. They were purchased by planters who paid the cost of their transportation. In their desire to emigrate, some men even sold their own services for a few years. The period of service was usually about three years. It was a hard service, but not slavery, and carried no lasting taint.

When the contract was fulfilled the servant became a free man with the right to take up land on the edge of the settlements.

In time many indentured servants became prosperous, in their turn buying new arrivals to work on their plantations. Many rich planters and colonial leaders of a later period were the descendants of such servants. Indentured servants made up a goodly share of the newcomers in every colony, and the system outlived the colonial era. Indeed, it was replaced in more recent days by the system of importation of contract laborers by organized industry. Petty criminals, as well as political prisoners, were shipped to the colony on a seven-year contract. The terms of the latter were harsher, but they too gained freedom and independence.

Virginia a Royal Colony (1624). The liberal control of the company was opposed by the Royalist faction, which feared democratic designs; by orthodox churchmen who feared Puritan influences; and by stockholders who were disappointed in an investment which had paid no interest. The failure of the colony to grow and enrich its stockholders was blamed upon the company. A large amount of capital had been expended, yet there were less than three hundred houses in nineteen scattered villages, and only twelve hundred settlers. The king warned the stockholders, "Choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." Hence they made the liberal earl of Southampton treasurer. Still displeased, and aroused by an unfavorable official report, James set aside the charter. Virginia thus became a royal colony.

Virginia from 1624 to 1642. To the inhabitants this made little difference. Thereafter the crown appointed governors and councilors. The Assembly remained elective. Land titles were guaranteed. The crown retained the right to veto legislation, but rarely exercised this power because of lack of interest. Under Governors Harvey and Wyatt there were the usual conflicts with the representatives over land and tobacco taxes. The policy continued to be liberal, whatever Charles I might be aiming at in England. Population increased fivefold in the first ten years. For example, in 1635 sixteen hundred arrivals were counted, three fourths

being servants. Planters were guaranteed a tobacco monopoly and hence better prices, for tobacco culture was prohibited in the British Isles. As the Indian power had been broken in a crushing campaign, new lands to the westward were opened for cultivation.

Virginia during the Civil War (1642-1660). Sir William Berkeley came as governor in 1641, with full instructions to enforce the laws, call an assembly at least once a year, compel religious uniformity, and reform the discipline of the Anglican ministry. This he did with great vigor. Puritan missionaries from Boston had no success in converting Berkeley's subjects. His sway was complete during the English Civil War, and Virginia's Royalist sympathies, as might be expected of orthodox and aristocratic planters, were strong. When Charles was beheaded the General Assembly recognized Charles II as king. In 1651 the colony accepted the rule of Parliament, which was not harsh, for even Berkeley was permitted to live peacefully in retirement on his ten-thousand-acre plantation. During these years a large number of Royalists, or Cavaliers, came from England to avoid Puritan persecution. As an element, they contributed wealth, ability, and social caste to the colony, and native Virginians still make much of this. It was then that the Washingtons, Masons, and other famous families appeared and established themselves as manorial planters. Royalist prisoners and Irish rebels were transported as indentured servants to the colonies by Cromwell, and some of these came to Virginia. Otherwise Cromwell's power was unfelt, for England required his full attention. Soon after Cromwell's death, Berkeley again became governor. The title of "Old Dominion" was awarded the colony for its loyalty to the Royalist cause.

Lord Berkeley's Rule. With the Restoration (1660) the "Old Royalist" usurped full power, retaining, even as Charles II did in the case of the Cavalier Parliament, a subservient Assembly for fourteen years. Rebels were roughly handled, Charles complaining that more men were executed in Virginia than he had executed for the legalized murder of his royal father. The Church of England was reestablished and conformity enforced. Berkeley

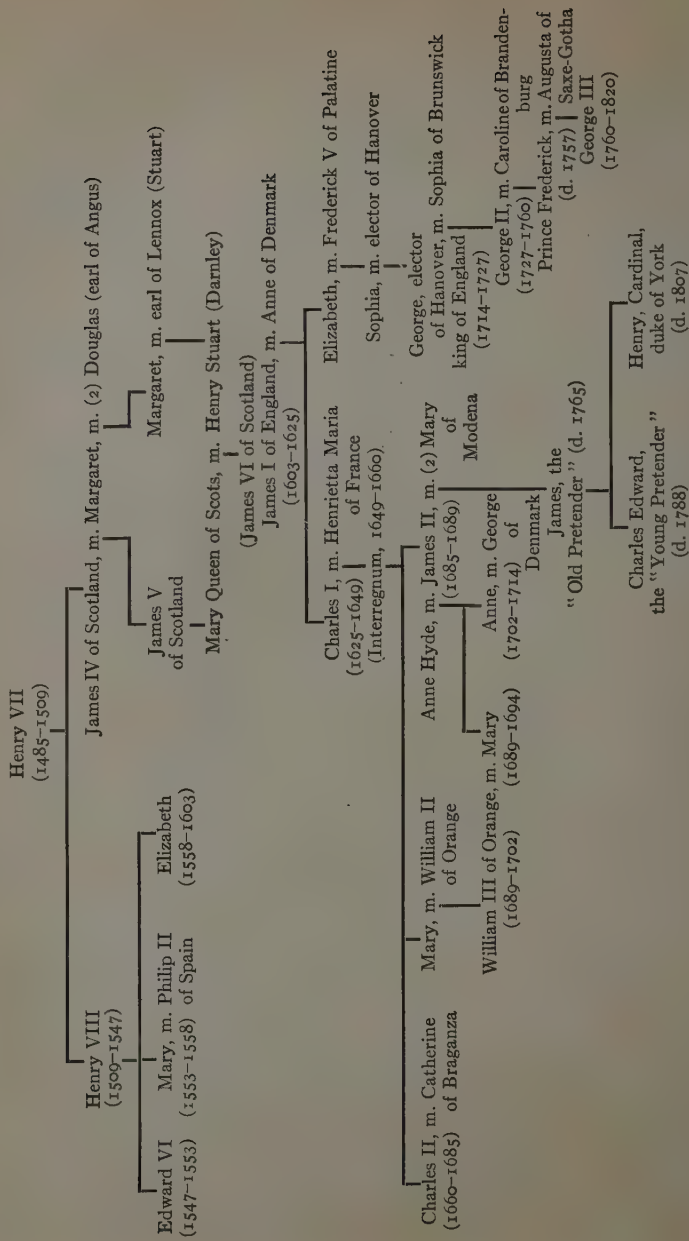
ruled solely in the interest of the great planters. He expressed their views in his famed words :

I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have any these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.

Bacon's Rebellion (1676). Such a reactionary government caused rebellion. Tobacco prices were poor as the crop increased, and the English market was bad. The small farmer suffered, for in bad years he could not compete with the large planter, who could produce tobacco with slave labor at a lower cost. Settlers on outlying farms were annoyed because they were not represented in the Assembly according to their numbers and had no seats in the Council. They saw that the government was by and for the large planters with broad acres and slave labor — the tidewater aristocracy. On the frontier, pioneers were left unaided to bear the brunt of renewed attacks by Indians who were rising to defend their hunting lands along the Potomac and the Susquehanna from encroaching settlements. Berkeley was said to be engaged in trade with the Indians, and therefore for pecuniary reasons desirous of avoiding war. Nathaniel Bacon, with a force of frontiersmen, defeated the Indians. As he was not authorized to attack them, he was charged with treason. Open insurrection followed. Berkeley weakened and promised reforms, but repudiated his promises. Bacon became a real rebel supported by the poor farmers ; but the well-to-do planters clung to the governor and aided in the defense of Jamestown. On its surrender Bacon ordered the town burned. He died shortly afterwards, and his cause collapsed. Berkeley savagely attacked the rebels and hanged thirteen of the leaders despite a royal pardon to those who surrendered. The aged governor was recalled, and died in bitter disgrace on the refusal of his king to receive him.

Bacon's revolt was significant. It was a class struggle, the frontier against the tidewater. It was a demand for representation based on population and a protest against heavy taxation.

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS, HENRY VII TO GEORGE III



It evidenced a sectionalism destined to appear later in Virginia and in many of the other colonies.

To the Revolution of 1688. Lawlessness gradually ended, though destruction of tobacco crops was continued in an effort to reduce production and increase prices. The new governors, Lords Culpeper and Howard of Effingham, were both Royalists and favorites, who came to recoup their fortunes in colonial service. The latter was probably a Catholic. Corrupt and inefficient, they exacted illegal fees, thus arousing hostility, though their rule was not harsh. Rather were they typical of many governors and of a bad system. The English revolution of 1688 brought little real improvement.

References

MARY JOHNSTON, *Pioneers of the Old South* (Chronicles), pp. 1-116, 148-198; ROSSITER JOHNSON, *Captain John Smith*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 209-246; EDWARD EGGLESTON, *The Beginners of a Nation*, pp. 1-73.

Bibliography

EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 143-240; L. G. TYLER, *England in America*, pp. 34-118, and *Narratives of Early Virginia*; EDWARD ARBER (Ed.), *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*; ALEXANDER BROWN, *Genesis of the United States, The First Republic in America*; P. A. BRUCE, *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*; JOHN FISKE, *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, Vol. I, pp. 1-254, and Vol. II, pp. 1-107; T. J. WERTENBAKER, *Virginia under the Stuarts, The First Americans* (all colonies, 1607-1690); BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 112-134. See WILLIAM MACDONALD, *Select Charters or Documentary Source Book of American History* for the chief colonial charters.

2. MARYLAND AND THE CAROLINAS

Significance of Early Maryland. Maryland was remarkable as the first successful proprietary colony, and because, as Bancroft notes, it was "the first in the annals of mankind to make religious freedom the basis of the state." In a study of toleration since Constantine at Milan (313) one might search in vain until

the foundation of Maryland or a record of any serious effort to establish freedom of conscience as a principle of political society. A local historian has proudly stated :

It [Maryland] exhibits to us the foundations of government, laid broad and deep in the principles of civil and religious liberty. At a period when religious bigotry and intolerance seemed to be the badges of every Christian sect and those who had dwelt under their oppressions, instead of learning tolerance from their experience, had but imbibed the spirit of their oppressors ; and when the howlings of religious persecutions were heard everywhere around them, the Catholic and Protestant of Maryland were seen mingling in harmony, in the discharge of all their public and private duties, under a free government, which assured the rights of conscience to all.¹

Calvert's Avalon Colony. George Calvert, a favorite of the king and rich in confiscated Irish estates, a member of the Privy Council and of Parliament, and a secretary of state, became an avowed Catholic about 1624. Such a step required courageous conviction, for he thereby lost position and honors. Few men have ever given up greater material advantages for conscience' sake. Only the favor of the king remained, for James I was not personally antagonistic to the creed of his mother. Calvert retained his estates and was elevated to an Irish peerage as Lord Baltimore. Long concerned in colonization as an adventurer in the Virginia Company and an official commissioner, he turned to the New World in the hope of enlarging his fortune and providing a refuge for his persecuted coreligionists. Having an old charter for a colony at Avalon, Newfoundland, he gained the support of the Catholic gentry and set forth in 1627. On the ship there were both Catholics and Protestants, as well as a priest and an Anglican minister. The latter, however, penned bitter complaints against this very spirit of religious freedom. One winter in the north proved enough. Avalon was not the Eden which its name indicated. Baltimore and the remnant of his party sailed for Jamestown. There he was offered the oath of supremacy, which as a Catholic he naturally refused,

¹ Bernard Steiner, in *Beginnings of Maryland*, p. 31, quotes McMahon's *History of Maryland*, p. 198.

though he would subscribe to a declaration of loyalty. Of his loyalty to Charles I there could be no doubt; but the Virginians may have felt that he had designs upon part of their territory. At any rate, they had no intention of giving refuge to Catholic immigrants, and Calvert was forced to return to England.

The Maryland Charter. From Charles, Calvert obtained a grant of land from the southern bank of the Potomac River to the line of 40° north latitude, with a charter as lord proprietor, which gave him viceregal powers. He might make laws not



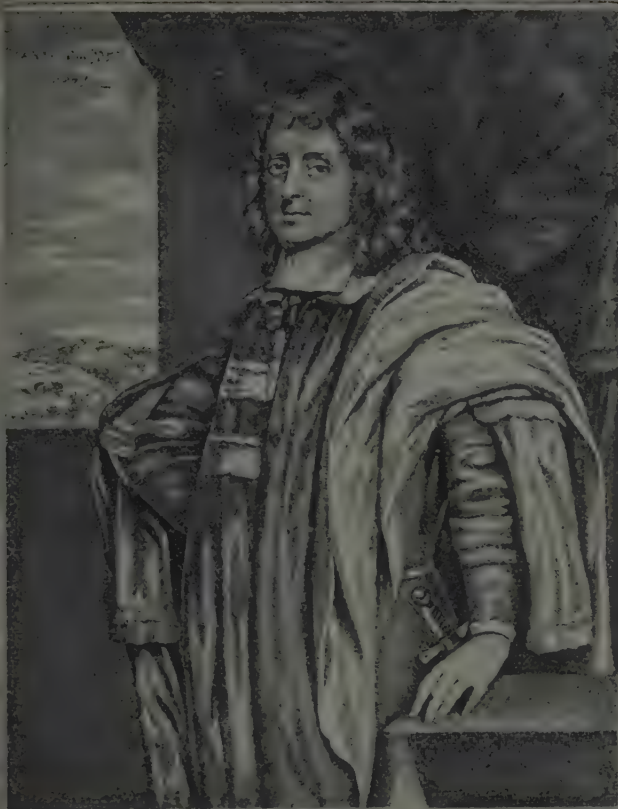
THE MARYLAND COLONY

repugnant to those of England with the advice and consent of the freemen or their representatives. He could initiate and veto legislation, though ultimately the institutions of Maryland were more liberal than those in any colony save Rhode Island and Connecticut. Calvert's control over the courts and militia was complete. He could nominate clergymen and protect the church, which of course meant the Anglican Church. Apparently this was left ambiguous, for Charles must have been aware of Baltimore's project of a Catholic colony. He was freed from taxes, save for a nominal feudal offering and a share of whatever precious minerals might be found. The colony was named by the monarch after his French Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria, though Terra Mariæ had a deeper significance for Catholics than an idle compliment to an earthly princess.

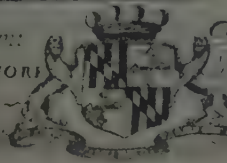
Journey of the Catholic Pilgrims. Before the charter had passed the seals the first Baltimore died, but his son Cecil attained to both the title and colony. Cecil was less experienced as a diplomat and courtier, but was a more astute business man than his father. He was a most successful and tactful absentee proprietor. His motive was more clearly religious than his father's: "The first and most important design of the Most Illustrious Baron which ought also to be the aim of the rest, who go in the same ship, is, not to think so much of planting fruits and trees in a land so fertile, as of sowing the seeds of religion and piety." Finally all was ready despite an aggressive attempt to block the expedition. The *Ark* and the *Dove* sailed down the Thames with Leonard Calvert as governor, his brother George, some twenty Catholic gentlemen, and nearly three hundred laborers, the majority of whom were persecuted Puritans. At the Isle of Wight a few passengers were taken aboard, including the amiable Father Andrew White and a Jesuit companion. The proprietor gave secret instructions that

... in their voyage to Mary Land they be very careful to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on Ship-board, and that they suffer no scandal nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may hereafter be made of them . . . and that for that end, they cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and that they instruct all the Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion, and that they treat Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit. And this to be observed at Land as well as at Sea.

Founding of St. Marys. The expedition put in for supplies at Old Point Comfort, where Governor Harvey received the colonists with kindness. Then it sailed up Chesapeake Bay. At anchor off an island, St. Clements, near the mouth of the Potomac, Mass was said by Father White on March 25, 1634, to the joy of his congregation, some of whom had become converts on the long voyage. Since Mary's reign this was the first public Mass celebrated by an Englishman for Englishmen on English soil. The



Effigies Illustration
 Cecilus BALTEMORE
 1625
 (Baltimore)



D^o Cecilus Calvert
 B^o Baltimore
 D^o Cecilus Calvert
 B^o Baltimore

CECIL CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE

town of St. Marys was founded close by on a little tributary of the Potomac, named St. George for England's patron saint. The good will of the Algonquins was gained when their land rights were honorably purchased. Indeed, the early relations of Maryland with the Indians were better than those of any colony save Pennsylvania. Despite a hostile parliament in far-away England the Jesuits planned to emulate the glorious work of their French brothers among the heathen tribesmen.

Toleration in Maryland. Baltimore was naturally as tolerant as he was religious, contradictory as this might seem in the seventeenth century. He extended his protection to the Anglicans who were restricted in their religious freedom by the Puritans in New England, and to the Puritans who were persecuted in England. In fact, toleration was the order, whether or not the motives were a mixture of liberality and worldly wisdom. Unfortunately, the Jew was not included. Indeed, he was probably not thought of; for a Jew had no legal status in England until Cromwell, despite the opposition of the Puritan ministry, permitted the erection of a synagogue in London. The Jew was not given full political rights by Maryland until long after the establishment of American independence; that is, in 1826.

In an endeavor to keep the religious peace the Assembly passed a law against calling anyone a heretic, unbeliever, schismatic, Jesuit, Separatist, Anabaptist, or papist. Profanity or unseemly reference to the Virgin Mary was punishable. The courts were unusually strict in enforcing this rule, if one may judge by a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco levied on a manorial lord for interfering with a tenant's reading of Protestant writings. The prescribed oath for officials read in part:

I will not by myself or any other . . . trouble or molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect of religion; but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving; my aim shall be public unity, and if any person or officer shall molest any person, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested and punish the offender.

In 1638 the Assembly decreed that all laws should be "equally enforced against and concerning all persons, lay and ecclesiastical, without distinction, exemption, or privilege of any." Such was the wise and kindly system of toleration which allowed Protestant and Catholic to live in harmony with one another, each in his own way worshipping the same Creator.

Early Prosperity of the Colony. The settlers learned from their experience in Virginia; there was no starving time. Members of the gentry who brought capital and laborers were granted a thousand or more acres, which were worked much as an English manor. Smaller tracts were given to lesser men. The fertile lands were suitable for grain and tobacco. The proprietor demanded only a quitrent of two or three shillings per hundred acres. Slaves and indentured servants formed the labor supply. Cattle, hogs, and horses were bought in Virginia. No time was lost, for a cargo of corn was sent during the first year to New England in exchange for codfish. Anglicans and Puritans came from England, as well as persecuted Puritans who fled the rule of Berkeley in Virginia. Indeed, at all times Protestants numbered about three fourths of the settlers. Within forty years there was a prosperous population of twenty thousand in the plantations and hamlets along Chesapeake Bay and its inflowing streams. That more Catholics did not come sorely disappointed their benefactor. But English Catholics hoped better times would follow the Civil War in England, and so hesitated. Irish immigrants seem to have come only as indentured servants. Indeed, English Catholic landowners preferred laborers of their own race regardless of creed.

The Toleration Act of 1649. As the Puritans gained the day in England, Baltimore was worried. He was desirous of guaranteeing religious freedom. Hence he incorporated the customs and laws which had governed the colony since the beginning in the famous Toleration Act which was presented to the Assembly for acceptance:

And whereas the inforceing of the conscience in matters of Religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous Consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised, . . . Be it therefore also

by the Lord Proprietary with the advice and consent of this Assembly, ordeyned and enacted . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this Province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof . . . nor anyway compelled to the belief or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent, soe as they be not unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary or molest or conspire against civil Government.

However, the act provided a death penalty and forfeiture of goods upon the denial of God or the Holy Trinity, as well as severe fines for blasphemy and calling opprobrious names.

Cavalier and Puritan in Maryland. The English Civil War spread to Maryland. William Claiborne, a powerful Puritan in Virginia, was Leonard Calvert's inveterate enemy. His claims to Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay had been denied by royal commissioners. He now seized the opportunity to strike at Maryland by inciting the Puritans to revolt against their Catholic Royalist governor. A Puritan governor and Assembly were selected, but after some bloodshed Catholics and moderate Protestants (no doubt Anglican Royalists), aided by Berkeley, regained control. On Leonard's death Lord Baltimore appointed William Stone, a Protestant, as his governor, under whom was passed the Toleration Act. In the meantime Calvert, like a good politician, compromised with the victorious English Parliamentarians. At any rate he saved his colony, though his Royalist friends turned from him, and Prince Charles in exile angrily ordered the surrender of his charter. This impotent gesture served Calvert well as proof of his loyalty to the acting English government, when Puritan commissioners were sent to Maryland (1652). His property rights were secured, and Stone was left in the governorship until he too outspokenly upheld his old master. Claiborne, now secretary for Virginia, seized Maryland under the plea of loyalty to Parliament, but actually to serve his own interest and deep-seated hatred of the Catholic colony. Once in the saddle, the Puritans cast aside toleration, persecuting, as Woodrow Wilson has written, "the people who had afforded them a refuge from the hard laws of Virginia."

Under Puritan Control. The Puritan was honest in his bigotry, though his conduct was most ungrateful. To him Maryland in the hands of a Catholic was in an infinitely worse position than Virginia, which had just been rescued from Berkeley and Anglicanism. A new law passed by a Puritan Assembly proscribed "papists, prelatists (Episcopalians) and ungodly men." During these days, according to Eggleston, "the Jesuits fled to inhospitable Virginia, where they lived in a low hut like a cistern, not lamenting their physical privations so much as the lack of wine which deprived them of the consolation of the sacrament." When Cromwell assumed control in England, Stone, on Baltimore's order, raised a force to overthrow the commissioners and Claiborne, who were now without legal authority. The little armies met on the Severn River not far from the present Naval Academy at Annapolis, where the Puritans were victorious. Stone was saved, though several of his Catholic supporters were executed. Puritan supremacy was short-lived. Cromwell refused to annul the charter, as he rather favored Baltimore. Strangely enough, Oliver was no vicious persecutor of English Catholics, despite his cruelties in Ireland. In 1657 Baltimore was again in power, with Fendall as his resident governor. Claiborne's claims were silenced by land grants in Virginia. A general pardon was agreed upon, and Puritans gladly accepted the old Toleration Act. On Cromwell's death the treacherous Fendall and his followers, some of whom were Catholics, sought to make the colony independent of the proprietor. Their revolt failed, and the leaders were banished or fined. Charles, in his desire to befriend his Catholic subjects, forgave the past and restored Cecil Calvert to favor.

Under the Last Stuarts. With Charles, the only son of the proprietor, as governor and his brother Philip as chancellor, the colony prospered in peace and toleration. Refugee Quakers from Massachusetts and Virginia were welcomed until their strength surprised George Fox, the founder of this sect, when he visited America in 1672. Augustine Herman, a Bohemian, who had sojourned in New Amsterdam, was given twenty thousand acres, for which he paid in part by making a map of the colony,

which is still preserved in the British Museum. Bohemia Manor continued under his heirs until its legal existence was ended in 1789. Herman ceded some land to a sect of mystics, who lived a communal life until their leader's death. The colony grew rapidly, and the profits of the proprietor from quitrents and tobacco taxes rose accordingly.

Yet not all was quiet. Aside from the smoldering opposition to Catholic rulers and to religious freedom for Catholics there were real grievances. The higher offices were in the hands of the Calvert family, and the Catholic manor lords were more influential than the more numerous Protestant planters. As in Virginia, the small farmers were under-represented in the government, and property qualifications for voting were high. There were the ever-present colonial quarrels between the Lower House and the appointed Council.

The Revolution of 1688. The expulsion of James II and his flight to France caused an anti-Catholic wave and an extravagant fear of France in all the colonies, but in none more than in Maryland. Charles Calvert's messenger, with orders to proclaim William and Mary, died on the voyage, and a second messenger arrived too late. The opposition raised a force and compelled the Council to abdicate. The new sovereigns, William and Mary, were proclaimed. William nullified Baltimore's charter and sent a royal governor to rule. The capital was removed to the Puritan town of Providence (Annapolis). St. Marys dwindled thereafter until it became merely a name.

The Church of England was established and supported by a poll tax, much to the dissatisfaction of dissenters and the poor, who paid the same tax as their richer neighbors. Catholic immigration was prohibited; the public celebration of the Mass was forbidden; Catholics were denied the suffrage and right of holding office, though dissenting Protestants were soon given this privilege. The English penal code was enforced. No Catholic could buy land. The penalty for exercising the priestly office was life imprisonment. A Catholic school-teacher was liable to the same penalty. A reward of a hundred pounds was posted for information leading to the conviction of a priest. Any person

sending his child abroad to be educated as a Catholic was liable to a fine of a hundred pounds. Impossible oaths were offered to every Catholic on reaching his majority, and on his refusal to take the oaths he was declared incapable of succession, and his patrimony might fall to the nearest Protestant heir. Catholic property was doubly taxed. Such was a Catholic's life in the "Land of Toleration" during the reign of William and Mary and of Anne. The enforcement of the code grew less rigorous under the Hanoverians, when the specter of the restoration of the Stuarts in the persons of the Old and the Young Pretender dimmed.

Calvert lived in England in seclusion on his Maryland revenues which were not confiscated. On his death (1715) his son Benedict, who had abjured the Catholic faith, succeeded to the palatinate as the fourth Lord Baltimore. Maryland continued under her Anglican proprietors until the Revolution, and rich were the revenues drawn by these absentee overlords.

The Carolina Proprietors. Carolina had been granted to Sir Robert Heath (1629), but his rights lapsed through his failure to send settlers. Immediately on his restoration Charles II interested himself in colonization in order to extend his empire and reward loyal favorites. With this in view (1663), he granted the region from Virginia to Florida to his chancellor, Edward Hyde (earl of Clarendon), Ashley Cooper (earl of Shaftesbury), George Monk (duke of Albemarle), Governor Berkeley of Virginia, Sir George Carteret, and three others as lords proprietors. All of them had aided in bringing about Charles's restoration to power. They were to settle the lands, pay a small rent to the king, govern according to English law with the advice and assent of the freemen or their deputies, and establish the religion of



THE CAROLINA GRANT OF 1665

England. The system was feudal, and the constitutions, as drafted by the philosopher John Locke, proved highly theoretical and unworkable, as such academic rules of government frequently do when applied under new and different conditions.

Settlement at Albemarle. In 1665 the proprietors sent a governor to the Albemarle Sound settlers and authorized an appointive council of six men and an elective assembly. Progress was slow, and there were few arrivals from England. Poor, shiftless, and untamed men came from Virginia, along with democratic dissenters who found the rule of the established church in the older colony burdensome. Social equality marked the primitive settlements and unfruitful farms. In time a number of Royalists from the island of Barbados in the West Indies settled at Cape Fear, and, after 1700, men from the north of Ireland commenced to appear. By 1690 the region, with its boundaries determined, was known as North Carolina.

South Carolina. Charleston was established (1670-1680) with outlying plantations along the fertile river bottoms. At first it was a "rogues' harbor," where smugglers and men of doubtful character predominated. Soon settlers came from the British Isles and Barbados, as well as some Huguenots and a few Germans. Dissenters were in a majority, but the Church of England was favored by law. Fortunes were made from the rice plantations, which were worked by slave labor; for rice found a ready market in southern Europe. Grain, cattle, tobacco, and timber, as well as a half-piratical smuggling trade with the foreign West Indies, increased the general prosperity. Shadows were at times cast over the Carolinas by fear of Indian retaliations or Spanish attacks. Charleston became the social capital. There rich planters maintained town houses, leaving their fever-ridden plantations to the management of overseers and slave-drivers. This wealthy aristocracy controlled the political affairs of the colony. A deep cleavage appeared between them and the increasing number of small farmers and pioneers on the Western lands, much as in Virginia.

As Royal Colonies. In 1729 the rights of the proprietors were silenced or purchased, and both Carolinas became royal prov-

inces with their characteristic form of government — a royally appointed governor who named the Council and an elected Lower House of the legislature. The founders, however, left their mark on the map in the names of the sound, bays, rivers, and counties. This assumption of control by the crown marked a new policy of closer royal supervision over all the American plantations.

References

W. T. RUSSELL, *Maryland the Land of the Sanctuary*; MARY JOHNSTON, *Pioneers of the Old South* (Chronicles), pp. 116-147; R. G. THWAITES, *The Colonies*, pp. 81-89; EDWARD EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*, pp. 220-265; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 247-271; *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, Vol. I, pp. 13-30.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 241-270, and Vol. II, pp. 14-25; JOHN FISKE, *Virginia and her Neighbors*, Vol. I, pp. 255-318, and Vol. II, pp. 131-173, 270-337; L. G. TYLER, *England in America*, pp. 118-148; H. L. OSGOOD, *American Colonies in Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II, pp. 1-93, and Vol. III, pp. 112-132; B. C. STEINER, *Beginnings of Maryland* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. XXI, Nos. 8-10); W. H. BROWNE, *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*; N. D. MERENESS, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*; GEORGE PETRIE, *Church and State in Maryland* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. X, No. 4); J. V. L. McMAHON, *History of Maryland*; C. C. HALL (Ed.), *Narratives of Early Maryland*.

3. THE PLYMOUTH COMMONWEALTH

Independents, or Separatists. The Reformation was destined to breed many sects. Free interpretation of the Bible by anyone who could read and by ministers of doubtful learning led to schism and dissent from the established church. Open dissenters were persecuted by both Henry VIII and Elizabeth, who showed as little mercy in executing advanced Protestants as stubborn recusants (Catholics). Yet evangelical Protestantism grew to such an extent that James I determined to stamp it out. James shrewdly perceived that the man who denied a bishop would soon deny the king. He realized that Puritanism in religion savored of opposition to divinely granted royal power in the State as well as in the Church. Orthodoxy to him was

essential; conscience meant little. Son of the Catholic queen of the Scots and a Presbyterian as king of Scotland, he became head of the Church of England on accession to Elizabeth's throne. He expected all men to follow his example and seek their own material interest.

The Separatists refused. They agreed with Puritan opposition to Catholic tendencies and ceremonies retained by the Church of England, and detestation of prelacy. They differed from the Puritans in refusing to compromise with what they regarded as error. Nor would Presbyterianism do, for to them "presbyter was but priest writ large." Courageous and honest, the Separatists, or Independents, accepted persecution rather than the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles.

Scrooby Village in Nottinghamshire. Scrooby had become a sorry town. As an old Catholic center it had suffered the devastations of Henry VIII and the Pilgrimage of Grace. The people were poor, humble, and illiterate tillers of the soil. Yet, attracted by the eloquent earnestness of John Robinson, about fifty peasants formed a Separatist congregation. Meeting in the home of William Brewster, keeper of the post and a former Cambridge student, they attracted attention. Into their number came the youthful William Bradford, whose self-application resulted in scholarship sufficient to write the delightful *History of Plimoth Plantation*. Persecution followed when, in 1607, several adherents were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission. Of this inquisition Bradford wrote :

Some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett and watcht night and day and hardly escaped their hands ; and ye most were faine to flie and leave their howses and habitations and the means of their livelehood.

Sojourn in Holland. Persecuted English Protestants had long found a refuge in Holland. Pondering upon this, a number of the communicants of the Scrooby church resolved to migrate. They managed to embark for Amsterdam after bribing port officials who connived at their departure. The policy of England, like that of France, denied schismatics the privilege of emigra-

tion. The cosmopolitan character of Amsterdam, a very "sink of toleration," did not please the ministers, for it appeared to them as "The Fair of all Sects where all the Pedlars of Religion have leave to vend their Toyes." They wanted freedom from religious restraint, but no laxity of morals and no religious indifference. Again, the exiles were landsmen out of place in a thriving port. Hence they betook themselves to Leyden, a university center and a factory town.

In Leyden life was hard, but not unhappy. Unacquainted with the language and industry of the land, the newcomers were forced by harsh competition to work as laborers. Edward Winslow served as a printer, the Brewsters as ribbon-makers, and Bradford as a cloth-weaver. Robinson, as a tutor and author of religious tracts, obtained a connection with the university. The majority worked at the looms. They saw their apprenticed children grow bent under long hours of arduous labor. Being foreigners, they were victims of the industrial system. But they lived in concord with the Dutch, for their honesty and patient diligence won respect. Yet the Pilgrims were uneasy. Englishmen all, their pride of race revolted on seeing their children become Dutch in custom and speech. To them the land was licentious, for it was far from Puritanical. The Sabbath was not kept, but was given over to enjoyment. War between Holland and Spain was imminent; and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) had commenced, though it had not yet embroiled the whole continent. Therefore they thought of Virginia, which was known to them through Captain Smith's writings.

The Virginia Project. Counseling together, some of the members urged removal to Virginia despite the terrors of the sea, the Indian cruelties, so enlarged upon, and the possibility of plagues and of famine. An undaunted majority ruled that by their voluntary choice they should brave the terrors, real and fancied:

It was answered that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted ye dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not cartaine;

it might be sundrie of ye things feared might never befall; others by providente care and ye use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them through ye help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome.

Lest they face persecution again, it was agreed that they should settle at some distance from Anglican Jamestown. On application they found the Virginia Company, in its desire for colonists, ready to urge their suit before the king and archbishop. At least they were assured a free departure for the colony. Sir Edwin Sandys proved a stout friend. A stock company was formed; and £7000 were provided by Puritan sympathizers and merchants.

The *Mayflower* Company. Thirty-five Pilgrims returned to England. A number of their friends remained behind with the aged Robinson:

Truly dolfull was ye sight of that sade and mournfull parting: to see what sighs and sobbs and praises did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches peirst each harte . . . their pastor falling downe on his knees with watric cheeks commended them with the most fervente praises to the Lord and his blessing.

The summer of 1620 was spent in preparation at London and Plymouth without interference by civil or ecclesiastical agents. After a false start the unseaworthy *Speedwell* was abandoned, and finally on September 6 they sailed from old Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, a vessel of only one hundred and eighty tons, with a crew of twenty men. In all there were one hundred and two immigrants, of whom sixty-seven were Separatists from England, among them the doughty Captain Standish and John Alden. Of the adults forty-four men and nineteen women were all in their prime, for only nine were above forty years of age.

***Mayflower* Compact.** On shipboard there was drawn up a rule of government to which forty-one men subscribed:

Haveing undertaken for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in ye presence of God, and

one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts,



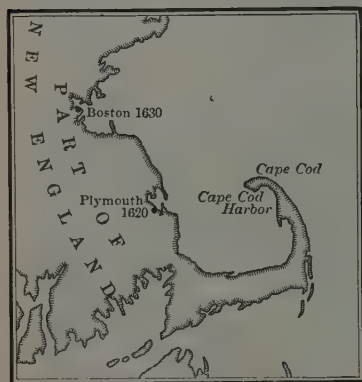
© A. S. Burbank, Plymouth, Massachusetts

DRAWING UP THE *MAYFLOWER* COMPACT

constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

This covenant was not a modern constitution, yet it served as the foundation of civil and religious life during the separate existence of the colony. It was a self-governing ordinance framed by freemen. It provided, in Woodrow Wilson's words, "the first self-determined government based on the great principle of just law and its equal application." In practice it became the constitution of a republican commonwealth under the English flag. The Compact is a Christian document, as might be expected from a people whose literature teems with references to God and his Holy Scripture.

Landing at Plymouth. Land was sighted off Cape Cod on the ninth of November. Bad weather and storms, not treachery, turned Captain Jones far from his Virginia course. After carefully exploring the coast, the voyagers made a landing on a large rock at Plymouth, on December 21, 1620. Thanks were offered, and the construction of huts was commenced. The first winter tried the Pilgrims' souls. Unprotected from the bitter dampness, and half starved as they were, disease reduced their numbers by



SETTLEMENTS OF PILGRIMS AND
PURITANS

one half. Only four out of the fourteen wives survived. At times but six or seven persons were well enough to feed the sick and bury the dead. Captain Standish played a heroic part, obtaining supplies from the natives, whose respect he had won by valiant fighting and fair dealing. In the spring a peace of fifty years was arranged with Chief Massasoit. The Narragansets' challenge of war was accepted, for the Pilgrims were not pacifists, and with its bold acceptance the

Indian danger ended without actual hostilities. On the death of Governor Carver, Bradford succeeded, serving almost continuously until his death (1657). He proved a providential leader.

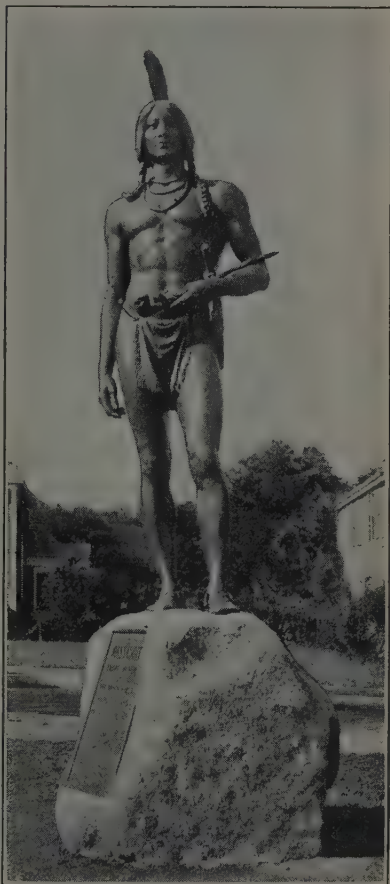
Slow Growth of the Colony. The wolf of starvation was warded away, a good crop of corn and vegetables was harvested, and fish and game proved abundant. The Pilgrims, with Indians as their guests, celebrated their good fortune in the famed Thanksgiving of 1621. And this day, by proclamation of the president and governors, we keep in memory of them as a national thanksgiving for God's blessings. Growth, however, was slow; for while little groups of immigrants came each year and families were large, disease and hardship exacted a fearful toll, especially of women and infants. The Pilgrims paid a high price

for religious freedom, but they did not falter. In 1627 there were only two hundred souls, of whom thirty were servants; in 1630 about three hundred; and in 1642 there were hardly three thousand in the ten towns of the colony.

Communism Abandoned.

Not only the poverty of the soil on that rocky shore but the scheme of a common storehouse accounted for the lack of success. In 1623 small lots were given to individuals, and out of the profits of the fur trade the English subscribers were paid off four years later with a settlement of only £1800. It was a clever bargain, but even so the investors suffered less than in most colonial ventures. As cobelievers they were satisfied with the sense of good done. Not only in Virginia, but in this ideal laboratory for testing its merits, communism, or common control of the agents and fruits of production, failed. Bradford noted its failure in shrewd words:

For this communitie . . . was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much imployment. . . . For ye young men that were most able and fitte for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, without any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails and cloaths,



© Cyrus E. Dallin

STATUE OF MASSASOIT, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

than he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter ye other could ; this was thought in iustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalized in labours, and victuals, cloaths, etc. . . . with ye meaner and yonger sorte, thought it some indignte and disrespect unto them. And for mens wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloaths, etc., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon ye poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought themselves in ye like condition, and one as good as another.

Governmental System. At first the governor and deputy, along with the minister and elder, administered a simple law. Later six assistants were elected at the annual assembly of resident stockholders, or freemen. After new towns were established, the primary assembly was replaced by a representative assembly, to which each settlement sent delegates. By 1671 the suffrage was granted to any property-holder of "sober and peaceable conversation" who took the oath of fealty. Thus the number of voters was increased. It is doubtful if any but Puritans in belief were eligible, yet few settlers came who were not in sympathy with Puritanism. As early as 1636 the laws were codified under fifty paragraphs as *The Great Fundamentals*, so that anyone who could read would know the law. While this code was not unusually severe for the time, there were seven offenses, including witchcraft, for which the death penalty was enacted. In 1631, fearing Puritan encroachment, the Pilgrims obtained a second patent from the Council of New England (the successor of the old Plymouth Company of 1606), which defined their boundaries more accurately. These acts were those of a people endowed with a sense of self-government.

Religious Toleration. Toleration was not a Pilgrim doctrine. It was not for this that they braved sea and wilderness, but to maintain in peace their own brand of worship. However, Plymouth was not in the main a persecuting colony. Only a few incorrigible dissenters were driven forth. Roger Williams, despite his nonconformity, was treated well enough. Bradford agreed that Williams's teachings were beneficial and that his sharp reproofs were merited, while his controversial nature

called for the prayers of the charitable. Quakers, or Friends, were banished and scourged; but none were hanged, as in Boston. Myles Standish was never a member of the Church, though it is doubtful if his possible Catholicity could have been suspected. It would be an injustice to the Pilgrim Fathers to suggest that they would knowingly have countenanced a "papist" in their midst, for to them that would have been sinful toleration.

With the Pilgrim view Thomas Morton of Merrymount would not agree. His settlement, though outside the Plymouth limits, was therefore captured and destroyed by Standish as a gathering place for unmoral characters who debauched the Indians with liquor and traded guns for furs. Morton was deported to England, where he testified before the British Council that the Separatists were annoyed by the Anglican worship practiced in his settlement and his honest profits in the fur trade. At any rate, his attitude as a religious sufferer gained a hearing, and the destruction of his settlement proved not unnaturally a stumbling-block in Pilgrim affairs.

Later Years. Plymouth's relations with the French were unfriendly, but Massachusetts Bay refused aid against the French posts in Maine because of a boundary dispute with Plymouth. Plymouth joined the Federation of New England, later set up under Andros, and finally lost its separate identity on royal incorporation with Massachusetts (1691). Its direct contribution was small, yet, historically, Plymouth was important as the first colony in New England and the second English settlement in America. Its influence on the neighboring colony was large. There is a lesson in the thrift, industry, integrity, courage, and the self-proclaimed godliness of its people for America of today. Plymouth stood for a certain idealism or, as its opponents might say, fanaticism.

References

C. M. ANDREWS, *The Fathers of New England* (Chronicles), pp. 1-21; EDWARD EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*, pp. 141-188; R. G. THWAITES, *The Colonies*, pp. 113-124; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 167-174, 340-365.

Bibliography

EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 271-321; WILLIAM BRADFORD, *History of Plimoth Plantation*; J. A. GOODWIN, *The Pilgrim Republic*; R. G. USHER, *The Pilgrims and their History*; J. T. ADAMS, *The Founding of New England*, pp. 86-117; L. G. TYLER, *England in America*; JOHN FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 50-87; H. L. OSGOOD, *Colonies*, Vol. I, pp. 98-137. (In seven scholarly volumes Professor H. L. Osgood describes the colonial period. As they are advanced, few references are made to them.)

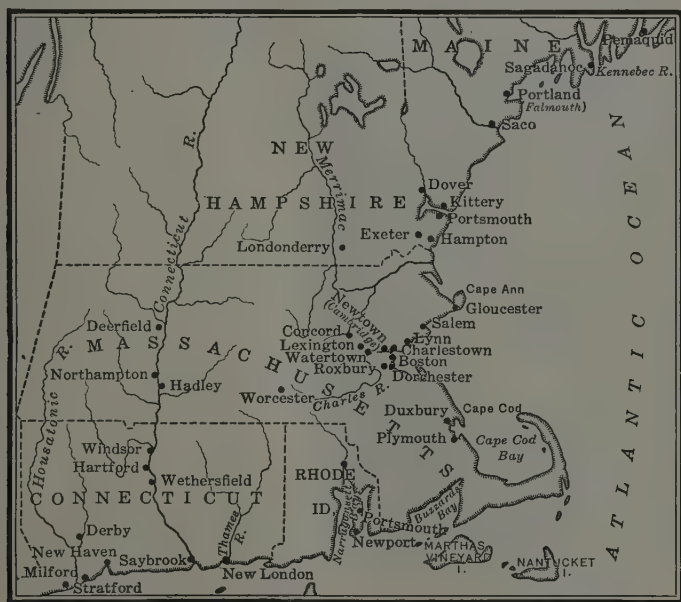
4. THE FOUNDING AND EXPANSION OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

English Puritans. The Puritans were falling on evil times. Archbishop William Laud, a devout man of intolerant orthodoxy, became the dominant power in the Anglican Church and most influential with the king. He would enforce conformity with the State Church, and the instruments of persecution were at hand. The day of compromise had passed. No longer would ministers of doubtful Anglicanism be tolerated in pulpits where they might undermine the Established Church and the Thirty-nine Articles of faith. Laud rightfully deprived such men of their livings and drove them from cover into frank nonconformity and open Puritanism. Those of their lay followers who honestly refused to conform, take the oaths, and accept the sacraments according to the Established Church, found themselves subject to fines and various political disabilities. The Laudian persecution reached its height during the decade of the great migration to New England (1630-1640).

While Laud was making his name synonymous with religious persecution, Charles I was aiming to force his will on Parliament. He was aware that political radicals were Puritans in religion, and that Puritanism was essentially a religious and political party with a platform hostile to the Established Church and to divine-right theories of the kingship. It had become more than a protest against the practices of the old Church. It represented radicalism against Church of England conservatism in religion and government. Political oppression followed. Puritans were glad to

migrate; and even some of their leaders, including Cromwell and Hampden, were reputedly about to sail for America before the English Civil War broke out and Puritanism was on the rise.

Early Settlements and Boston. Several tiny settlements — Rye, Dover, York, Saco, Salem, Weymouth, Buzzards Bay, and Merrymount (Quincy) — had been founded by 1628, when John



EARLY NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS

Endicott and his associates were granted the lands between the Charles and Merrimac rivers and thence westward to the Pacific Ocean. The following year this grant was confirmed by the king, and the associates organized as the Massachusetts Bay Company. Soon the Puritan leaders agreed to remove to New England. The charter, with governing powers, was transferred to those migrating. John Winthrop, a gentleman with large estates who had studied at Cambridge, was named the governor, and as such ruled and molded the new colony. Plans were soon

completed, and a fleet brought 2000 immigrants to Salem and Boston in 1630. Despite a severe winter with heavy loss of life, the colonists were sustained by the friendly Pilgrims and neighboring Indians until spring brought supply ships.

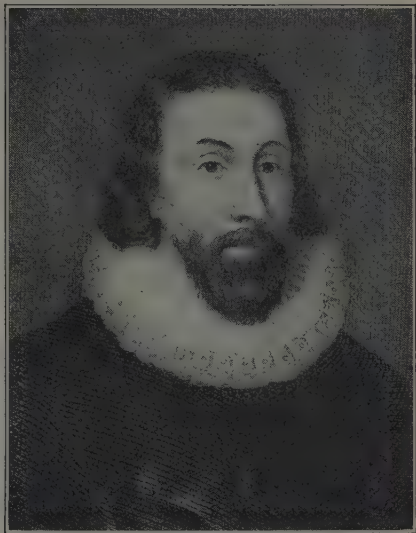
The Great Migration. By 1641 three hundred vessels bearing 20,000 colonists had arrived. Twenty-two new settlements were planted, — among them Roxbury, Charlestown, Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown (Cambridge), — each with its own covenant, minister, teacher, and meetinghouse. Migrations from crowded older towns were often congregations led by a popular preacher, who thus founded a new town. Indian rights were at times purchased, but more frequently smallpox had destroyed the Indians, leaving the land free to be used by the colonists.

A large percentage of the settlers were nominally Puritans, though at no time were over a fifth of the inhabitants registered members of the various town-established congregations. Some came to avoid persecution and to found a church more to their liking. Others came for political reasons, but probably the bulk of the immigrants came to improve their material condition. In growing up with a new country, men with no future in crowded England might become landowners and persons of consequence. Some were indentured servants with freedom but a few years distant. Few were of the gentry, and about one man in forty was college-bred. They represented the sturdy English laboring and lower-middle classes.

The Government. The rule of the Bay Colony was lodged in a dozen resident stockholders of the Massachusetts Bay Company, who named the governor and magistrates. It was their intent to retain control, for they believed in democracy even less than in religious toleration. This rule by a small group of ministers and leaders soon aroused popular opposition. The settlers demanded a reading of the charter that they might know its provisions. More men, as a result, were given the vote, and the company's general court became a representative single chamber with two elected delegates from each town. This was after Watertown had protested against taxation without representation. In a general meeting of the freemen the governor,

deputy governor, and assistants were elected by ballot. And the legislature (meeting as two chambers after 1644) passed laws, levied taxes, and allotted lands. The new voters were able to defeat Winthrop for the governorship for two years, but he regained control and held office until his death (1649).

The Suffrage. The right to vote was confined to church members approved by the ministers of the various towns. This restricted the suffrage to a minority which could be controlled by the small governing group. Bad enough in the beginning, when the leaders were abler than their successors of the second and third generations, this restriction grew worse as the number of non-church members increased and as the Episcopalians became numerous and wealthy. It was indeed strange that a colony bound to rule in accord with its charter and the laws of England should withhold political rights and suffrage from members of the Church of England.



JOHN WINTHROP

Mr. James T. Adams is quite correct when he writes: "The Puritan, at least, was no more a believer in the political rights of an individual, as such, or in democracy, than in religious toleration, and the leaders in Massachusetts denounced both with equal vehemence."

The Town Congregation. The unit of local government was the town. It was a compact, easily protected settlement around a "green," or "common," which served as a site for the meeting-house and cemetery and as common pasturage. Building lots were granted according to a resident's social position. The

chief men lived opposite the green, or open square. Even seating in the church was so arranged. The meetinghouse served for religious purposes, town meetings, and as an arsenal for military supplies.

Each town housed one congregation, though later clerical disagreements resulted in additional congregations and meeting-houses within the enlarged town. Each congregation had its own covenant signed by members, determined its creed or platform within limits, and called a minister of its choice; though in practice the leading men of the congregation determined all policies. Thus Puritanism in Massachusetts followed the Separatist ideas of Plymouth and came to be described as Congregationalism. It was a democratic church rule, but both minister and members were liable to expulsion if their interpretation of doctrine differed from that of the majority of the congregation. The minister was a real power who often molded the congregation after his own mind in secular as well as religious affairs. And the chief minister of Boston occupied a strategic pulpit, hence his unusual influence in colonial matters.

The church and minister were supported out of the town treasury. Thus every resident, regardless of creed, paid a tax to the town-established church. The minister and magistrates decided who were voting citizens. They censored the morals, habits, dress, pleasures, and customs of the inhabitants; maintained law and order; and supplemented the common law with ordinances drawn from the Old Testament. They built a dangerously rigid system. In their reaction against such supervision, settlers were not infrequently lax in morals, intemperate in drinking, and heretical in belief. It was a natural protest against theocracy, or a state governed by an established ministry. It is difficult to enforce morality by legislation and a spy system.

The Town Meeting. Held in the church or town hall, the town meeting was a gathering of all the freeholders who had the voting privilege. It was not democratic in our sense, but it was exceedingly liberal in many ways for that age. Town officers were elected, taxes were levied and apportioned, schools were main-

tained, and ordinances were adopted by the voters. In local affairs the town was self-governing. Throughout New England history (for the other colonies copied this feature) the town meeting served as a school of democracy and practical politics, where town politicians and orators held sway on the issues of the day.

Education and Schools. In education the Bay Colony made a remarkable contribution. Her early leaders were educated men. They were interested in primary schools so that the people might read the Bible, and in higher schools as seminaries for the ministry. Primary schools were established immediately. The still famous Boston Latin School and Harvard College (1636) soon followed. Thus within six years there was an educational system, from the reading and writing, or dame, school extending through the college. A law of 1642 required that every child be taught to read, and in a few years it was ordered that villages must support an elementary school, and towns of a hundred families a grammar school. While this regulation could not be enforced because of the unwillingness and poverty of some towns, the principle was admirable.

The town controlled and supported its own schools, while the college was maintained by colonial grants, tuition, and gifts. The primary school was usually taught by an approved mistress, while the grammar school was directed by the minister or a godly man of his selection. It was a Congregational school system, supported out of the town tax and allotted school lands. And this it continued to be until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. Non-Congregationalists were displeased with the teaching of such schools, but their protests were unheard. Schools were public only in the sense that the poor were relieved of fees. This put a slight taint upon the children of the poor, which was far better, however, than the utter neglect which they suffered in the Southern colonies. This system was copied by all the New England colonies save Rhode Island, and served as a model for our later public-school system. As a result, nearly every male New Englander could read and write,

and nowhere was there less illiteracy. Little provision beyond the dame school, however, was made for colonial girls even of the better classes.

Lack of Religious Toleration. The founders of Massachusetts established their own particular creed and system of church government. They came there to avoid Anglicanism, not to establish religious toleration. To them toleration was sinful, an evidence of decaying faith in divine truth. They erected a Bible commonwealth, and men who were at odds with their theocratic government were not wanted. If opponents remained silent and law-abiding, they were allowed to stay. If they challenged the system or threatened an appeal to England, they were fined, whipped, put in the stocks, shorn of an ear, branded, or deported in chains. Professor Andrews writes :

The Massachusetts system had thus become not a constitutional government based upon the best liberal thought in England of that day, but a narrow oligarchy in which the political order was determined according to a rigid interpretation of theology. This excessive theocratic concentration of power resulted in driving from the colony many of its best men.

In much the same tone Mr. Adams observes :

The voices that had pleaded for religious toleration, for civil liberty, and for a religion of love, were silenced. The intellectual life of the colony ceased to be troubled and entered into peace, but it was the peace of death. The struggle for civil freedom did go on, and in that alone lay the sole contribution of the colony to the cause of human progress ; for the almost complete suppression of free speech and free inquiry surrendered the intellectual life of Massachusetts more and more to the steadily narrowing theology.

Persecutions. Some individuals were sent back to England for using the Book of Common Prayer and holding Anglican services. Several were expelled on moral charges as "unmeet to inhabit here." Dr. Child was persecuted for demanding toleration for Presbyterians, and departed for London ; yet Presbyterianism was the nearest approach to Puritanism. The

high-minded reformer and one-time governor, Sir Harry Vane, disapproved of the narrow rule and returned to England, where he died a Puritan martyr for his part in the king's execution. Puritan opinion in England was expressed by Sir George Downing, a cousin of the Winthrops, "the law of banishing for conscience, which makes us stinke everywhere." Puritans were actually migrating to other colonies. A synod at Cambridge condemned eighty heresies. Endicott in his fanaticism cut the cross out of the British flag. Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke, Puritan nobles, gave up the idea of emigrating to Massachusetts. The former rebuked Winthrop's defense, "for what you say of the church not compatable with another frame of government, I pray putt away that error . . . the church beinge wholly spirritual, can subsist with any forme of outward government." It is said that they could not obtain colonial recognition of their titles, and hence remained in England. Some hold that this accounts for the lack of titles and titled persons in the colonies — this democratic opposition to nobility and its trappings. Later these lords financed a plantation at Saybrook (a combination of their names), which became a part of Connecticut. Persecution was most bitter for Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and the Quakers.

According to Mr. Adams, "This discord put a terrible strain on the colony and one marvels that it weathered the storm. Only an iron discipline that knew neither charity nor tolerance could have successfully resisted the attacks on the standing order."

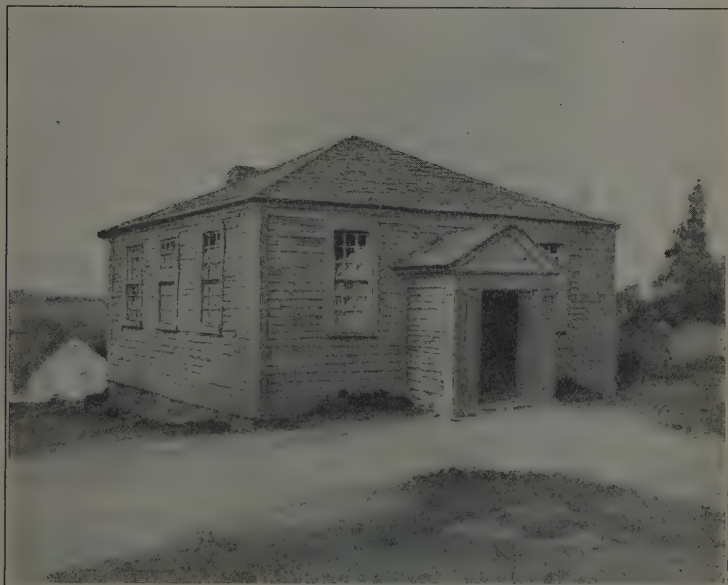
When the narrow-minded Endicott came into power on the deaths of Winthrop and Cotton (1649), he struck more viciously at the Quakers, who had entered the sacred colony despite laws of exclusion. The death penalty was enacted for Quakers and ranters who returned after conviction and banishment. Yet their number increased despite deportations, burning of books, whipping at the cart's tail, and mutilations, until, as a terrifying lesson, four poor Friends, including a woman, were hanged. The other Puritan colonies stopped short of exacting the death

penalty, though they passed acts of exclusion which were vigorously enforced. The Quakers sought and found a refuge in Maryland and later in their own colony of Pennsylvania.

Expulsion of Rhode Island's Founders. Williams was a saintly minister, but erratic, opinionated, and self-assertive. Such a one could not follow John Cotton and the intolerant divines of Boston, who assumed infallibility in expounding doctrines and morals. Williams questioned the legality of the government, the civil rights of ministers, land titles by royal grant without payment to the Indians, and the general treatment of the natives. The last was a sensitive point; for missionary work was not stressed, save by the saintly John Eliot, who labored among the natives and translated the Bible into their dialect. Excommunicated and about to be deported to England, Williams, under cover of a wintry night, fled southward to the more humane savages, who received him as a friend in distress. Purchasing land, he established Providence as a refuge for such Massachusetts men as followed him into the promised land (1635-1636).

Anne Hutchinson was an even greater thorn in the side of the orthodox rulers. A clever woman of active mind and tongue, she gained many friends because of her charity to the distressed. But she criticized the ministry and arrived at a different interpretation of their chosen texts. Soon she was accused of evolving her own creed and urging female teachers of the Gospel. That of being a modernist was probably the most severe charge which could honestly be laid at the good woman's door. She was persecuted and publicly examined by ministers, and finally excommunicated. Her supporters were fined, disfranchised, and disarmed. She too journeyed with a number of followers to Rhode Island and established Portsmouth. Later she was killed by savages, but her old enemy Winthrop complacently noted her fate as an act of God's justice. Coddington and his banished friends settled Newport (1639), and Samuel Gorton, an early transcendentalist who was saved from death by the Puritan Earl of Warwick, founded a town which he named in honor of his benefactor. Thus Massachusetts intolerance served a good purpose in the expansion of New England.

Rhode Island. Founded by radicals and heretics, Rhode Island gave religious toleration to all Protestants at least. For this, Roger Williams as a prophet of religious freedom stands out in bold relief. Here there were no established church, no compulsory attendance at worship, and no tithes for religious support. As Williams became a Baptist, that sect grew in importance,



AN EARLY COLONIAL SCHOOLHOUSE

though it never controlled politics. Williams's successors were not so liberal; for Catholics were disfranchised by law (1719), though there were few in the colony before the Revolution.

Lands were purchased from the Narragansets, but the settlers had no English title until a patent was procured in 1644. They were squatters over whom Massachusetts claimed authority. The government was mild, democratic, and republican in type. A president, one councilor for each of the four towns, and a lower chamber were all elected by the landholders. The voters admitted or rejected new immigrants and managed the disposal of lands. Because

of town rivalries, there was no fixed capital. The assembly met in various towns, finally in Providence and Newport alternately.

A formal charter was granted by Charles II (1663), which guaranteed religious toleration and current principles of democ-



MEMORIAL STATUE OF ROGER WILLIAMS,
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

cracy. The governor, deputy, and ten assistants, all elected, administered the colony and served as an upper chamber. The towns, according to size, sent from two to six representatives to the lower house. The colony grew slowly, but the inhabitants were contented. Indeed the charter was retained with but few changes until 1842.

The Connecticut River Towns. Discontent with the Massachusetts system and desire for more fertile lands caused a migration to the rich Connecticut River bottoms. A group settled Springfield (1636), which sadly enough proved to lie within the western limits of the Bay Colony. Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford were founded

respectively by John Haynes, a former governor of Massachusetts Bay, by Roger Ludlow, a past deputy governor, and by Thomas Hooker, a divine who preached that the right of government lay in the people, at least in the chosen people. In 1639 the "Fundamental Orders" were adopted. They comprised

a covenant setting up a government more liberal than that of Massachusetts, though less democratic than that of Rhode Island. There was no religious test for voting, though in practice only recognized members of the favored church were given the vote. In time the number of voters decreased, and power became centered in the hands of the chief freeholders. The governor, who had to be a church member and former magistrate, was elected by the freeholders, as were the two representatives of each town in the assembly. The "Fundamental Orders" was the first constitution drawn up in America.

New Haven. The founders of New Haven were pious men of commerce. John Davenport was a radical Puritan, driven from his pulpit by Archbishop Laud. Theophilus Eaton was a London merchant. Landing in Boston with two shiploads of settlers, they learned of the lands on the shore of Long Island Sound. Boston was not too narrow but rather too lax for these Calvinists, who desired a pure Bible commonwealth with the Mosaic Law as its guide. Hence some by water and others by land (a fortnight's journey) made their way to the Quinnipiac River, where they purchased Indian lands for a few trinkets and established the town of New Haven (1638). They erected Center Church which, remodeled, still stands in the midst of the "Green," or park, as the center of Congregational life, though the pasture and graveyard have long ago disappeared. In time religious disturbances and growth of the congregation led to the establishment of other Congregational societies and meeting-houses, as Puritans insisted on calling their places of worship. Town and church were long identical. Eaton was named governor by the twelve elders, or founders, and seven godly pillars were appointed to aid the preacher in ruling the ecclesiastical society. Only freeholders who were members of the church were made voters. There was no toleration and little personal freedom. There was a harsh code of law, dreary preaching of long sermons, and a close supervision of morals and pleasures. While the so-called Blue Laws were grossly misrepresented by a biased Tory master, who coined this name for them, the laws enforced were "blue" enough to give some basis to his charges.

New towns were established at Milford, Stamford, and Guilford, in Connecticut, and Southold on Long Island, by settlers who desired more lands and a separate religious society with a preacher of their liking. A representative assembly was provided to which each town sent two delegates who were chosen by the voters in town meeting along with the numerous local officials.

Connecticut Charter of 1662. On application through its London agent, John Winthrop, Jr., Connecticut obtained a royal charter which united the river towns and New Haven under one government. New Haven was in bad grace at court because of complaints against her intolerance and the illegal protection which her people gave to the refugee Puritan regicides Dixwell, Whalley, and Goffe, who were under death sentence in England. Their refuge, when hard pressed, was a wolf's cave in the rocks on a wooded bluff about three miles from New Haven, which is now one of the points of historical interest in the city. Though bitterly dissatisfied, New Haven accepted the situation, for it was better than possible absorption into worldly and Anglican New York. Her identity was not entirely lost, for until fifty years ago, Connecticut had a dual capital in Hartford and New Haven. Also her people were noted for their steadfast Puritanism in a colony celebrated for adherence to the steady habits and somber faith of its fathers.

The charter was a liberal acceptance by the crown of the existing forms and institutions. The governor, deputy, and assistants, who also composed the upper house, were elected by the freeholders, and two representatives were selected for the lower house by the voters of each town. Office-holders were usually Congregationalists, and in practice the suffrage was confined to owners of property worth forty shillings a year who were approved by minister and magistrate. Connecticut, like Rhode Island, was essentially a self-governing republic. There was little English interference in its affairs, partly because of its economic unimportance in the empire. At any rate, the form of government remained quite unchanged until 1818, so satisfied were the citizens of the ruling class.

New England Confederation. A confederation, or loose union, of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven was established in 1643 for mutual protection against the Indians and the neighboring French and Dutch settlements. It is doubtful if the motherland favored such a union; but as England was in the throes of the Civil War, the colonies felt free to do as they pleased. They were wise in so doing, for England would have been unable to defend them if occasion had arisen. Each colony signing the compact elected two commissioners annually. Maine and Rhode Island were not admitted because of administrative and religious differences. With the tolerant schismatics of Providence and Newport the Puritan colonies would not act. Let the Indians harass such people at will, the more orthodox would have cried. Six commissioners were empowered to manage Indian affairs, order military expeditions, return escaped criminals and indentured servants who had run away in defiance of their contracts, and arbitrate colonial disputes. Equal representation proved objectionable to Massachusetts Bay, which had no greater voice than Plymouth, though it was larger than the other three colonies combined and furnished men and money on the basis of population. Yet this principle of representation was retained to the cost of every later attempt at colonial union, and is seen in our present national Senate, with two senators from every state, regardless of population. The Confederation served its purpose and lasted until the days of Governor Andros. It is important as the first attempt at united colonial action.

King Philip's War. The Indians of New England kept the peace for nearly forty years after the Pequots, trying to protect their Connecticut valley hunting lands (1637), had been mercilessly wiped out even to their women and children. The natives had been taught a terrible lesson, which the threatening military strength of the Confederation helped them to remember. Inevitable war finally broke out again with massacres, when Philip, son of the friendly old Massasoit, allied the Wampanoags, Narragansets, and Mohegans in a general uprising against the palefaces (1675). It was the last desperate stand of the Indians to hold the lands of their fathers which the settlers were seizing

or buying from drunken chiefs for a few worthless trinkets. The struggle lasted three years, when finally the Indians' able leader was killed and their power broken by Colonel Church, a famous Indian-fighter who commanded the Confederation's levies.

The New Englanders suffered heavy losses; twelve towns were destroyed and some forty villages suffered raids; a thousand men were killed in battle; and crops were destroyed to the



A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

From a painting by John Ward Dunsmore. (Courtesy of the Title Guarantee and Trust Company, New York)

extent that only grain imported from Virginia prevented starvation. The Indians were decimated, for the settlers scalped and massacred as cruelly as the red men and more effectively, and famine and disease followed the war. Some Indians escaped westward, but the few thousands who remained lived on small reservations. The red man was no longer a menace to New England settlement.

Maine and New Hampshire. In 1622 Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason obtained a patent of lands from the Merrimac

River to the Kennebec River. Gorges took the eastern part, or Maine, and Mason the western section, or New Hampshire. Both men were hostile to Massachusetts because of conflicting land claims; but not long after the death of Mason, Massachusetts (1639) took over the settlements at Dover, Exeter, and Hampton. Fishing centers, established at Saco and Portsmouth by Gorges and his son, were secretly and illegally sold by their heirs to Massachusetts for £1250 (1679). Thus Maine lost her identity until admitted as a state in 1820, though New Hampshire became a separate royal colony as a first step in disciplining the too independent Bay Colony (1679).

The Loss of the Massachusetts Charter. From the beginning Massachusetts had shown a rugged spirit of independence and a marked hostility to English control. The complaints of persecuted groups and of Gorges and Mason were under investigation by the Privy Council. Anglicans charged that they were persecuted, unable to build churches, and not allowed to vote or hold office. Naturally regarding themselves as the most loyal subjects and as members of the Church established by British law, they felt that their rights should be safeguarded by the mother country. There was likelihood of royal interference, and assuredly there was sufficient reason. Worried, the colony prepared for defense by raising militia and fortifying Castle Island in the harbor. It was a ludicrous but serious situation, this handful of settlers throwing down the gauntlet to Old England. Danger of intervention passed away as the Civil War commenced and Cromwell gained control. The New World Puritans, now in favor, were allowed undue freedom under the Protectorate.

The new generation felt little personal loyalty to England; its native land was America. Unpopular English laws were not enforced. Trade regulations were disobeyed. Royal orders to preserve the king's woods and especially trees suitable for masts and ship timbers were ignored. The Confederation illegally assumed functions like those of a sovereign state. Indians were mistreated and punished by enslavement despite the gentle Eliot's protests. Money, the pine-tree shilling, for example, was

coined quite contrary to British law. New Hampshire had been seized. The most rabid Puritans denied that laws of England applied to the American colonies. After the Restoration it was long before the oath of allegiance to Charles II was enforced.

In 1676 Edmund Randolph was sent to investigate numerous charges. He found the leaders disingenuous if not dishonest and bent on maintaining the intolerant, oligarchic rule of a small minority. One fifth of the people taxed and oppressed four fifths, who had no means of protest. Even the press was censored. There could be no criticism of ministers and officials. As a result of the investigation, the colony was ordered to obey the Navigation Acts, grant toleration to all save Catholics, and allow all property-holders to vote. Randolph, as collector of customs, was unable to prevent the widespread smuggling and the illicit West Indian trade. In every respect the ruling party refused to obey. Thereupon, in 1684 the old charter was withdrawn by the crown, and for a time Massachusetts was a royal colony.

Dominion of New England. The crown was aroused by the American spirit of independence and violation of the trading acts. An onslaught was made against representative government. Sir Edmund Andros had writs to seize the charters of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, and the Jerseys. According to legend, Connecticut's charter was about to be delivered when a patriot extinguished the assembly lights and hid the precious document in a hollow tree — the Charter Oak of story. Troubles in England, which prevented immediate enforcement of the plan, alone saved the charters. Andros was made governor of New England and later of New York and the Jerseys, with appointed advisers from the various colonies but no representative assembly. This plan of union, so different from the colonial scheme, represented the autocratic Stuart ideal.

Andros was a loyal servant of the king, and as such was regarded as a black despot by colonials. He was even accused of "popery." He made laws, administered the government, levied taxes, appointed friends to the council, exacted quitrents for new lands, fined the men of Ipswich for refusing to pay taxes, licensed school-teachers, and controlled judges and the courts

of justice. Moreover, Andros favored the English Church and seized land for the projected King's Chapel. The present structure, the second King's Chapel on the spot, was erected in 1754. For this action there was justification, for the colony had refused a permit for an Anglican church. Andros annoyed good Calvinists by celebrating Christmas, the anniversary of the death of Charles I, and above all the birth of James's infant son and Catholic heir to the throne (1688).

The Stuart period was soon ended when the "Bloodless Revolution" placed on the throne James's Protestant son-in-law and daughter, William of Orange and Mary. Divine right of kings gave way to parliamentary supremacy. The colonials rose in revolt; Andros and Randolph were imprisoned for a year and then shipped to England. Massachusetts placed its old rulers in power and petitioned for the reissue of its charter.

The Charter of 1691. Massachusetts hoped for a self-governing system like that of her southern neighbors, but obtained a compromise charter. The governor appointed by the king approved the laws and ratified the selection of councilors made by the assembly. The assembly represented the property-holders of the towns. Toleration for Protestants was ordered but was never granted in full, though sectarian tests for voting were practically abolished. This half-way royal system was a blow to the ruling Congregational order, but did not destroy its power, which outlasted the American Revolution. The authority of king and governor in the face of popular opposition and an independent assembly was never complete or unchallenged.

References

C. M. ANDREWS, *The Fathers of New England* (Chronicles); EDWARD EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*, pp. 188-216, 266-346; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 313-516; R. G. THWAITES, *Colonies*, pp. 124-177.

Bibliography

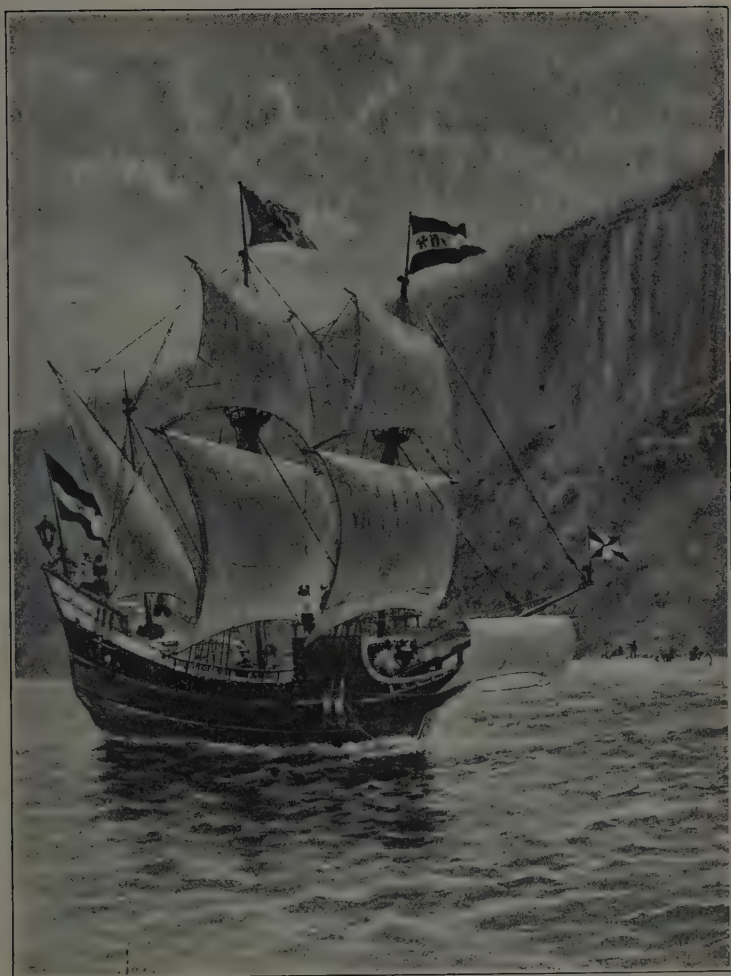
H. E. BOLTON and T. M. MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 135-159, 189-194; EDWARD CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 322-437; JOHN FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, pp. 88-278; JOHN WINTHROP, *Journal*; H. L. OSGOOD, *Colonies*, Vol. I, pp. 141-467; J. T. ADAMS, *The Founding of New England*; L. G. TYLER, *England in America*, pp. 183-

327; C. M. ANDREWS, *Colonial Self-Government*; C. F. ADAMS, *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*; J. G. PALFREY, *History of New England*; RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of the Republic*; D. W. HOWE, *The Puritan Republic*; IRVING B. RICHMAN, *Rhode Island*; PAUL E. LAUER, *Church and State in New England*; VIOLA F. BARNES, *The Dominion of New England*; SUSAN REED, *Church and State in Massachusetts*; A. P. NEWTON, *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*; W. B. WEEDEN, *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. I; T. G. WRIGHT, *Literary Culture in Early New England*.

5. NEW NETHERLAND, NEW YORK, AND PENN'S COLONY

Voyage of Henry Hudson (1609). Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed his ship, the *Half Moon*, into a spacious harbor and landed on the island of Manhattan, which was sprinkled with a few Indian villages. To the Indians his boat appeared first as an apparition of one of their manitos, but this did not prevent their attack. Silenced by cannon shot, the Indians retired; and Hudson continued up the river, passing the highlands and the Catskills as far as modern Albany. Thereupon, he returned, never again to visit the picturesque Hudson River, which he actually discovered, although Verrazano, Estevan Gómez, and possibly Sebastian Cabot may have entered the lower bay. Thus Holland gained her foothold in America.

First Dutch Settlements. Amsterdam merchants, who were given a trading monopoly as the West India Company to govern the new lands, established a lucrative fur trade. Fort Orange was erected; Staten Island was settled; Manhattan was purchased for about twenty-four dollars' worth of trinkets (1626); posts were built on the Delaware; and settlements were established near Hartford on the Connecticut River, at Brooklyn on Long Island, Flatbush, Flushing, and Gravesend, and at Hoboken on the west bank of the Hudson. A number of Protestant Walloons came as religious exiles from modern Belgium. Slaves were introduced. Agriculture and stock-raising were encouraged. The hardy, stolid burghers proved good colonizing material. The city of New Amsterdam on the point of Manhattan Island



HUDSON IN THE *HALF MOON*, PASSING THE PALISADES

Courtesy of the artist, H. A. Ogden

flourished with its fort, governor's house, wharves at the Battery, Bowling Green, and its high wooden wall (Wall Street) as a barricade against Indian assaults.

Patroons and Manorial Lords. Large grants of land were made to each leader who established fifty adult settlers. This encouraged colonization. Some of these holdings stretched for sixteen miles along one bank of the Hudson or eight miles along both banks and as far inland as desirable. Staten Island was held by the Melyn family; the Phillipses owned the region about Tarrytown; Van Cortlandt held 85,000 acres surrounding a stone mansion which still stands in a New York park bearing his name; the Schuylers ruled over a tremendous acreage. Van Rensselaer's manor, comprising three modern counties about Albany, was visited by Father Jogues, S. J. (1643), who described its miserable condition, poor fort, and its hundred unhappy inhabitants in scattered huts and dugouts along the river front. Life on the manors was hard for the peasants as well as for the indentured servants and slaves. They were ruled in feudal fashion by the patroon or his agent. Taxes in kind were heavy, yet the early patroons were dissatisfied with the profits of the manors as compared with the greater earnings of city merchants.

On the English seizure of the colony the rights of the patroons were guaranteed and new manors were created for Englishmen. For instance, Robert Livingston, one of the best-known manorial lords, was assigned several thousand acres across from the Catskills. As the colony became settled, the lords acquired wealth and lived in princely fashion. However, feudalism was out of place in the New World, and small proprietors soon predominated. Yet the aristocracy of merchants and lords of the manor controlled the political life of the colony state for two hundred years.

Government of New Netherland. An appointed governor ruled the colony, and the settlers were without any voice. Captain Mey, who explored the coast and gave his name to Cape May, was followed by Peter Minuit, a stern ruler who conciliated the Indians, organized the fur trade, purchased

Manhattan Island, and built Fort Amsterdam. Angered by his recall, he quit the Dutch Company and, entering Swedish service, returned to vex the colony and advance New Sweden. Van Twiller, whose wife was of the Van Rensselaer family, and Kieft followed, and then the stout soldier Peter Stuyvesant. Autocratic, harsh, and loyal to the company, he outraged the Indians and alienated popular support. He was a religious tyrant and persecuted the Quakers, though previously, under the established Dutch Reformed Church, Protestants of various persuasions had lived in harmony. It had been the tolerance of religious indifference and of lack of concern for everything but agriculture and the rich fur trade with the Iroquois. Unlike the Dutch of the motherland, the Dutch in New Netherland gave little thought to education.

Foundation and Capture of New Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus planned a Swedish colony in America, but his entrance into the Thirty Years' War prevented the attempt. After his death the regent sent Minuit with fifty colonists to establish a post on the Delaware. Lands were purchased from the natives, and Fort Christina (1638) was built in honor of the young queen, daughter of the great Protestant hero and herself a Catholic convert. The colony did not prosper. Sweden had lost her high place and almost retired from European history. Fort Christina (near the site of Wilmington) and Fort Casimir (New Castle) soon fell into the hands of Stuyvesant (1655), and New Sweden disappeared from the New World. The Swedes at best numbered only about two hundred souls and soon merged in the neighboring population.

The Arrival of the English. Commercial rivalry resulted in a series of three wars between England and Holland, which ruined the latter as a great trading nation and ended its career in America. In 1650 the men of Connecticut secured the Dutch fort near Hartford and made good their control over the western section of Long Island. Peace was negotiated before the expedition against New Amsterdam was ready; but in 1664, during the second war, it was captured by Colonel Nicolls with English ships and Yankee militiamen. England, basing

her claims on the doubtful discoveries of Cabot, had always regarded the Dutch as interlopers. This violated her declaration, made in the case of Spanish contentions, that exploration without colonization could not be recognized as a true land claim. The burghers and peasants displayed no loyalty to the Dutch governor. Stuyvesant might wrathfully pound with his wooden leg, but he was compelled to surrender without a shot.

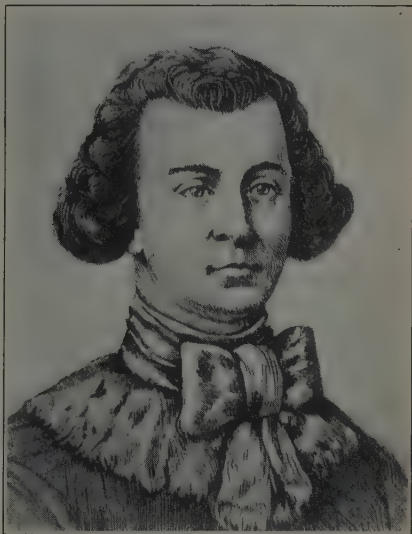


PETER STUYVESANT SURRENDERING NEW AMSTERDAM TO THE ENGLISH

English Rule. The Dutch colonists found their condition improved. Nicolls was a tactful ruler. The religion, customs, and land titles of the settlers were respected. Little change was noticeable. The colony was assigned to the Duke of York as proprietor. New Netherland became the colony of New York; New Amsterdam was christened New York; and Fort Orange was called Albany after another of the duke's titles. Most of the charming old names of towns and of streets remain even to this day, and the legends of the Hudson and its sleepy hamlets have been preserved. Something always escapes the conqueror, and traditions are long-lived. The Duke's Laws, compiled from the laws of New England, were less drastic than

the old code. Trial by jury was introduced. In the course of the third Anglo-Dutch war a Dutch fleet recaptured New York, but in the peace arrangements of the following year (1674) it was restored to British rule, apparently to the satisfaction of Dutch and English subjects alike.

Governor Thomas Dongan. The first outstanding English governor was Thomas Dongan, younger son of an Irish baronet, a colonel in the French service, a brother of the Earl of Limerick, a nephew of Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, and a loyal supporter and favorite of the duke. His rule was wise and tolerant. He cultivated good relations with the Indians, thus further attaching the Iroquois to the English in the future Anglo-French wars. He is credited with first realizing the necessity of establishing a colonial post and of building post roads connecting New York City with the Northern and Southern colonies. At any rate, the colonial post office may be dated from his time. He was empowered to call a representative assembly of eighteen delegates elected by the freeholders, which drew up a Charter of Liberties and Privileges (1683). This charter, as approved by James, established the principles of religious liberty, representative government, and civil rights, as described in the common law. On becoming king (1685), James, for unknown reasons, withdrew the charter, and New York became a royal colony. The seed of liberty had been planted, and popular discontent followed the loss of the charter. During Dongan's rule, religious freedom was guaranteed Catholics as well as Protestants,



THOMAS DONGAN

though under Dutch rule the former were not persecuted. Several Catholics of prominence appear: two on the council and a receiver of the port. The Jesuits established the first creditable Latin school in the colony and a Catholic chapel.

The Dominion of New England. As king, James II determined to establish a centralized royal control in America more in keeping with his personal government at home and the divine right theory of kingship. Representative government and Puritan independence had no place in his scheme. New York and the Jerseys were added to the New England colonies, with Edmund Andros as governor general. Andros was a Royalist and faithful servant. He was without tact, however, and was filled with an obstinate determination to carry out his master's will against all classes of the colonials, whom he held in low esteem. Usually he is painted in dark colors, for to colonials his name was synonymous with royal tyranny, and as the agent of a Catholic sovereign Andros was feared. It was actually believed by many that this Protestant was about to establish Catholicism as the creed of this Northern dominion. With the fall of James II the government of Andros ended. An uprising occurred in New York against his deputy, Nicholson, who in the fanatical panic was charged by his enemies with a plan to burn the city.

Jacob Leisler's Revolt. On the flight of Nicholson, Leisler, a wealthy German-born merchant, seized control. A popular leader, he convened an assembly, but faced the strong opposition of the Dutch and English aristocrats and of the small Catholic group. Failing to win the favor of William and Mary and the governorship, he refused to surrender the fort to the royal troops who had been sent to restore order after two years of his dictatorship. On the charge that he failed to recognize the authority of the newly appointed governor he was tried for treason and executed. Thus ended a movement which some historians regard as a struggle for representative government, and the career of a man for whom much sympathy has been shown.

The Jerseys. Closely associated with New York were the Jerseys. In 1664 the Duke of York ceded part of his territory to Lord Berkeley and to Sir George Carteret, former Royalist

governor of the Channel Island of Jersey, for which the new domain was named. Under the proprietors the colony was ruled by a governor and council and an elective assembly. Berkeley sold West Jersey to William Penn and several Quaker associates. Quaker interests later purchased East Jersey from Carteret's heirs (1682). Finally the colonies were united in the royal colony of New Jersey (1702). The settlers were largely Dutch, English Quakers, and New England refugees, with a large share of indentured servants. Religious freedom was granted Protestants of all sects, though the Church of England was supported by general taxation. The Quakers soon developed their own colony.

William Penn. Admiral Penn, conqueror of Spanish Jamaica in the West Indies under Cromwell, deserted the Puritan cause and aided in the Restoration, thus winning Stuart favor. To the disgust of this aristocratic Anglican, his son William, a student at Oxford, joined the lowly Society of Friends. The Quakers out-Puritaned the Puritans, for they carried private judgment to the extreme, rejected ministers and the sacraments, refused to pay tithes or perform military service, engaged in street preaching, advocated abolition of slavery and prison reform, and affected peculiar mannerisms in speech and dress. They were harassed by local authorities, fined, whipped at the cart's tail, imprisoned, and in a number of cases executed. For them there was no refuge in the British Isles, yet persecution only inspired their ardor anew and won converts. In America too they were most cruelly treated. Their founder, George Fox, considered removal



WILLIAM PENN

to the New World, and Penn became inflamed with the idea as he thought of Baltimore's venture and his own financial interest in New Jersey.

Founding of Pennsylvania. In lieu of a royal debt to his father Penn obtained a charter (1681) as lord proprietor of the vast region which the friendly sovereign called Pennsylvania (Penn's woods). The following year the Duke of York assigned him the Delaware settlements, which were usually described as



PENN'S COLONISTS ON THE DELAWARE

the three lower counties. Because of the dissatisfaction of its inhabitants, Delaware was made a separate colony, though controlled by the Penn family and administered by the governor of Pennsylvania with a locally elected legislature (1704). In other words, Pennsylvania and Delaware were separate colonies, with separate legislatures, but the same lord proprietor and governor. Penn's powers were large. He could make laws with the consent of the freemen, appoint all officials, distribute lands, raise military forces, and levy taxes. Laws must be submitted to the crown, and all parliamentary statutes, including the Navigation Acts, must be enforced. Penn arrived in his colony in 1682,

renamed the Swedish town Chester, and laid out Philadelphia, or the "City of Brotherly Love." Negotiations with the natives were conducted under the Treaty Elm, and so faithfully were they kept by the fair-dealing Friends that Penn's colony knew no Indian troubles until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. A boundary dispute with Baltimore could not be settled so easily. Indeed, it was not until 1767, when two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, ran the present line between Pennsylvania and Maryland that the difficulty between the two proprietary families was ended. This line later became significant as the dividing line between North and South, between the land of free labor and that of slave labor, in the great struggle in Congress over the slavery question and in the war between the states of the North and South.

Penn's Government. Penn was advanced in his belief in popular government, writing :

Governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments ; let men be good, and the government cannot be bad ; if it be ill they will cure it. . . . That, therefore, which makes a good constitution must keep it, that is, men of wisdom and virtue ; qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth. For liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.

After various experiments, there was adopted the "Charter of Privileges"(1701), which remained in force until the Revolution. A lieutenant governor and an advisory council appointed by the proprietor ruled in his name with the aid of a single legislative chamber which represented the freeholders. The rule was mild. Save for murder and treason, capital punishment was unknown. Oaths were not required, but affirmations according to the Quaker style took their place. Prisons were workhouses, not dungeons, as elsewhere. Children were trained in the trades. The first land was sold at a shilling an acre. Quit rents were only a shilling for a hundred acres, though later members of the Penn family grew wealthy from this source of revenue as the colony became settled.

Penn's Toleration. Like Calvert and Williams, Penn believed in toleration. While his primary object was to establish a refuge for Quakers, he hoped to grant religious freedom to all Christians who believed in God and the Blessed Trinity. Christians alone were allowed to take part in directing the governmental affairs of the colony, but Penn persecuted no man. His spirit ruled the colony under his successors, so that during the whole colonial era men of all faiths were nowhere so free as in Pennsylvania. Only here were Catholics allowed the right to vote and worship in their own public chapel.

Toleration and liberalism paid, and the colony advanced rapidly. English and Irish Quakers came, as well as Quakers from neighboring colonies. Welshmen arrived, establishing settlements at St. Davids, Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Merion, which retained their racial identity for several generations. Penn visited the German states and circulated advertising tracts with the idea of encouraging immigration. The unhappy Germans gave a ready ear to his promises of religious freedom and economic opportunity, for conditions in the lands ravaged during the Thirty Years' War were still desperate, and the ruling autocrats allowed no political freedom, even for those fortunate enough to escape the religious persecution of one party or another. As bad as the condition of the poor was in England, it was far worse in the German states, where the peasants were virtually serfs. After 1700, German Mennonites, mystics, and Lutherans from the Palatinate came to Pennsylvania in large numbers.

References

W. H. BENNETT, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York*; M. W. GOODWIN, *Dutch and English on the Hudson* (Chronicles); A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 517-547, 576-590; A. M. EARLE, *Colonial Days in Old New York*; WASHINGTON IRVING, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*; W. E. GRIFFIS, *Story of New Netherland*; R. G. THWAITES, *The Colonies*, pp. 196-217. For Pennsylvania, see: S. G. FISHER, *The Quaker Colonies* (Chronicles), pp. 1-36; T. K. SMITH, *The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, pp. 1-46; A. B. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. I, pp. 548-566; S. G. FISHER, *The True William Penn*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. I, pp. 438-484; L. G. TYLER, *England in America*; J. F. JAMESON (Ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland*; H. E. BOLTON and T. M. MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 164-178, 196 ff.; JOHN FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (2 vols.); F. J. ZWIERLEIN, *Religion in New Netherland*, also article in *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 186 ff.; J. H. INNES, *New Amsterdam and its People*; E. P. TANNER, *The Province of New Jersey*; E. M. BACON, *Henry Hudson*; THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *New York*; E. H. ROBERTS, *New York*; M. J. LAMB, *History of the City of New York*; SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER, *History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols.). For Pennsylvania, see: W. T. ROOT, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*; R. M. JONES, *Quakers in the American Colonies*; W. C. BRAITHWAITE, *Beginnings of Quakerism*; S. G. FISHER, *Making of Pennsylvania*, also *Pennsylvania, Colony and Commonwealth*; L. O. KUHN, *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*; THOMAS HODGKIN, *George Fox*; S. M. JANEY, *Penn*; JOHN FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; R. W. KELSEY, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

I. NEW ENGLAND

Expansion of Old Settlements. In 1690 New England was only a settled fringe on the coast and along river valleys. Danger of Indian and French raids and the lack of means of transportation and good roads prevented the early settlement of the interior. By 1763 western Massachusetts was developing, Connecticut and Rhode Island were fully settled, Maine was almost unoccupied, and, aside from the region around the thriving town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Vermont were virgin territory. After the French had been conquered, expansion northward was rapid. Land speculators commenced to boom the region. Immigrants from the old towns pushed to the north along with newcomers from the British Isles. Younger sons and landless men hungering for land proved the best of pioneers.

Growth of Population. The population was about 100,000 in 1690, 275,000 in 1730, and nearly 470,000 in 1763. These figures are fairly reliable estimates; but as no census was taken, they are not accurate. About half the total number lived in the Bay Colony, which extended somewhat beyond Springfield. The bulk of the population was English by descent or birth. With the easing of the English penal laws against nonconformists, Puritans came in dwindling numbers. Indeed, New England's reputation for intolerance and stiff morals caused many Puritans to hesitate who otherwise might have migrated. The native population increased rapidly, for families were large and the healthy climate and rural life made for lower mortality than in congested British cities.

Character of Newcomers. Indentured servants and criminals continued to swell the immigrant lists. The so-called Scotch-Irish arrived in large numbers after 1700, taking up the cheaper, frontier lands of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The Scotch-Irish were a mixed race of English and Scottish lowlanders and borderers who were established during the period of Elizabeth and the Stuarts in the North of Ireland on lands seized from the Irish clans. A hardy, thrifty, often bigoted, aggressive race, they developed Ulster into a rich agricultural and manufacturing province. They were protected by the same English laws which injured their native, Catholic neighbors. Toward the end of the seventeenth century their status changed. English manufacturers were bent on destroying their competition, and English landowners and shippers feared Irish agricultural imports and shipping. The Navigation Acts were applied to Ireland. Even the Presbyterianism of the Scotch-Irish no longer won favor. Ulster went into a decline, and Irish Presbyterians felt the pinch of hard times. Their manufactures were ruined and their agricultural prosperity was ended. Politically powerless and compelled to pay taxes to support the Anglican church, the once favored Scotch-Irish grew dissatisfied and turned in ever-growing numbers to America.

As an instance of their numbers, between 1714 and 1720 fifty-four shiploads docked in Boston, arousing Cotton Mather to query "But what shall be done for the number of peoples who are transporting themselves thither from the North of Ireland?" There was fear of the immigrant in so slightly settled a land as New England, even though the newcomer was of a similar Protestant sect. But the sturdy Irish came, and on the frontier they founded homes, clearing the forests and fighting the natives as they crowded westward.

No doubt many Irish Catholics came in the influx from Ireland. Recent researches suggest a much larger number than heretofore supposed, judging from family names on tax lists and militia lists as well as from the distinctly Catholic ports of Ireland from which many vessels sailed. Merged with the rest of the population and lost to the Catholic faith, they disappeared

as a racial element. A considerable number of schoolmasters had Celtic names, but they could hardly have been known as Catholics or as such have obtained teaching licenses from local Puritan divines. At best the Irish Catholics would form a small percentage of New England's colonial immigrants.

Some Huguenots from England settled in Boston and Providence, contributing to American history such historic names as Cabot, Bowdoin, Faneuil, Oliver, and Revere. Numerically they were few, probably as a group no larger than the several hundred unfortunate Acadians, who were scattered among the inhospitable New England towns. Of West Indian Jews there were a few representatives, who settled in Newport.

Towns and Villages. Boston, the economic capital of New England, had some 3000 houses and about 15,000 inhabitants in 1763. Worcester, Salem, Middletown, New London, and Hartford were centers of 1000 to 3000 people. New Haven boasted of nine settled squares about the "Green" and Yale College. The brick homes of the wealthy merchants were spacious, with glass windows, fireplaces, and tasteful furnishings. The cottages of the poor were fair enough, for thrift and diligent labor left most Yankees comfortable. The meetinghouses, often without steeples, lacked beauty and size, but stately edifices would have reminded one of old Catholic cathedrals or at least of Anglican churches; Puritans would have none of this. Villages and hamlets predominated, for the land was essentially rural. There dwelt the small farmers within close range of the meetinghouse, mill, blacksmith's forge, general store, and primary school.

Making a Living. Agriculture was the chief business. Farms were small, twenty to fifty acres; few holdings exceeded two hundred and fifty acres. They were worked by the owner and his family, with possibly an indentured servant. In all New England there were only about 16,000 negroes, for slave labor was not profitable on small farms and in a cold climate. Against slavery as such there were no moral scruples. All men worked, and even ministers were not independent of agriculture for part of their support. A race of small farmers, the Yankees developed a democratic independence of character. Thrift (even miserli-

ness), as well as industry, was compulsory if they would gain a livelihood from land so generally poor and hilly.

Yet New England was self-supporting. Grain, vegetables, dairy products, and livestock satisfied the local market and left a surplus for export to England or the West Indies. Cod-fishing off the coast was no longer profitable; so the fishermen went to the Newfoundland Banks. The skipper and crew owned the frail craft and divided the profits of one or two voyages at



AN EARLY NEW ENGLAND HOUSE, THE BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN ADAMS,
IN QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS

the end of the season. Toward the days of the American Revolution fishing was done on a larger scale. A merchant broker would own ships and hire captains and crews and retain the large surplus profit. Fishing as a chief source of wealth is indicated by Massachusetts taking the cod as her emblem somewhat as medieval England did the woolsack. The Nantucket and New Bedford section was a center of the more dangerous whaling. In addition to supplying a chief article of food and export, the fisheries bred a sturdy race of sailors and gave rise to innumerable shipbuilding plants, which gave New England about two thousand merchant vessels on the eve of the Revolution.

In the North lumbering was the chief business, though certain royal restrictions annoyed the woodsmen, especially the rebel Scotch-Irish. Like later American lumbermen, they were opposed to conservation or any legislative attempt to save for the navy all trees marked with the king's broad arrow. Hard and soft woods, timber, masts, lumber, and staves found a ready market in the West Indies and in England. Indeed, the mother country paid a bounty on ship stores (tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, ship timbers) in the hope of freeing herself from dependence upon the Baltic countries, which in time of war might menace her naval supremacy. The fur trade, once a source of wealth, was not important toward the end of this period.

Manufactures and their Restriction. In a modern sense, ship-building was the only industry. Toward the end of the colonial period, vessels aggregating 20,000 tons were annually produced. As the materials were near at hand, ships could be built more cheaply than in England, and English merchants bought vessels fashioned in New England yards. Otherwise there was no manufacturing save of the domestic type. There were few households which could not supply ordinary needs in the way of rough homespun clothing, harnesses, leather goods, and furniture. Small forges furnished each locality with tools and utensils for farm and home. Yet there was sufficient manufacturing to arouse English opposition.

English manufacturers demanded that the colonies be kept an open market for English goods and restrained from foreign purchases. Therefore Parliament passed restrictive measures which destroyed the primitive manufacturing or at least prevented its development. A parliamentary act of 1699 forbade the shipment of wool, yarn, and cloth produced in any of the colonies to any neighboring colony or foreign country. Such goods were not to be sold or exchanged even within the colony, though this part of the law could not be enforced. As the colonists made beaver hats for the English market, a law of 1732 prohibited their sale or exportation. A law of 1750 limited the export of iron to bars and pigs, thus discouraging iron-mining. There could be no rolling mills, and even the output of the village smiths was

restricted. Neighborhood bartering could not be stopped, but the restrictive measures, as enforcement grew more strict, proved an irritant and in the end a contributory cause of the Revolution.

The Navigation Acts. In 1651, under the influence of Cromwell, Parliament passed the first Navigation Act, providing that the products of America, Africa, and Asia could be imported into England only in English ships each manned by a crew at least three fourths of whom were Englishmen. Goods from a European country could be brought only in its own ships or in English ships, and exports from England must be carried in English bottoms. The act was intended to destroy the Dutch carrying trade in English ports, to build up English shipping, to increase the number of sailors, and to advance English fishing in American waters. This policy was advantageous to American shippers, because colonials were regarded as Englishmen and colonial-built ships as English ships. It freed them from foreign competition and placed them on the same basis as English shipowners. The Navigation Acts encouraged shipbuilding in the ports of the Northern and middle colonies.

The success of this act in beating down Dutch competition caused the extension of the new commercial policy. British statesmen were desirous of regulating colonial trade for the benefit of the mother country. The colonies were regarded as a source of raw materials which could not be produced at home and as a market for English manufactures. In this respect England only followed the best economic thought of the time, and her regulations were less offensive than the colonial restrictions of France, Spain, or Holland. However, later acts were more detrimental to colonial business and agriculture.

In 1660 a revised act specified "enumerated commodities" (sugar, tobacco, indigo, cocoa, cotton, and dye goods) which must be sent from the colonies direct to England in English or colonial ships. In time the enumerated list included molasses, naval stores, rice, copper, furs, hides, and other articles. These provisions injured New England less than the South, and our mainland colonies much less than Ireland or the West Indies. Indeed, the crown paid a bounty on naval stores. The chief

exports of New England, such as grain, flour, fish, meat, and lumber, could be shipped to any available market, whether English or foreign, until about 1766, when additional restrictions were enacted. In general, the Navigation Acts annoyed rather than injured New England. In an effort to enforce them numerous port officers were appointed and there was more red tape for vessels clearing port. Again, free-born New Englanders resented



A COLONIAL INTERIOR

Photograph by Philip B. Wallace

and questioned England's right to regulate their trade. At any rate, the Navigation Acts were not so fundamental a cause of the American Revolution in the Northern as in the Southern colonies.

The Triangular Trade. In addition to a profitable peddling trade from port to port along the coast and to the Indies, New Englanders (and merchants of New York and Philadelphia) engaged in the lucrative triangular trade. Merchantmen were loaded with grain and lumber, which were sold to the English and foreign West Indies for molasses, which in turn was brought back to New England distilleries and turned into rum. The rum

not drunk in the colonies was sent to the Guinea coast of Africa to be bartered for negroes whom the coast tribesmen had captured or kidnaped in the interior. The negroes were bartered in the West Indies for more molasses and Spanish silver or sold in our Southern colonies. Rum too was carried to the Grand Bank and traded for fish, of which the best was kept for home use and the poorest sent south for slave food.

The slave trade was no longer a monopoly of the Royal African Company after 1698 but was thrown open to English and colonial slavers. It was a heinous trade, and the brutal cruelties suffered by the negroes on this so-called middle passage from Africa to the colonies are beyond description. "Black ivory," as the soulless traders called negroes, could be purchased for a couple of pounds in Africa and sold for forty pounds in the sugar and tobacco colonies. Ships were crowded to capacity with negroes, who were chained to the floor as close as they could lie together on decks only three feet apart. Although given food and some exercise, the mortality was usually about one third. As insurance was carried only on "lost" negroes, cruel captains frequently hurled the dying overboard in order to collect insurance. In case of tempestuous seas, the death rate was terrible. At times, as slave ships carried no ballast, negroes were thrown overboard to lighten the vessel. All this was lost sight of in the immense profits. Some prominent merchants, especially of Boston and Newport, made large fortunes in this immoral trade.

The Sugar and Molasses Act (1733). The trade with the French and Spanish West Indies was a smuggling business, for the islands were allowed to trade only with their mother countries. However, the planters violated the law to buy cheap negroes, lumber, and supplies from the Americans and to sell molasses at a reasonable figure. They were forbidden to distill molasses, lest cheap rum compete with wines of the homelands. Hence Americans bought foreign molasses at a lower rate than from English sugar isles, which furthermore could satisfy only a sixth of the demand. This was naturally to the disadvantage of English absentee plantation-owners, who from purchased seats

in Parliament were able to bring their troubles to the attention of the officials of the government.

This West Indian interest in Parliament forced through the Sugar and Molasses Act (1733), which placed heavy duties on sugar, rum, and molasses imported into the colonies. The tax of sixpence a gallon on foreign molasses was prohibitive. Northern merchants urged in vain that it would ruin their trade and leave them without foreign silver to buy English manufactured goods. In no other way could they buy such goods; for New England exports to the mother country were less than her imports, leaving an unfavorable balance of trade. They would have to cut down their imports. English West Indian planters were interested only in selling all their molasses at a higher figure than that of the open market. Hence they demanded and obtained protection.

Smuggling and the Nonenforcement of the Molasses Act. The merchants of the middle and Northern colonies had always evaded the Navigation Acts, whenever advantageous. Now smuggling became general. In New England it was a virtue. Smuggling merchants were regarded as benefactors, and as such were protected and aided by public opinion. New England required foreign molasses regardless of the law, or her innumerable small distilleries would cease operations and her ships engaged in the triangular trade would remain tied to their wharves. English officials failed to enforce the act. In the first place it was quite impossible to do so over a coast which extended from Portsmouth to Philadelphia, without a great increase in revenue agents. Customs officials were often bribed to wink at the illicit business. Unpleasant would be the life of an honest servant of the crown who attempted to carry out this unpopular act. Manufacturers in Parliament, while unable to prevent the passage of the measure, were on the side of nonenforcement, for they preferred a prosperous New England which could buy cargoes of manufactured articles. Because of the two antagonistic parties in Parliament, the act was only partially enforced and was less injurious to trade than had been anticipated. It put a premium on smuggling. Soon illicit trade in violation of

all the Navigation Acts became prevalent, with increased profits for the merchant smugglers. There was a growing lack of respect for English law and a desire to avoid taxes of any kind.

Political Controversies. In Rhode Island and Connecticut there was little occasion for conflict with the crown. It was easier to evade disagreeable trade regulations than to protest. Scarcely any important law enacted in these colonies was vetoed by a royal governor, save a Connecticut act which provided for the equal distribution among the heirs of real and personal property of a person who died without a will. This was contrary to the English system of primogeniture, which gave the landed estate to the eldest son or, if entailed, to the nearest male heir. However, in practice the royal veto made little difference. The Connecticut idea was later accepted by America as a democratic principle. It has prevented the permanent building up of landed estates and the perpetuation of dangerously large fortunes. It has so subdivided accumulated fortunes that only in rare instances have they been large enough to enrich the third generation. "From shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves in three generations" has become a fairly accurate description of the rise and fall of fortunes and families. It is a New England contribution worth stressing, as it has made easier the rise of new men in our democracy of opportunity.

In the royal colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire there were continuous conflicts between elected assemblies and royal governors. In Massachusetts it commenced when the first royal governor sought a definite salary for himself, judges, and other officials in accordance with his secret instructions. The General Court rebelled. It would retain control over all officials by determining their salaries. In this way a pliable governor could be forced to do the legislature's bidding by the threat of no salary or a diminished allowance. In some instances, rather than pay a salary of a thousand pounds (higher than some of our states pay their governors today), the assembly at the end of an agreeable governor's year would offer a larger sum as a sort of bribe. Some governors accepted this honorarium, for otherwise, as the mother country paid nothing,

they would have been in bad straits. Finally the assembly was allowed to vote the salary but must make the grant at the beginning of the year. This gave the governor slightly more independence. Honest colonial governors, who attempted to carry out their instructions and enforce unpopular trade regulations, were in a difficult position, for they had to serve two masters. To obtain a fair salary, they must get along with the assembly, which was difficult if they would loyally serve their king, whose interests conflicted with those of the colony.

A governor's veto of the assembly's election of a speaker caused an outburst. Colonials pointed to English practice, by which since the Middle Ages the House of Commons had maintained its right to name its speaker. After a long struggle the crown ruled that the governor should appoint the speaker. This remained an open sore until the Revolution. The medieval English principle was finally won that all money bills or appropriation acts must originate in the lower legislative chamber. Through these conflicts the colonies won or at least demanded constitutional principles, which were later written into the American system of government.

Unpopularity of Royal Governors. Not all blame lay with the governors. Responsible for the administration of their colonies, they were the butt of colonial hostility to all objectionable taxes and regulations. They were ordered to enforce restrictive measures, the Navigation Acts, and the Molasses Act, to prevent smuggling, to stop the illegal coinage of money and the issuance of depreciated paper currency, and to confiscate vessels condemned for smuggling by admiralty courts. If times were poor, the governor was blamed. The best governors were unpopular, while a corrupt appointee seeking his own fortune was an easier ruler and often more to the liking of the assembly.

The governor, his family, and his appointed officials were Anglicans and hence annoyed good Puritans by attending Episcopalian services, celebrating Christmas, and amusing themselves according to English custom. They were suspected of designs on the colony's established church and of favoring Anglican demands for church buildings, a college, and a resident bishop.

✓ **Social Life.** Social life centered around church activities, as sermons, christenings, funerals, and ordinations. At farming and sewing-bees neighbors helped each other and, when the work was ended, frolicked and lunched and drank copiously of rum or flip. Drinking was prevalent even at ordinations and official functions, though excessive drinking at such times was said



PUNISHMENT IN COLONIAL DAYS

From "Jamestown," one of the Chronicles of America Photoplays. Copyright.
By permission, Yale University Press

to be unusual. Morals were better than might be expected where innocent amusements were wanting. Hunting and fishing offered pastimes; theatricals were forbidden, as well as horse-racing, bowling, and card games. Dancing was considered sinful, and hymns alone were allowed in the way of song. The cultural side of life was quite neglected. Of holidays only Thanksgiving and Pope Day, or Gunpowder Day, were celebrated. On this occasion (November 5) Guy Fawkes and the reigning Pope were hanged in effigy. Christmas and Eastertide as "popish festivals" were not celebrated save by Episcopalians. Even the

favorite child's game of "Button, button; break the Pope's back" had an intolerant ring. Executions afforded some morbid pleasure to large crowds, for the minister warned the culprit concerning the dire penalties of the next world. And adults as well as children witnessed the unhappy victims of whipping post and stocks with enjoyment at their discomfiture.

Of travel there was little. Save as soldiers on a campaign, the poor rarely journeyed beyond their immediate locality. For the well-to-do there might be an occasional journey to the colonial capital or in rare instances by sea to New York or Philadelphia. Only merchants traveled. London was twenty-six days distant under good sailing conditions, and the native New Englander who crossed the water was ever afterwards marked in his community. The ordinary inhabitant was untraveled and unread. Private libraries were rare and largely theological; only Boston had a bookseller who maintained a circulating library. The average settler was narrow, fearful of foreigners, and more bigoted than religious.

The Witchcraft Delusion (1692). Though morally honest, the leaders of Massachusetts were superstitious. The science of Boyle and Newton found no favor in New England, where pastors were collecting "remarkable providences" or examples of dire misfortune exacted by divine wrath on evildoers. Harsh sermons depicting eternal punishment, the tortures of the damned, and the wickedness of "popery" passed for literature. Witchcraft was a delusion of all nations. In the colonies this fanaticism was carried to an extreme in Massachusetts, where the clergy, led by Cotton Mather and Judge Sewall, the charming diarist, caused a reign of terror. In the Southern colonies it was difficult to convict poor, doting people of being incited by the devil to inflict spells and satanical injuries upon their neighbors. Few suspects were punished. In Connecticut, however, about a dozen persons were executed and in Massachusetts fully as many before the Salem episode. Then in a few months some two hundred were accused of being in league with the devil; three fourths of them were jailed and twenty were executed, including an aged working woman suspected of being "an Irish

papist" and hence a friend of Satan. In thirty years, out of seventy cases only two persons had been hanged in England, though the law against witches remained on the statutes until 1736. Suddenly the frenzy passed. The merchants checked the mistaken ministry; people were aroused as close friends were endangered. In the reaction all witchcraft superstition ended in Massachusetts, long before a more enlightened outside world put it aside. Out of excess there came good.

Intellectual Life. As a protest against Harvard's growing irreligion, as Cotton Mather saw it, a group of rigid divines established Yale College (1701), which long remained a citadel of Puritanism. Yet in time it ceased to be merely a preparatory school for the Congregational ministry. A small and unsuccessful Indian school of New Hampshire developed into Dartmouth College (1769). In 1764 the Baptists erected a college at Providence, later named Brown University in honor of its benefactor, a rich smuggler and slave-trader. Anglicans were refused a college charter, nor were they welcomed by schools of the Congregational Standing Order. The colleges were all backward, hardly more advanced than the junior high schools of today. Yet by emphasizing solid work and the classics, they graduated able boys at sixteen years of age. In a sense, the New England colleges lowered the culture of the eighteenth century by keeping Americans from attending the far superior English universities and schools. Yet they advanced the spirit of local independence by doing this very thing, for they lessened the intellectual influence of the old land. Thus colleges prepared the way for the Revolution, of which they became fiery centers. The Hopkins grammar schools at Hartford and New Haven had a high standard, as did Eliot's school at Roxbury and the Phillips academies at Exeter and Andover. Primary education improved as the towns grew in size and wealth, but continued Puritan in tone, teaching, and text.

America had no medical or law schools. A physician who was trained abroad was a rare exception. Hence unskilled quacks set bones and gave home remedies and herbs, or fell back upon charms, then generally used even by intelligent people. Law-

yers were held in ill repute; ministers sounded frequent warnings against their iniquities. Laymen served as judges, even as chief justices of the superior courts. A Connecticut law limited the number of lawyers to seven. Everywhere rigid codes guarded the inhabitants from their supposed trickery. As college teachers were ministers, there was no lay professional class. This made it easier for the ministry to retain their enviable position of



AN EARLY VIEW OF YALE COLLEGE

From an old print

religious-political control. Parson Phillips of Andover put it well when asked by a stranger if he was the preacher who served there by answering, "I am the parson who rules here." At least ministerial influence was not weakened until well into the nineteenth century, when educated lay leaders appeared.

The Boston News-Letter (1704) and the *Boston Gazette* (1719) were the earliest news sheets. In the days of the Revolution every town of size had a paper with a reading public far wider than its paid circulation, for the costly little four-page sheets were passed from hand to hand until worn dim. *The Connecticut Courant* (1764), named in 1837 the *Hartford Courant*, the oldest

paper now in existence, exerted a wide influence. After 1723 the press was subject to no political censorship, though the editors were usually ministers until the rival Jeffersonian papers appeared about 1800. Uninteresting and filled with local news, these journals did not stimulate intellectual life or widen the narrow horizon of their readers. However, the news sheets had a strong influence in arousing hostility toward England and in consolidating colonial sentiment.

References

ANDREWS, *Colonial Folkways* (Chronicles); E. E. SLOSSON, *The American Spirit in Education* (Chronicles), pp. 1-64; A. M. SIMONS, *Social Forces in American History*, pp. 21-54; C. DAY, *History of Commerce of the United States*, pp. 1-78; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 35-64, 129 ff.; THWAITES, *Colonies*, pp. 178-194; S. A. DRAKE, *Historical Mansions and Highways around Boston*; A. M. EARLE, *Margaret Winthrop, Curious Punishments of Bygone Days, Old-Time Gardens, Home Life in Colonial Days, Stage Coach and Tavern Days, Child Life in Colonial Days, Sundials and Rose Gardens of Yesterday*; ROBERT SHACKLETON, *The Book of New York*; BARRETT WENDELL, *Cotton Mather*.

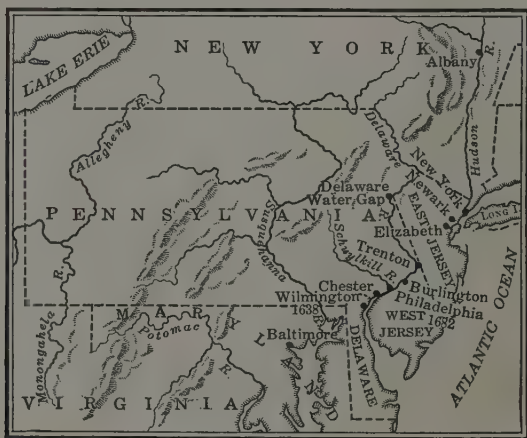
Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. II, pp. 423-490; BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 216-231, 309-358; ANDREWS, *The Colonial Period*; E. B. GREENE, *Provincial America, The Provincial Governor*; J. F. BURNS, *Controversies between Royal Governors and their Assemblies in the Northern American Colonies*; O. M. DICKERSON, *American Colonial Government*; A. O. HANSON, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century*; J. T. ADAMS, *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776, Provincial Society, 1690-1763*; G. A. WOOD, *Governor William Shirley* (Massachusetts); *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 52 ff. For economic history, teachers will find one of the following specialized college texts valuable: H. U. FAULKNER, *American Economic History*; K. COMAN, *Industrial History of the United States*; I. LIPPINCOTT, *Economic Development of the United States*; E. L. BOGART, *An Economic History of the United States*.

2. THE MIDDLE COLONIES

The Central Colonies. Like New England, the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey may be studied as an economic unit marked by the same general type of agricul-

ture, industry, and labor. Their growth during this era was remarkable when their late start is considered. The central colonies, with a more tolerant religious system, appealed to the immigrant. He was not thrown into competition with slave labor, as in the South. New York's population of 50,000 in 1730, had doubled by 1760, and again doubled by 1776. Pennsylvania with 50,000 in 1730 had 200,000 inhabitants before the end of the French and Indian War. In 1760 the combined colonies had a population of 400,000, or about a fourth of the American total.



THE PENNSYLVANIA COLONY

Philadelphia, a rival of Boston, had become a thriving city of over 20,000. It was noted for commercial wealth, shipping, and imposing buildings. Its social life was more advanced than that of any other colonial city. Class distinctions were marked, for the wealthy Quaker merchant and landholder with his town house was far removed from the German farmers and Irish frontiersmen. Rich residents of the city and of neighboring Germantown built stately, stone country homes like those of English gentlemen, where they dispensed hospitality in Southern fashion. Taverns, clubs, and coffee houses gave Philadelphia a London air. The Pennsylvania Hospital (1751), the first institution of

its kind in the colonies, became a medical center. The State House (Independence Hall), Carpenters' Hall, and the College of Philadelphia gave tone to the city, as did Christ Church, the elaborate Anglican meeting place.

In 1760 New York was the third American city. It was a bustling place of merchants, ships, and warehouses, with a clustering group of small villages which ultimately became



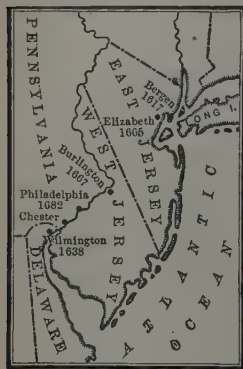
EARLY NEW YORK

From a painting by E. L. Henry. Courtesy of Title Guarantee and Trust Company, New York

Greater New York. Even then New York was cosmopolitan and free. To the New Englander it was a wicked city. Not noticeably religious, New York sheltered a theater and a race course, permitted gambling games and Maypole celebrations, and kept such days as Christmas, St. George's, St. Patrick's, St. David's, and St. Andrew's, much as in Old England.

Racial Character. The population was mixed, representing nearly every race which is now merged in the composite American nation. While the bulk of the people were English, England was hardly the motherland. The descendants of the Dutch

were strong in New York City, on Long Island, and along the Hudson. There were small groups of Huguenots and Walloons. There were English immigrants as well as a few Jews and Spaniards, all from the West Indies. The Scotch-Irish appeared along with the Irish from Southern Ireland, some of whom arrived in Dongan's time. Connecticut Yankees crossed the line to engage in business. In New Jersey and Delaware there were English Quakers and German sectaries. The village of Newark, settled by a Connecticut congregation, became a center for later Puritan immigrants.



NEW JERSEY

The Germans, whom Penn had encouraged to enter his colony, came in a mighty wave until they numbered fully a third of the population. Franklin wrote in 1753: "Unless the stream of the importation could be turned from this to other colonies, they will soon outnumber us, so that all of the advantages we will have will in my opinion be not able to preserve our language, and even our government will be precarious." The Germans retained their language and customs with tenacity and remained a distinct element of the population well into modern times.

Germantown, founded by Pastorius, a minister, continued as their center. As farmers they were without peers, and the colony's agricultural prosperity was largely due to their labor and thrift. There were some German Catholics, but English policy prevented their migration. Catholics were generally satisfied with the eighteenth-century religious settlement of Germany. Yet in 1709 — to cite a single instance — 4000 Catholics from the Palatinate were turned back in London on their refusal to take oaths denying their faith.

While the Welsh were numerically few, the Scotch-Irish entered Pennsylvania after 1720 in numbers which alarmed the English and Quaker elements. In 1729 James Logan, secretary of the colony, warned the proprietor, "It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither, for last week no less than six

ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also." Toward the end of the period as many as 20,000 Irish Presbyterians are said to have come in a single year. Franklin estimated that, like the Germans, they counted a third of the colony's population, so that the English element would hardly total a third. Judging from family names, there was a fair representation of Irish from Southern Ireland among the arrivals. Again, as in New England, the Irish were forced to the frontier, where they tilled the rugged lands of western Pennsylvania and served as an outer guard against the Indians and the French.

Agriculture and Landholding. Agriculture was the chief source of wealth. Farming was diversified. There was no staple crop, as in the South. Grain, vegetables, and live stock were raised more extensively than in New England, for the lands were far more productive. Large estates were usual in New Jersey, along the Hudson, and in the older counties of Pennsylvania. They were worked by indentured servants or hired laborers. Rented farms tilled by tenants were not the exception, as in New England. Yet the bulk of the farmers owned their lands, which ran from fifty to three hundred acres. Indeed, it was the possibility of owning land that drew immigrants to America.

Outside the cities there were few negroes, and these were in domestic or personal service. As the Quakers opposed slavery, it was an unpopular institution in their colonies. Then, too, there was a plentiful supply of labor furnished by deported paupers and criminals and indentured servants. Hence there was little demand for slave labor, which was more expensive and less skilled. Among the indentured servants there were handy men and apprentices, who served as artisans, builders, and laborers in the primitive manufacturing concerns.

Industry and Commerce. New York and Philadelphia had several small shipbuilding yards and did a large shipping business along the coast. In the period before the Revolution some 2000 ships were under Philadelphia register, nearly half of which had been built in the yards of that city. Their merchants served as importers of English goods and as brokers exporting furs, grain, flour, salt meat, live stock, and some iron ore to the

mother country, the West Indies, and the Southern colonies. To a lesser extent than in New England they were engaged in the molasses trade and in selling negroes. Of manufacturing there was little save of the home type.

Political Life of New York. Under William and Mary, New York finally obtained a representative assembly; but like the governor's appointive council, it was dominated by the patroons and manorial lords. Suffrage was based on land tenure and belief in Protestantism. Offices were controlled by the small ruling class. For Protestants there was complete religious freedom, though the Anglican and Dutch Reformed churches had superior social standing. For Catholics there was freedom from active persecution, as legal restrictions were not rigorously enforced.

There were the ordinary conflicts between royal governors and their assemblies, which insisted on voting the governor's salary year by year, despite protests of the English Board of Trade and demands for a permanent grant. Through control over taxation and expenditure the assembly held the whip hand. Finally the crown accepted a colonial law which called for a newly elected assembly at least every seven years. This would prevent a governor's retention of an agreeable assembly beyond a reasonable period. The principle was finally won that no money could be paid out of the treasury save by the colonial treasurer on legislative authority. This ended the stealing of public funds by corrupt governors, as by Queen Anne's cousin, Lord Cornbury. This particular worthy had a reputation for dishonesty which left a stain on the office. Another royal favorite was suspected of giving aid to pirates and sharing their gains during his governorship. While such men were the exception, they stood out in memory and came to be regarded by patriots as typical.

Political Changes in Pennsylvania. The full toleration of the founder was brushed aside and in time seats in the assembly were limited to Protestants. Later, the English penal code replaced the mild laws of Pennsylvania. As the later members of the Penn family found it convenient to join the Anglican

Church, there was a breach between them and the Quaker aristocracy. Their interest in the colony was purely mercenary, so that in their desire to enforce payment of fees they aroused considerable opposition. In Pennsylvania it was the assembly against the proprietor and his agents. There was little opposition to the crown, save from the fact that the English government protected the proprietor in his holding. Hence in the Revolution the Philadelphia aristocracy was stoutly tory.

A conflict with the crown arose over the Quaker assembly's refusal to provide a militia and erect defenses against the French and Indians. Quaker scruples against fighting would not permit them to vote for this, though their opponents believed that the refusal was primarily a scheme to avoid taxes. As a leader of the opposition, Franklin procured funds for forts from a lottery and along with others established a volunteer militia (1755). After much delay, the assembly voted £4000 for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, and other grain." The latter item conveniently covered gunpowder. Thereafter money was appropriated without explicit reference to military purposes. Finally, during the French and Indian War the Quakers accepted a military establishment in fear that the crown might force an oath of allegiance which would do violence to their creed.

The Quakers and the English group living in Philadelphia and the three eastern counties had twenty-six seats in the legislature, while the eight western counties, comprising the larger part of the population, had only thirteen seats (1773). Wealth was over-represented and men were under-represented. It was against this system of taxation by an assembly in which they were inadequately represented that the combination of Irish, Germans, and disfranchised city laborers fought. Only the outbreak of the Revolution prevented a sectional conflict in the colony, and as patriots the Irish Presbyterians fought harder when they found that the Quaker-Anglican political group was actively loyalist.

Education. Primary and secondary schools were less advanced in the central colonies than in New England. Colleges

were barely established before the Revolution. The Dutch had some parochial schools in New York, and the Huguenots a French school at New Rochelle. Education was controlled by Anglican authorities and imported English teachers. Colonists of other creeds objected to this. Not until 1754 did the Anglicans establish King's College (Columbia). The well-to-do sent their sons to English schools or employed tutors. Private schools flourished in New Jersey. Finally the Dutch Reformed Church established Queen's College (Rutgers), and the Presbyterians the College of New Jersey at Nassau, or modern Princeton (1746).

Penn's ordinance had charged the county courts to see that every child of twelve years should be able to read the Scriptures and write, and "that they may be taught some useful trade or skill, that the poor may work to live and the rich if they become poor may not want." The Penn Charter School (1689) became a famous preparatory school, granting free tuition to the poor. The Quakers had little interest in higher education. Among them an educated ministry was not essential; and training for the ministry was everywhere the chief motive of colonial college education. As elsewhere, female education was neglected, though the German primary schools admitted girls. Every sect and race had its own schools. A Catholic school established by the learned Father Schneider, formerly dean of Heidelberg, attracted students of every faith (1741). The Germans, annoyed by the free schools established by the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Germans (1754), grew indifferent to schooling.

Franklin stressed practical education, history, English, and modern languages rather than the classics. To encourage good reading, he founded one of the first circulating libraries. For forty years he was associated with the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania (1751). It was America's most liberal college with trustees representing all denominations, including a priest, with emphasis upon science, and a chair of medicine. It was a modern, nonsectarian college without the usual colonial fear of science and lay professors.



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING SHOP

© Detroit Publishing Co.

References

See References for section 1. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 65-94; ELIZABETH DEXTER, *Colonial Women of Affairs*; THWAITES, *Colonies*, pp. 196-232; FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanac*; A. C. BUELL, *Sir William Johnston*; H. M. LIPPINCOTT, *Early Philadelphia*; ROBERT SHACKLETON, *The Book of Philadelphia, The Book of New York*; J. T. FARIS, *Romance of Old Philadelphia*.

Bibliography

See Bibliography for section 1. D. R. FOX, *Caleb Heathcote, Gentleman Farmer*; L. F. BITTINGER, *Germans in Colonial Times*; L. O. KUHN, *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*; J. L. ROSENBERGER, *Pennsylvania Germans*; A. B. FAUST, *German Element in the United States*; B. W. BOND, *Quit Rent System in American Colonies*. C. A. HANNA and H. J. FORD have both written on the Scotch-Irish in America.

3. THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The Expansion of the South. At the end of the French and Indian War the South had an estimated population of about 650,000, including negroes. Virginia was the largest of all the colonies, with about 300,000 inhabitants, of whom 40 per cent were negro slaves; Maryland had nearly 125,000, with about 10 per cent negroes. The Carolinas had grown even more rapidly: South Carolina, from 9000 whites and 12,000 negroes in 1719 to 40,000 whites and 70,000 negroes in 1760, and North Carolina, from 9000 to about 125,000 whites and 15,000 negroes. Settlements in all the colonies were stretching westward as far as the mountains. Indeed, pioneers were pushing over the mountain trails as the danger from Indians lessened. In the meantime the last of the English colonies, Georgia, was planted. The region watered by the Savannah River had been claimed by Spain as a part of Florida and by England as a part of Carolina, but remained unoccupied save by the Creek Indians. As early as 1717 the country had been granted to Sir Robert Montgomery, but because of his failure to plant a colony, the palatinate had reverted to the crown.

James Oglethorpe and the Founding of Georgia. Oglethorpe, a soldier and parliamentarian, was a firm, "generous man with

a strong benevolence of soul," who was interested in prison reform. He found in foul English prisons petty criminals and unfortunate debtors, hopeless by-products of a harsh industrial system. The position of the latter was desperate. Unable to pay their debts while in jail, they were denied freedom until their creditors were satisfied. Oglethorpe planned to give them a chance in a new land. With twenty associates, he obtained a charter for twenty-one years to the lands of the Southwest, called Georgia in honor of George II. Going through the noisome jails, he selected one hundred and twenty men, women, and children as colonists and, settling with their creditors, established them in the town and fort of Savannah (1733).

Shiploads of debtors were sent as indentured servants. Several hundred German Protestants came within a few years, as did a large number of Scottish Highlanders, who formed an aggressive border patrol. Moravians also found a refuge, and there were enough Jews to rent a room in Savannah for private worship. A few Italians were brought by the proprietors to teach silk culture. Growth was slow, opponents of the proprietor explained, because slavery was prohibited. Finally, led by merchants and the missionary George Whitefield, who believed his orphanage plantation was unsuccessful because of the lack of negro labor, the pro-slavery party won the day. Slavery was legalized despite a German-Scottish opposition. Land purchases were made easier, and after 1750 a considerable migration of Carolinians into central Georgia was noticed. Within ten years there were 7000 whites and 3000 negroes in the colony.

The Government of Georgia. The government was essentially military, with all authority in the hands of Oglethorpe until his final departure (1743), and thereafter assigned to a governor and four assistants. Savannah had some local self-government. In 1753 as a royal colony Georgia had the usual governor and council appointed by the crown, and an elected assembly. The Church of England was established, but all Protestants were allowed freedom of worship. Lutheran ministers virtually ruled their people, for the Germans lived by themselves. John and Charles Wesley served as Anglican ministers for two years,

but the former gave offense by harsh and tactless discipline and left under the cloud of an indictment. Later as founders of Methodism their indirect influence on the religious life of the whole frontier was important. With little popular government and a strong king's party, Georgia attracted little attention before or during the Revolution. As a refuge of paupers and social misfits it stood as a protest against the prevailing criminal code of eighteenth-century England.

Racial Character of the South. Aside from the English, the largest racial group was the Scotch-Irish, who followed the valleys from Pennsylvania into the back lands of the South. They were courageous frontiersmen rather than good farmers and proved an unruly lot. Their names ring out as pathfinders in the winning of the West, as Indian-fighters, and hunters, and as opponents of the ruling Anglican, tidewater aristocracy in every one of the Southern colonies. They were small farmers, stout Presbyterians of the Ulster stamp, rigid democrats, and anti-English to the core.

Pennsylvania Germans crowded into the western counties of Maryland and Virginia and into the Carolinas, forming a backbone population on small farms tilled by their own rather than slave labor. They did not retain their racial character, but were assimilated rather completely. A few Huguenots and Swiss were located in Virginia and South Carolina.

Irishmen, coming as indentured servants and political prisoners, were scattered through the Southland. Lost though they were in the population and to the Catholic faith, their presence is evidenced in numerous names of a Celtic flavor. Of the earlier days—and there is reason to believe the policy was continued—Professor Wertenbaker has written :

When Drogheda was captured by Cromwell's stern Puritan troops, in 1649, some of the unfortunate rebels escaped the firing squad only to be sent to America to serve in the sugar and tobacco fields. Just how many Irishmen fell to the share of Virginia it is impossible to say, but the number rises well into the hundreds and the patent books of the period are full of head rights of undoubted Irish origin.¹

¹ *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*, p. 33.

Highlanders were sent to North Carolina as political rebels on the failure of the last uprisings on behalf of the Stuarts (1715 and 1745). The majority were Presbyterians, but there must have been some Catholic clansmen in their midst. For a long time Gaelic was spoken in sections of the colony and until the nineteenth century candidates for office canvassed in Gaelic.

Cities and Towns. There was very little urban development in the Southern colonies. Norfolk, in 1760 the largest city in Virginia, was engaged in a prosperous coast trade. Jamestown and Williamsburg were both small, though the latter as the social and the political capital was a favorite winter residence of planters. Wilmington was important as a rice market. Charleston, the pride of the South, with 9000 people, was rated a large city. Baltimore was laid out (1729) on sixty acres of land sold by Charles and Daniel Carroll at forty shillings an acre and incorporated by the legislature several years later. On the eve of the Revolution it was the second Southern city, with a population of almost 7000.

Plantation life discouraged city growth, for the larger plantations maintained wharves and shipped to the coast towns, and even direct to the London market. All their needs which could not be satisfied by plantation artisans were met by purchases made through London agents who marketed the tobacco and rice crops. Large planters, as brokers frequently, handled the crops and imports of their neighbors on small farms. Hence there was little business to support town life. Hamlets, each with a mill, warehouse, chapel, store, and blacksmith shop, were sufficient for local needs.

Large Plantations. Manors, or large estates, were common. A few Virginia and Maryland families held from 15,000 to 30,000 acres in scattered plantations. The holdings of the Byrd and Carter families in Virginia were immense, the latter owning 60,000 acres, besides farms in Maryland, and six hundred negroes. Doughoregan Manor near Baltimore contained 10,000 acres, which together with scattered lands made the Carrolls the wealthiest family in Maryland. Yet, all told, not 10 per cent of the families were large planters and not more than 30 per cent were holders of slaves in any number. Yet this group controlled

the Southern colonies, dominated county life, and held the chief offices until after the Civil War. It was an intermarried, social, and political aristocracy, Anglican in creed and English in sympathy and blood.

Yet 90 per cent of the people lived as owners or tenants on farms of fifty to five hundred acres. Planters frequently broke up large tracts into small farms which were rented on a share basis. The bulk of the smaller farmers, with an occasional



DOUGHOREGAN MANOR

negro, tilled their own lands. The frontier farmers with fewer acres were entirely dependent upon their own labor. Of this 90 per cent of the people little has been written. There was no glamour about their lives, none of that chivalry and cultured refinement which marked the rich planters. Yet it was this class of upland farmers, dissenters from the Established Church and virtually unrepresented, which forced democracy upon the South and fought the Revolution.

Tobacco Crop. Tobacco continued the staple crop of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, though in the western counties grain and stock-raising were of equal importance.

Tobacco in hogsheads was shipped direct to the London-Bristol market ; for, as an enumerated commodity, it could only be sold to English merchants. As early as 1700 the Maryland-Virginia crop had a valuation of a million dollars and required three hundred ships for its transportation. At the end of the era the crop had at least tripled. As the acreage increased with the opening of new lands and the importation of more slaves, tobacco prices dropped with a fluctuation of from one penny to sixpence a pound, depending on the speculation of buyers as much as on supply and demand.

The planters were not so prosperous as one might think, for slave labor was neither cheap nor efficient. They were always in debt to English brokers who loaned money at planting time, bought the crop, and sold supplies to the planter. It was the tobacco broker who grew rich in the business, while the planter lived from year to year in luxury and mortgages. As the tobacco-buyers of London were organized, they bought the crop at their own figures. In today's language, they formed the tobacco trust. It was this failure of the marketing system, not the penny-a-pound export duty, which burdened the planter.

Wealth of South Carolina. The small-farmer colony of North Carolina eked out an impoverished existence by raising some tobacco, grain, and stock for the coast trade, but after 1700 South Carolina gave up general farming for rice production. Rice could be sold not only to England but direct to any port in southern Europe. Prices were better, for no trustlike group of English brokers had a monopoly, as in the purchase of furs, tobacco, and West Indian sugar. Rice culture, even more than tobacco, required slave labor, for only negroes could stand the heat of the lowland plantations. Here blacks outnumbered whites two to one. Slavery was more cruel too ; for in the drive for increased crops it was found cheaper to work slaves to the limit and replace them by importing more Africans. The rice crop, from 8000 large barrels in 1720, reached 125,000 by the Revolution. After 1742 indigo added to the general wealth. South Carolina was prosperous and hence contented. There was little desire for the Revolution among her planter aristocracy.

Sectionalism in the South. Bacon's Rebellion had been suppressed, but the grievances had not been redressed. In Virginia, the western counties, occupied by small farmers, Irish and German dissenters, and ex-servants, were hostile to the Anglican church and the tidewater planters. They were taxed and conscripted for militia service, but given less than half their share of seats in the legislature. They had no social or official position. For the most part they were without the suffrage. They were left unschooled and helpless in their ignorance. The Revolution for them would mean a struggle against the aristocratic planters quite as much as against British rule. In Maryland and South Carolina conditions were not very different. In North Carolina, settled to a large extent by men who fled the neighboring colonies, the situation was more critical. They were stout democrats, who wanted suffrage rights, representation, and emancipation from a state church. To maintain their control over these rebels, the Anglican planters, in 1711, called in military aid from Virginia. The spirit of revolt did not die out, but burst into armed rebellion in the Revolutionary days.

Social Diversions. The South did not take its pleasures lightly. There was visiting around by planters, who vied with each other in dispensing royal hospitality. Their larders and wine cellars were well filled. Washington himself was as noted for his hospitality and his array of liquors and foreign wines as any of his aristocratic neighbors. Coaches and good riding horses were maintained; for, as among the English gentry, horse racing and hunting were usual indulgences. Cockfighting, billiards, cards, gambling, balls, and masquerades helped the leisure class spend their time. In the cities structures built like tobacco warehouses served as theaters. The good old English festivals were kept in spirited fashion. Even the negroes, with banjo, song, and plantation liquor, enjoyed themselves. Of social life on the frontier less has been written; but, in a more rugged fashion, it was probably much the same, though expensive wines were replaced by corn whisky, which the Scotch-Irish knew how to distill far too well.

Education in the South. The South followed the English system of private schools for gentlemen's sons, which were kept by Anglican divines. Planters employed tutors, usually Irish and English indentured servants, for their children. Curiously enough, rewards were posted for runaway teachers as well as for escaped slaves. Apparently there was little honor attached to teaching. Little was done about primary education, as rich planters had no desire to support free schools for the poor. Indeed, the scattered character of settlements would have made the New England system quite impossible. Maryland and South Carolina experimented with county schools taught by felons and servants, but the law compelling their support could not be enforced. Illiteracy among the poor and the frontiersmen was the rule; and no attempt was made to teach the negro anything beyond labor and a nominal belief in Christianity. The failure of educational and missionary work was a severe count against the Established Church.

Wealthy planters of the South sent their sons to the English schools and universities and, for law, to the renowned Inns of Court. Thus there was a closer association of the Southern colonies with England than there was between the Northern and middle colonies and the mother country. This intellectual dependence quite as much as the religious bond explained the Toryism of so many lawyers and social leaders of Virginia and South Carolina. Some of the landholders of Maryland secretly sent their sons (at times under assumed names) to the English Catholic colleges in France and Flanders. This was against the law, which also forbade keeping a tutor in the home. No doubt Jesuits, who lived in seclusion on their own estates or as chaplains in manorial homes, did much to keep learning as well as the Catholic faith alive during the days of proscription. Despite this penal suppression, a classical school at Bohemia Manor maintained an existence in some way or other. The Anglicans managed whatever institutions there were. Even the forty-shilling head tax on incoming Irish Catholic servants was paid into their general educational fund.

Commissary Blair, acting for the Bishop of London, whose diocese included the colonies, sought aid for the establishment of a college that there might be an educated native ministry. The College of William and Mary was founded with Blair as rector (1693). Prosperous at first, its fortune declined, until in recent years it has again become a successful college. Intensely Anglican, it aroused the hostility of non-Episcopalians, whose attendance was discouraged. St. John's College, Annapolis, was hardly more than a boys' preparatory school. Otherwise the South took no steps to advance higher education.

References

See References for section 3. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 94-128; THWAITES, *Colonies*, pp. 258 ff.; HENRY BRUCE, *James Oglethorpe*; J. H. HAMMOND, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*; N. N. STANNARD, *Colonial Virginia: its People and Customs*.

Bibliography

See Bibliography for section 3. G. D. BERNHEIM, *German Settlements in the Carolinas*; J. S. BASSETT (Ed.), *Writings of Colonel Byrd of Virginia*; S. B. WEEKS, *Church and State in North Carolina*; E. MCCRADY, *South Carolina under Royal Government*.

4. EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH FROM NORTH AMERICA

Rivalry between England and France. England had broken the commercial and maritime power of Spain and Holland. France alone remained a dangerous rival on the seas, in India, in the West Indies, and in America. The two empires came to grips in a series of wars which lasted from 1689 to 1763 and from 1783 to 1815. It was a terrible conflict and one of vital importance to the English colonies in America.

King William's War (1689-1697). In Europe war had broken out through the efforts of Louis XIV to establish French supremacy on the continent of Europe and to restore James II to the English throne. Louis was now engaged in a desperate struggle with England, Holland, Spain, and the German states. The colonies of all the powers were drawn into the conflict. In North America the war was welcomed. The English hated the

French for racial and religious reasons. They envied their control of the fur trade and charged them with inciting every Indian attack. Loyal to William of Orange and Protestantism, they believed that this war would strengthen their liberties and prevent a revival of the tyranny of the Stuarts. On the other hand New France under Frontenac hoped to halt English encroachments.

Frontenac sent expeditions from Montreal to attack the English settlements along the Hudson, and from Quebec and Three Rivers to strike at northern New England. The first resulted in the capture of Schenectady, where the uncontrolled savage allies massacred the prisoners. Left to their own resources, the colonies met in a congress in New York (1690) and planned a land attack on Montreal and a sea expedition against Quebec. Under Winthrop of Connecticut the English militia and Iroquois tribesmen reached Lake Champlain, but ingloriously gave up the campaign. A raiding party succeeded in destroying some small French villages and scalping the inhabitants. Sir William Phips, a Massachusetts adventurer who had gained wealth in smuggling and piratical attacks on Spanish trade, commanded the fleet which seized Port Royal (Acadia) but failed to capture Quebec. Port Royal was recovered by the French and the war degenerated into raids against unprotected settlements, marred by massacres and barbarities on both sides. The Iroquois were generally loyal to the English, whereas the Northern and Western tribesmen were in alliance with the French. The Peace of Ryswick ended the struggle, and saved Boston and New York from a projected French and Canadian attack by land and sea. In America nothing had been gained: colonial hatreds were intensified; fear of the French and a sense of dependency intensified loyalty to England.

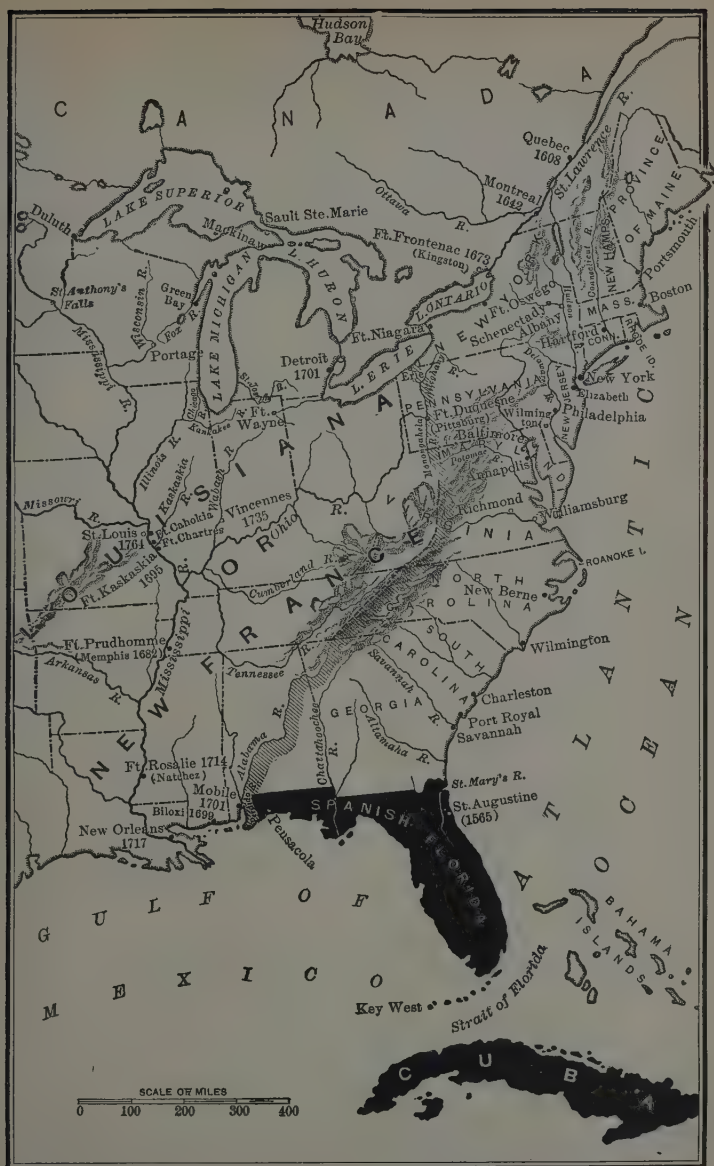
Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). After a five years' truce, Europe was engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession. England, Holland, Austria, and some of the German states sought to prevent French control of Spain through a Bourbon sovereign. Again the war extended to the colonies. Men of Virginia and the Carolinas aided by the Creek Indians attacked

Florida and protected Charleston from a French and Spanish naval attack. With zest the Catholic missions and Indian villages were destroyed, and St. Augustine was plundered and burned. The Tuscaroras and other tribes of the Southwest, aroused by French agents, ravaged the English frontiers, burning villages and massacring the inhabitants.

New England outlying villages well into the neighborhood of Boston were harried by French and Abnaki Indian raiders. Deerfield in the Connecticut valley was the scene of a bloody massacre. In retaliation fishing villages of Newfoundland were plundered and burned. Acadia was raided and finally conquered. The withdrawal of British troops forced the abandonment of plans to invade Canada. The war was filled with horrible barbarities, in which colonials of either side were hardly less guilty than their savage allies.

Finally the Peace of Utrecht ended the struggle. England gained much: Acadia became the province of Nova Scotia; Newfoundland and its rich fisheries were added to the colonial empire; England's control of the Hudson Bay region and protectorate over the Iroquois were recognized; she was given a monopoly of the slave trade to Spanish colonies for thirty years, together with certain trading advantages; she obtained islands in the West Indies; she was left in possession of the fortress of Gibraltar, commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean; and her influence over Portugal was strengthened. The Bourbon prince remained on the Spanish throne, and France and Spain were allied through their cousin sovereigns. Their secret offensive and defensive alliance, written into the famous Family Compact, proved important in later Revolutionary diplomacy.

King George's War (1744-1748). A war between England and Spain (1739) developed into the world conflict known in Europe as the War of the Austrian Succession and in America as King George's War. Only with the latter are we concerned. The French colonials struck at Annapolis in Acadia, but failed to dislodge the garrison of Massachusetts volunteers. All was astir in Massachusetts. Governor Shirley and the assembly planned the capture of Louisburg, a powerful French strong-



THE FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND SPANISH RIVALS

hold on Cape Breton Island. William Pepperell of Maine was given command of four thousand New Englanders, and the aid of a small English fleet. Besieging the fortress, he forced its surrender (1745). Of this feat colonials were proud. Untrained and lacking experienced leadership, they had taken one of France's stoutest fortresses. Therewith they decided to attack Canada. All the colonies furnished levies, but the promised British regulars were needed in Europe and the expedition had to be abandoned. French attempts to recapture Acadia and Cape Breton failed because of storms and English naval victories. The war degenerated into a border struggle—French and Indian assaults on exposed Northern villages; English and Iroquois raids on French outposts, massacres, and terrible hardships along the whole frontier. Luckily for the English, the Iroquois were held loyal by the influence of the remarkable Indian trader and counselor William Johnson and the friendship of the Pennsylvania authorities.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) brought only a truce, for neither side was satisfied. In the New World all conquests were restored. New Englanders were grieved. Despite losses in men and money and valiant deeds, the French power still threatened the North and the stronghold of Louisburg again housed the dangerous enemy. American interests seemed to have been sacrificed by English diplomats for other advantages. And the colonial feeling was intensified by a realization that a new war was inevitable and that the same desperate conquests must be repeated.

Causes of the French and Indian War (1754-1763). English traders were finding their way into the Ohio country and obtaining furs from Western tribes. Cheaper and better goods appealed to the Indians, who also obtained higher prices for pelts. French fur men were aroused. The Ohio Company, of English and Virginia adventurers, threatened to establish colonists on its Western lands. The English advance must be stopped, for Canada claimed the whole Ohio valley. Through agents and Jesuit missionaries the French strove to gain even the Iroquois. A fort was built on the site of modern Toronto in order

that Indian trade might be turned from the English post at Oswego. Between 1749 and 1753 Bienville was sent from Canada to annex the country from Lake Erie to the Ohio, and Governor Duquesne built Forts Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango as a buffer line to halt further aggression. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, then a youthful surveyor, with a message to Duquesne ordering the French to dismantle the forts and retire from what he described as Virginia territory. The refusal of this demand led to immediate hostilities. English and French traders also clashed in the Southwest, where the latter were blamed for inspiring the hostility of the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw Indians.

Dinwiddie prepared for war, but appeals to the other colonies brought few volunteers. A fort built at the forks of the Ohio was destroyed by the French, who thereupon erected Fort Duquesne. Washington's force of Virginians surrendered to a stronger French detachment. The Indians of the West turned to the victors, and the loyalty of the Iroquois was dangerously shaken. There were threatening clouds over the whole frontier from Maine to Georgia.

Albany Convention (1754). Something had to be done. A call brought delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the New England colonies to Albany, an unprotected town open to northern invasion. Imminent danger was not sufficient to compel united action and break down colonial jealousies and fear of centralization. Iroquois chiefs were entertained and sent away with promises, which failed to satisfy them. Benjamin Franklin strove to bring about a union of the colonies and presented a plan of his own devising which has since carried his name.

The Albany, or Franklin, Plan of Union provided for a president general of the colonies appointed by the crown and a council of forty-eight delegates chosen by the colonial legislatures. Representation would be based on wealth and population. This central government would control Indian and military affairs, provide for defense, levy and pay troops, build forts, establish a navy, and levy taxes. Though accepted by the convention, the

plan was vetoed by the various legislatures. The colonies were unwilling to delegate such extensive powers, surrender their control over taxation, or accept any idea of representation save that of one vote for each colony regardless of size. Nor were they willing to bear the costly burden of self-defense. It was far cheaper to let England foot the bill. On the other hand, the home government feared that a close union would endanger British control and breed a dangerous independence. England preferred a scheme by which the various governors would appoint commissioners to look after the general defense of the colonies. This too came to naught. The Albany Plan is of interest only as a forerunner of later union.

Braddock's Campaign (1755). England and France, though still at peace, dispatched forces to aid their warring colonies. General Braddock with two regiments of regulars and some companies of Virginia militia set out from Fort Cumberland to capture Fort Duquesne. Within a few miles of his objective he was defeated by a large party of French and Indians. Unused to the wilderness and the frontier method of fighting from behind thickets and trees, the redcoats in battle array made splendid targets, while they were unable to injure the hidden foe. The loss was terrific, Braddock being among the slain. The young Virginian, George Washington, took command and saved the defeated troops from panic. In Indian fashion his militia fought and covered the retreat of the regulars. It was this success which gave him a military reputation throughout the colonies. Braddock's failure left the frontier of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland open to raids and massacres, though Washington built a series of blockhouses to protect the Virginian border.

Governor Shirley failed to capture Fort Niagara, but left a strong garrison at Oswego. Sir William Johnson mobilized 3000 New England and New York militia at Albany, but was unable to take Crown Point. These failures caused a general desertion of Indians to the victorious side.

The Tragedy of Acadia (1755). Frenchmen who would not accept English rule left Acadia on its cession to England, when it became a crown colony with 3000 Englishmen planted there.

The two racial groups were hostile, but in peace times the French were unmolested. Canadian agents were busy among them, enlivening their natural loyalty to race and faith. At the beginning of the war they were ordered by the British governor at Halifax to take the oath of allegiance. As Catholics they could not accept the full oath and as Frenchmen they would not. Therefore, under orders, Colonel Winslow of Massachusetts herded together the settlers of Grand Pré and in the cold of early winter forced their embarkation for Boston. No attempt was made to distinguish the loyal habitants from the disloyal. Terrible were the hardships suffered by the aged and the children, through separation of families and doubt as to destination. About 6000 Acadians were stripped of their possessions and scattered by quota among the colonies. Maryland was awarded 900 exiles, who were distributed among all the counties save the western, which were too near the French stations on the Ohio. It is interesting that a group of these refugees established in "French town," Baltimore, a Catholic chapel, the beginning of the present cathedral parish. Some found their way after the war to their kinsmen in Louisiana or in Canada, but in time the majority were lost in the colonial population. They left names which later were described as of Huguenot origin. Nova Scotia was made loyal, but at a tragic cost; and the only justification was that of military necessity, usually an unmoral plea at best.

The Seven Years' War. Fighting in America and India led to formal declarations of war on the part of both England and France (1756). The greatest struggle of the century ensued, in which Prussia, England, and Hanover were in conflict with France, Spain, Austria, Russia, and some of the German states. The causes were many and complex: Bourbon ambitions, English colonial and commercial policies, the aggressive pan-Germanism of Frederick the Great, Austria's hope of regaining Silesia, and Spain's desire to recapture Gibraltar and aid her French ally in breaking England.

Montcalm, a superb leader, was placed in command in New France, with 3000 regulars, 11,000 soldiers in Louisburg, 15,000

undependable Canadian militia, and numerous Indian braves. Despite the treacherous hostility of the governor and intendant, he carried out a remarkably successful campaign. After a short siege, he took Oswego with 1600 men and stores (1756). He then retired to Ticonderoga, which the English commander in chief, Loudoun, failed to attack. He seized Fort William Henry with 2500 prisoners, and thus gained command of Lake George.



THE BATTLE AT LAKE GEORGE

From a painting by Ferris. (Courtesy of Glens Falls Insurance Company)

England, except on the sea and in India, was failing everywhere, when William Pitt, the elder, became the dominant force in the cabinet and the organizer of victory. There was immediate activity and revived faith. Pitt inspired the empire. Loudoun gave way to Abercrombie. New regiments were sent over and 20,000 colonials were enlisted. In the middle and Northern colonies the war fever was intense, for it was becoming a struggle for existence. Yet there was some trading over the line with the enemy, and keen desire on the part of assemblies to force concessions from governors before they would pass the necessary

supply bills. America could not remain half French and half English. One or the other must give way. In the Southern colonies outside of Virginia the war was poorly supported, since danger was farther removed.

Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst with fleet and army besieged Louisburg, finally capturing it by assault and taking six thousand prisoners. Colonials played a glorious part. They were winning their spurs and gaining rare military experience. Abercrombie, though his force outnumbered the enemy four to one, failed in his assaults on Ticonderoga, which was held by Montcalm. This fortress could not be taken with bayonet charges, as casualties of two thousand men witnessed. Colonials were angered, for they believed that their volunteers had been sacrificed to save British regulars. Soon the more popular Amherst was given chief command.

The French, outnumbered, were forced to surrender Fort Frontenac, which controlled Lake Ontario, and also to abandon Duquesne. Their posts to the west were lost. Their Indian allies in the southwest were beaten into submission by Amherst and Montgomery, with brave Highlanders and colonials. Niagara surrendered to Johnson and his braves. At the junction of the Ohio and Allegheny rivers, to control western Pennsylvania, the English rebuilt Fort Duquesne, which was named Fort Pitt. It is the modern city of Pittsburgh.

Fall of Quebec (1759). An attack on Quebec was planned. Nearly 27,000 sailors and soldiers, and over 200 ships and transports were mobilized at Louisburg. Sailing up the St. Lawrence, they found Montcalm with 4000 French veterans and 13,000 militiamen defending Quebec, the Gibraltar of America. In the darkness of night, 4500 Britishers under General Wolfe found their way back of the city and crawled up the steep cliffs to the Plains of Abraham. It was a foreboding surprise which met the French at dawn. The encounter was desperate and bloody, and before the hard-fought day closed, Wolfe died with the laurels of victory. Montcalm, mortally wounded, mercifully passed away before Quebec's surrender. It was the high point of French valor, as it was the end of French hopes of domination in America.

End of the War. An attempt to regain Quebec failed, and Montreal surrendered the following year. Forts Miami, Detroit, and Mackinac were taken. The war on the mainland was over. England was just as successful in the West Indies and India. Spain entered the war in 1761, only to see her navy destroyed, Cuba and the Philippines seized (1762), and nothing gained. At length the Peace of Paris ended the conflict (1763).

England emerged as the greatest of empires. Her fleet was supreme; the joint Spanish-French navy had been nearly destroyed. Her carrying trade and commerce faced no competition. India was hers. Several rich sugar islands in the West Indies were added to the British Empire, as well as Canada and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi River. Spain ceded Florida to England in exchange for Cuba and the Philippines. France ceded Louisiana and the Island of New Orleans to Spain as an indemnity for losses. France had fallen from her high place in both the Old and New Worlds. Her vast American empire shrank to fishing rights off Newfoundland and the rocky fishers' isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

A store of hatred was pent up. France and Spain longed for revenge for their lost empires and world position. Frederick of Prussia believed that his victories on the continent were poorly rewarded and that his English ally had made peace at her own convenience to his disadvantage. And the northern countries of Europe were antagonized by England's high-handed naval policies. All nations were to have an opportunity to give vent to their hatred of Great Britain during our Revolutionary War.

The Province of Quebec. By royal proclamation Canada was made a province, with Lord Amherst as temporary governor general. His military rule was kind, and acceptable to the conquered French. The official, noble, and trading classes returned to France, leaving a population of about 65,000 small landed proprietors and peasants. A few hundred Englishmen and colonials settled in the cities and engaged in commerce and in the fur trade. In 1764 a civil government was established, with authority in the hands of a governor, deputy governor, judges, and a council of eight inhabitants. This system worked well,

as the French did not desire self-government to which they were unaccustomed. Had there been an assembly, the English subjects would have been in control. However, the English demanded reforms and the French wanted better guaranties of their religious and civil rights. Governor Carleton labored to satisfy all in his recommendations to the government at London, and the Quebec Act was the British answer.

The Quebec Act (1774). In this act Parliament described Canada in terms of the old French claims, with the Ohio as the southern limit and the Mississippi as the western boundary. To the colonies this seemed inconsistent, for prior to 1763 the mother country had agreed to their western claims and denied the French right to the country across the Alleghenies. Again it violated their original charters with indefinite (due to lack of geographical knowledge) western boundaries at least to the Mississippi. There was a bitter protest against the measure, which, incidentally, had faced tremendous opposition in Parliament. There was an English justification. It would be easier to govern the territory from Quebec, its natural geographical center according to the rivers and lay of the land, unless England was ready to turn the western country over to the rival colonies with their conflicting claims. Again, Quebec was loyal and the colonies were on the verge of revolt, as English statesmen recognized.

The Quebec Act gave Canada a governor and an executive council, but did not provide a representative assembly, self-taxation, and trial by jury, which were quite foreign to the French. Therefore colonial agitators saw in the new government an autocratic crown colony and an indirect blow at American liberties. They predicted the extension of this system to the English-speaking colonies. The guaranty of religious freedom and the maintenance of the Catholic Church through the collection of tithes aroused an unreasoning fanaticism. The ministers of New England were in revolt; their narrowness knew no bounds; the reign of anti-Christ was at hand. George III was accused of Roman tendencies. Here was "Romanism" established at their very doors, while Puritanism

was baited. They forgot that a tithe system and church establishments prevailed in most of the colonies, as they condemned in language more strong than refined this most tolerant piece of legislation. The act was linked with the list of coercive, intolerable measures and has remained so confused in the popular mind. Yet it had nothing to do with British disciplining of rebellious Massachusetts.

The Quebec Act proved most significant. It introduced an era of growing toleration in England and evidenced the broad statesmanship which has attached Canada to the empire. It was a secondary, religious cause of the American Revolution, making ardent Puritans to a man supporters of the patriotic cause. It satisfied the French habitants and clergy, who, if anything, magnified American intolerance. And strangely enough, when the United States purchased Louisiana, the Quebec Act furnished a model for similar tolerant guaranties.

The West (1763-1774). The country west of the mountains was set aside as an Indian reservation, to protect natives from encroaching frontiersmen. Only licensed traders at regular posts were allowed to pursue the fur trade. The control of lands was in imperial hands. Dissatisfaction was noted on the frontier, for restless settlers were anxious to push over the line and seize the best lands regardless of Indian rights. England faced the same opposition that our national government encountered in protecting later Indian reservations from restless pioneers and dishonest traders.

The Indians were dissatisfied with English control, the new traders' trickery, and the low price of furs, now that there was no competition. Chief Pontiac of the Ottawas formed a confederation of most of the Algonquins in a desperate effort to retain their ancestral hunting grounds. Every fort save Detroit, Pitt, and Niagara fell. Settlers and traders were massacred. After three years of fighting, General Gage (Amherst's successor) conciliated the Indians and obtained control of all the forts and trading posts. French settlers were allowed to sell their belongings and emigrate to St. Louis or New Orleans, or to take an oath of loyalty and remain as British subjects with full



PONTIAC'S RAID

From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs

protection of their religious rights. Civil government, which had been requested (1770), was provided by the Quebec Act.

The Fur Trade. French fur interests were taken over by British merchants, often Scots, who employed halfbreeds and French *coureurs de bois* as active traders and trappers. Montreal continued as the depot and headquarters, doing a business of a million dollars a year in spite of the low price of skins. Traders pushed into the far Northwest, well beyond the Great Lakes and into the distant region of the Saskatchewan River. The destructive competition of rival trading companies resulted in a general combination and in the formation of the Northwest Company (1784), for a time the chief competitor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

English Settlements in the West. With the defeat of Pontiac, prospective settlers and land speculators, Englishmen and Virginians, grew interested in the West. In 1769 the famous pioneers and Indian-fighters, James Robertson and John Sevier, led Virginia and Carolina settlers into the Watauga, or eastern Tennessee, region. Three years later a convention of settlers drafted a constitution and empowered a committee of five to govern the colony. North Carolina soon took action by incorporating Watauga as Washington County (1776). Robertson two years later founded Nashville, known for a time as Davidson County.

Kentucky had similar beginnings. Washington, Harrod, the McAfees, Patrick Henry, Daniel Boone, Finley, and Stoner were all interested in its lands and first settlements. Governor Dunmore's War broke the Indian power in 1774, and the "dark and bloody battle ground" of Kentucky, the no-man's land of the warring tribesmen of the North and South, was opened to settlement. The Transylvania Company purchased Indian lands; Boone cleared the Wilderness Road; and Boonesborough with its fort, post office, and land office became the outpost of American civilization. Discontented Scotch-Irishmen of Virginia and the Carolinas squatted on Transylvania lands. These Ulsterites made good frontiersmen — independent, stout-hearted, quick with the rifle and handy with the ax. Shunted off to the

fringe between civilization and savagery, they served the older settlements as an impregnable buffer against the Indians. Transylvania lost its independence when it was absorbed by Virginia as Kentucky County (1776).

References

G. M. WRONG, *Conquest of New France* (Chronicles); WEBER, *The Christian Era*, Vol. II, pp. 206-218, 262-294; HAYES and MOON, *Modern History*, pp. 197-246; BETTEN and KAUFMANN, *The Modern World*, 480-505; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 316 ff.; THWAITES, *Daniel Boone*; H. A. BRUCE, *The Wilderness Road*; CONSTANCE SKINNER, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (Chronicles); NOAH BROOKS, *Sir William Pepperell*.

Bibliography

BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 257-274, 359-383, 403-424; THWAITES, *France in America*, pp. 105-266; CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. II; GREENE, *Provincial America*, pp. 119-166; HAYES, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 247-256, 299-319; PARKMAN, *A Half-Century of Conflict, Montcalm and Wolfe*; W. WOOD, *The Winning of Canada, The Passing of New France*; J. S. CORBETT, *England in the Seven Years' War*; E. RICHARD, *Acadia*; R. COUPLAND, *The Quebec Act*; J. G. BOURDINOT, *Canada under British Rule*; J. C. BRAGG, *Evolution of French Canada*; VICTOR COFFIN, *Quebec Act*; J. H. SMITH, *A Lost Chapter in American History*; C. E. CARTER, *Great Britain and Illinois County, 1763-1774*; G. DAVIDSON, *The Northwest Company*; G. BRYCE, *History of Hudson's Bay Company*; J. S. BASSETT, *Regulators of North Carolina*.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

I. THE MOVEMENT TOWARD REVOLUTION

Attitude of America in 1763. The French minister is said to have predicted the loss of the American colonies when England obtained Canada. It was a shrewd guess, which came true. He meant that fear of the French had made the English colonies loyal. Yet in 1763 few men would have agreed. The colonies had borne a fair share of the war burdens, if not the heavy load that some colonials later maintained. They rejoiced in the territorial growth of the empire, and protested their loyalty to crown and Parliament. They were relieved of dangerous French and Spanish neighbors. Disputes with England were of a minor character, such as hostility to a certain governor and his policies. The Navigation Acts were in general accepted since their enforcement had been lax. Pride of race and the English tradition were far stronger than colonial grievances. Indeed, the individual colonies felt nearer to the mother country than to each other.

Factors holding the Colonies Apart. There were many differences which tended to keep the colonies separated. Puritan colonies distrusted Episcopalian colonies. It was Roundhead against Cavalier a century late. Racial differences were marked. A Yankee going into parts of New York or Pennsylvania heard a strange tongue and felt that he was in a foreign land. Economic differences were more vital. A British policy favorable to one section might be injurious to another, so different were the interests of New England from those of the central or Southern colonies. The difficulties of travel were great ; hence there was little going about from colony to colony. Only during the inter-colonial wars had there been more than a slight association between men of different colonies. Localism was strong. The

average man was confined to his immediate locality, rarely going more than a day's journey by horse. This accounted for narrow prejudices and suspicions. Colonial hatreds were based upon ignorance and failure to understand the neighboring colonies. Even the leaders in different colonies knew little concerning each other. The press was local. Only rare items of English news had general interest. Ships and trade were routed from Boston, Charleston, or New York, to London, rather than from Boston to Charleston. There was less coastal trade than one would expect. Therefore if men traveled, it was likely to be to England. Indeed, if one desired to go from New York to Savannah, it might be easier to follow the trade routes and go by way of London.

There were colonial boundary disputes which were not settled until long after the Revolution. There were conflicting claims to western lands. Each colony had its own history, and its own problems, the solution of which were often in conflict with the policies of its neighbors. It would be a broad assumption to maintain that England intentionally kept the thirteen colonies apart in order to weaken them and prevent united action. It is doubtful if the mother country had a defined policy or if her statesmen were sufficiently conversant with American affairs for that. At any rate, the natural forces holding the colonies apart seemed stouter than the forces of attraction.

Unifying Forces. However, the colonies had far more in common than they realized until union was forced upon them. In general they were similar in origin, race, type of government, laws, traditions, and language. There were some precedents for united action, and in the colonial wars they had experienced the advantages of union as well as the dangers of disunion. The large Scotch-Irish population found on the frontier from Maine to Georgia proved an iron band. The Anglican Church was in a sense a national church, for its adherents were numerous even in New England while they were dominant in the South. On the eve of the Revolution, intercolonial correspondence was improved slightly by the establishment of the general post office and a postroad along the coast from Portland to Charleston,

which was passable in certain seasons of the year. At all events, the colonies had enough in common to make united action possible in the face of an enemy.

England's Changed Attitude to the Colonies. Prior to 1754 the colonies had been neglected. The Navigation Acts and commercial restrictions were only half enforced. The colonies were regarded as a source of raw material and as a market for English manufactures. Smuggling on a large scale was practiced by colonial merchants and shippers. The collection of customs was poorly organized. There was no standing force in peace times. The admiralty courts exerted little control. In New England there were no imperial taxes, and elsewhere, save by the Penn and the Baltimore proprietors, quitrents were rarely collected. Except for imposts and an export duty on tobacco and sugar the colonies were untaxed, and the customs fell far short of financing the costly British administration. The French and Indian War marked a turning point in the English attitude.

England was heavily in debt, and her people were taxed to the utmost. The wars had enriched the upper but impoverished the poorer classes. Hard times followed, which in turn brought bad years to America. A period of depression gave rise to political discontent at the very time when the British government was determined to make the colonies pay a larger share of imperial expenses. Englishmen believed that the wars had profited America much and cost it little. Colonials might disagree, but their protests were unheard. English statesmen overestimated the ability and readiness of colonials to pay taxes. The colonies were no longer to suffer from neglect; British rule in America was to be rigidly enforced. The sudden tightening up of the system brought revolt which few men on either side would have predicted.

Differences between Englishmen and Americans. Differences between Englishmen in England and in America were hardly noticeable, yet they were real. Settlers had brought English seventeenth-century radicalism to America, and in the New World it flourished. The spirit of the Puritan revolt, of the Petition of Right, and of the Bill of Rights grew in the primitive

settlements. There was opportunity to rise in rank and wealth. A determined, self-reliant middle class developed, quite unlike the English peasant and laboring stock from which it sprang. Again, only the discontented had come. In time new generations thought of England as far away. On the other hand, England of the eighteenth century had become conservative. Class distinctions had grown. The government was in the hands of a small, wealthy, ruling caste. The economic gulf between the upper and the landless classes grew wider. Liberalism had been nearly stamped out. Instead of keeping pace with the growth of colonial democracy, England stood still or even turned backward. Only the most liberal English Whigs could read America aright.

America was England's safety valve. Her radicals were in the colonies. Their influence was removed, and the radical is needed to keep a nation from becoming reactionary. Every colony had its radical frontier, whose presence was ever felt. Violent protests on the part of the discontented frontier element had kept the provincial assemblies from becoming smugly conservative, as Old England had become. The frontier was near at hand. Always dissatisfied, its democracy was a living force. And the radical section of these colonies was gaining strength after 1761, and finding leadership in men like Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Patrick Henry.

New Interpretation of the English Constitution. Politically, English and American leaders were speaking different languages. They differed on fundamentals. In America there was loyalty to the king, flag, and empire, much as in a modern British self-governing dominion; this loyalty was the common bond. Thus Virginia or Massachusetts looked upon the governor as the crown's representative and on the assembly as her own parliament. The British Parliament, she admitted, had a right to regulate commerce in general and legislate on all matters concerning Great Britain. She questioned the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies or levy direct taxes in the colonies. Her charter came from the king. With Parliament she had no direct connection, for she was not represented in its membership.

Hence, in view of the medieval English principle that there could be no just taxation without representation, she felt that Parliament had no right to levy taxes on colonial subjects. She could point for example to the Anglican Parliament of Ireland which had rather complete control of Irish internal matters; or to that of Scotland prior to the Act of Union. And Massachusetts regarded her General Court as a parliament.

To the colonial mind, representation must be direct. The representative of town or county in the assembly must be a resident of that town or county and elected by his neighbors. Again, colonial leaders drew a distinction between direct taxes and indirect taxes in the form of export and import duties. The latter, they admitted, Parliament could levy through its control over trade and commerce, as it had done from the beginning. But a direct tax, they contended, could be imposed only by the people's representatives in the legislature.

The English Interpretation. The colonial view of the constitution was historically doubtful. Yet it had reason. It was progressive, and in the present day it is accepted in the relationship of the English self-governing dominions to the empire. Yet in 1765 it was a radical interpretation. English statesmen accepted the old version. Parliament was supreme. And it was more supreme after the Revolution of 1688 than in the period of the first American settlements. The crown was fast becoming the less important branch of the central government. Colonials hardly appreciated this reversal, and it must be remembered that the descendants of the early colonists, rather than more recent arrivals, were in political control in every colony. Parliament had legislative and taxing power over the whole empire and certainly over the colonies, English leaders declared. It represented all Englishmen, live where they might. It might represent them directly or indirectly. To the English mind, the colonies were indirectly, or virtually, represented, much as the present dwellers in the District of Columbia, without voting rights, are indirectly represented in Congress. Great English manufacturing cities, rising after the ancient apportionment of seats in the House of Commons, were not directly represented in Parliament,

save as any member represented all Englishmen. Hence, with this national rather than district idea of representation, Englishmen could argue that Boston was represented quite as much as cities like Manchester or Birmingham, which had no seats in Parliament. Again, the British made no distinction between direct and indirect taxes, but regarded both as within the powers of Parliament over taxation.

These were tremendous differences concerning the theory and functions of government. They explain some of the immediate causes of the Revolution. They suggest the honest differences of opinion which might be held by men on the conservative, or English, side and those on the progressive, or American, side of the dispute.

The Working Government of Great Britain. Parliament had become the dominant branch of the government, but the crown was still powerful. George III, more than his predecessors, attempted to exert a strong personal influence and control the cabinet, which as yet had not developed its later complete executive power. The government was a constitutional monarchy, representative in theory. It was far from democratic, for a narrow oligarchy was in control. The House of Lords was composed of heads of noble houses and Anglican bishops. Two thirds of the seats in the House of Commons were filled practically by appointees because of the corrupt rotten-borough and pocket-borough system. Some six thousand voters elected a majority of the members. Thus the House of Commons represented in fact only a small group of feudal landholders, wealthy merchants and brokers, manufacturers, and capitalists with extensive English and colonial interests. Only about one person in forty of the population had the right to vote, so that not only laboring men and peasants but the bulk of the middle class were without direct voice in the government.

This small governing class naturally ruled not only the British Isles but the colonies, whether in America, in the West or East Indies, or elsewhere, in its own interest. No more thought was given to the laboring class in England than to the interests of the colonial planter or the small farmer. The desires of this

governing class and of George III happened to be the same, and hence he was stoutly supported by this Tory minority in Parliament and in the country.

Americans a New Race. Colonials were hardly Englishmen in the real sense. Environment had played its part. For example, a German of pure blood who has lived a couple of generations in present-day America finds on visiting the fatherland that he is not a regular German in type and temperament. An Irishman of the second generation differs from a recent immigrant, though his blood may be as purely Celtic. It is difficult to explain. The same was true of an English colonial who had some generations of American stock behind him. In addition there were the strong German and Irish groups, which had gradually merged with the Anglo-Saxon element to make the colonial people. A new race naturally looked toward independence as it developed a sense of nationalism.

American Inconsistency. At the very height of protests against British misrule, some of the colonies were guilty of oppressing their own frontier population. The older section of the colony invariably controlled the legislature. Its inhabitants traced their descent from the first settlers. They had the more valuable lands. They were socially more respected and they belonged to the favored church, Congregational in New England and Anglican in the South. The western, or frontier, section was inhabited by later settlers, new immigrants, and former indentured servants, who were forced to take the cheaper wild lands and establish homes for themselves. The old, governing element was slow in granting representation in the assembly to the new country, and property or religious tests for voting left the bulk of the western farmers without the suffrage. The latter made charges against the coast section of their respective colonies not unlike the colonial complaints against the mother country.

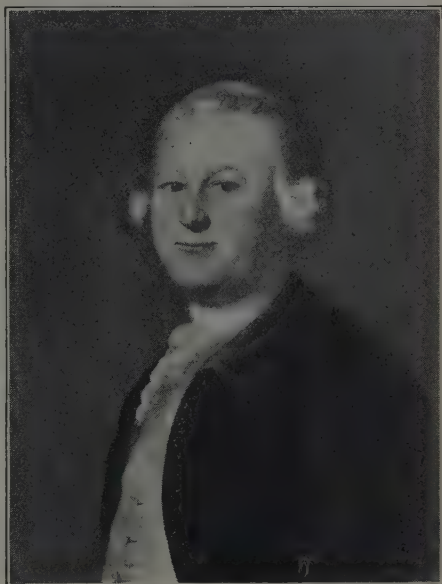
In North Carolina (1764-1771) there was a rebellion on the part of the backwoodsmen. These people, largely Scotch-Irish, resented the domination of the great planters. They were under-represented in the legislature and faced excessive taxes. As debtors, they wanted cheap money. The Hillsboro Court was broken

up, and lawyers and judges were attacked. In the battle of Alamance the rebels were crushed by Governor Tryon, later a Tory general in the Revolution. Many of the victors were Tories, while the Regulators, as the rebels were known, figured as ardent patriots. Elsewhere there was no bloody outbreak. Yet the outlying counties contended against the Quaker "political ring" which ruled Pennsylvania, and in western Massachusetts there was opposition to Boston rule. On the Virginia frontier there was open hostility to the tidewater planters and the Established Anglican Church.

Writs of Assistance.

The changed English policy resulted in an attempt to end illegal trading and enforce the Navigation Acts. Smuggling was prevalent but difficult to stop, since public sentiment favored the smuggler. The goods which had paid no duty were naturally cheaper, so that both merchant

and consumer profited. To aid in its suppression, writs of assistance were issued. These were general blank warrants of search by whose authority agents, on filling in the names of suspects, could search any home or warehouse where smuggled goods were supposed to be hidden. In 1761 new writs were issued by Parliament in the name of George III. Boston merchants contested their legality, retaining as counsel James Otis, a former crown advocate. Otis urged before the supreme court of Massachusetts that general warrants were contrary to the principles



JAMES OTIS

Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

of the common law and therefore unconstitutional. He lost the case, but gained fame as a defender of colonial privilege. Public opinion expressed a view as to the limitation of royal and parliamentary authority quite new to the British Tory government.

The "Parsons' Cause." In Virginia another important case was decided. Established ministers were paid in pounds of tobacco, which at times rose in value to six or even twelve pence. To protect the people, a legislative act (1758) permitted payment at the normal price of two pence a pound. The ministers procured a royal veto, and then sued for back pay. Patrick Henry, a rising young lawyer, took the case against a local parson and so influenced the jury that it awarded only a penny's damages. Henry denied the right of the crown, in spite of a number of precedents, to disallow a law passed by the assembly, with the declaration that a king who vetoes such an act has become a tyrant unworthy of obedience. This was bold language, but made a hero of its author. Elected to the House of Burgesses, Henry became the impassioned spokesman of the small farmers and religious dissenters in their conflict with the ruling aristocracy. As an agitator he was without a peer.

The Grenville Ministry (1763-1765). The chief of the new British ministry, Grenville, determined to increase colonial taxation so that the American administration would be self-supporting and able to maintain a standing army of 10,000 men. Governors were ordered to enforce all trade laws. Customs officers were compelled to serve in person, and numerous agents were sent to America. Patrol ships were detailed to stop smuggling. The admiralty courts, with headquarters at Halifax, were given greater authority over trade violations and seizures of ships engaged in illicit commerce. In an effort to increase business, the fur trade was encouraged, producers of rice were given a continuation of their open market in southern Europe, whaling, as well as the growing of flax and hemp, was favored with a bounty. Of Grenville it has been said that he was the first minister who read the American governors' dispatches. The failure of his policy would indicate no exact familiarity with colonial affairs, however desirous he was of collecting more taxes.

The Sugar Act (1764). The Molasses Act had never been enforced. Grenville believed that by cutting the tax from six to three pence on foreign molasses it could be collected, and thus the importation of foreign molasses prohibited. Six pence proved too high and was lowered a few years later. The chief difficulty lay in the fact that English sugar planters in the West Indies charged much more for molasses than the foreign islands, where it was a worthless by-product, and they supplied only about an eighth of the required amount. The enforcement of this act so cut the West Indian trade that hard times were brought upon New England shippers and distillers. Smuggling sugar and molasses, in spite of frequent seizure of boat and cargo, became highly profitable. There was a shortage of silver, which had been procured in trade with the Spanish islands at a time when England forbade issues of colonial paper money and the payment of debts to English creditors in such depreciated currency. As a result, New England was unable to purchase the usual invoices of goods from English manufacturers.

The Sugar Act brought such an outburst of opposition that a modern student, in a challenging spirit, has spoken of the Revolution as fought over sugar, molasses, and rum. The Boston town meeting, which had fallen under the control of Samuel Adams, protested against taxation without representation. As a reward, Adams was sent to the assembly, where he headed the advanced wing in attacks on the governor and British rule. Otis, maintaining that Parliament had changed the constitution, drafted a petition, which the legislature sent to its colonial agent in London. Pennsylvania sent Franklin over as an agent; New York merchants sent a memorial; the Carolinas and Virginia protested; Governor Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, a heavy West Indian trader, and Governor Fitch of Connecticut demanded self-government for Englishmen in America. Lawyer John Dickinson, representing the merchant class of Philadelphia, wrote an able, conservative protest. Grenville had stirred up a hornet's nest.

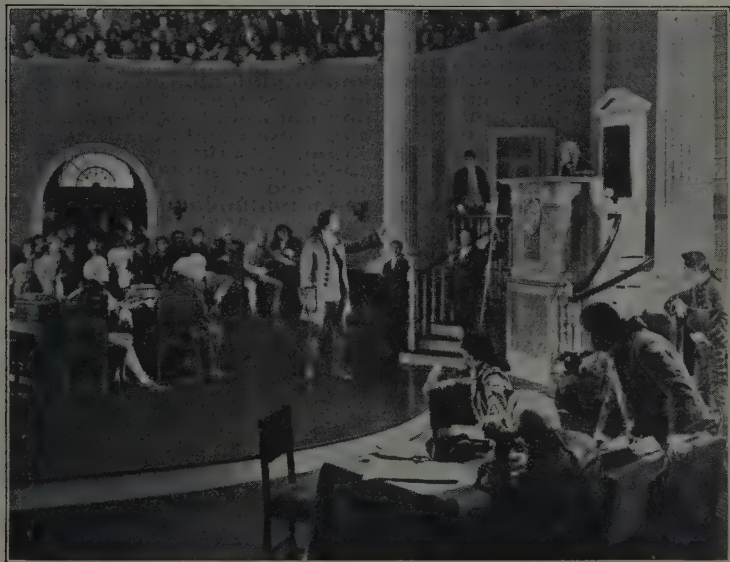
The Stamp Act (1765). The colonies failed to suggest an acceptable scheme of taxation. They were, therefore, thought

to be opposed to any tax; so Grenville procured a stamp tax. There was little opposition in Parliament, save Isaac Barré's eulogy of the colonials as "sons of liberty" and his condemnation of the ministry: "Children planted by your care! No! your oppression planted them in America. . . . Nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect." Franklin in London was striving to end the control of the Penn family by having Pennsylvania made a royal colony, but he took occasion to seek tax collectorships for his son and friends. Jared Ingersoll and Richard Henry Lee obtained collectorships for Connecticut and Virginia. Only such leaders as Otis and Hopkins stood out conspicuously against the project from the beginning.

The act provided that stamps ranging from a halfpenny to ten pounds be attached to all legal papers, pamphlets, newspapers, cards, and dice. Forgery and counterfeiting of the stamped paper were punishable by death. The revenue obtained from the sale of stamps was assigned to the maintenance of troops in America. Enforcement, which was left to royal agents and to the admiralty courts, brought out surprising opposition. Boston was riotous. Chief Justice Hutchinson's house was sacked and destroyed. Customs officers were robbed; tax collectors were burned in effigy. Otis and other patriots wrote stirring pamphlets. John Hancock declared: "I will never carry on business under such great disadvantages and Burthen. I will not be a slave, I have a right to the libertys and Privileges of the English Constitution and I as an Englishman will enjoy them." All New England followed Boston's lead. Local collectors were forced to resign on penalty of being tarred and feathered by their disguised townsmen. The Newport agent sought refuge on a British ship. "No taxation without representation" became a political password. Sons of Liberty clubs were formed everywhere.

The Virginia Resolutions. In the South, Virginia was in the lead. Patrick Henry and his followers forced a set of resolutions through the House of Burgesses declaring the Stamp Act unconstitutional. It was said to violate the principle of local taxation and police power and to be destructive of English as

well as of American liberties. It was in this connection that Patrick Henry aroused the assembly and all Virginia "rebels" with the passionate cry: "Tarquin and Cæsar each had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third — [pause until shouts of "Treason" from Speaker and king's men died out] may profit by their example. If this be treason make the most of it." Jefferson, then a young law student,



PATRICK HENRY SPEAKING AGAINST THE STAMP ACT

was thrilled with his hero's courageous denunciation of royal tyranny and by his bold stand against the Royalist faction in the House. Richard Bland maintained in a brochure that the existing union of England and the colonies was like the personal union of England and Scotland under the Stuarts or that of England and Hanover under the Georges. This was indeed an advanced view, for it denied Parliament's control over the empire.

The Stamp Act Congress (October 7, 1765). At the call of James Otis and the Massachusetts assembly, nine colonies sent

delegates to a Stamp Act Congress in New York. Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and New Hampshire were unrepresented. The gathering was significant as a step in colonial union and famed for its vigorous defense of the colonial interpretation of the English constitution. The moderate John Dickinson of Pennsylvania wrote the first draft of rights and grievances. Loyalty to the crown was stressed, but firm was the denial of Parliament's right to



WILLIAM PITT

levy a direct tax. It was also noted that jury trial was denied violators of the Stamp Tax law and that admiralty jurisdiction was extended to the prejudice of civil courts. The burdensome nature of the tax was emphasized, and the ancient right of petition was asserted. Petitions requesting redress were sent to George III and to both Houses of Parliament.

Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766). Grenville gave way to the Rockingham cabinet. The law was not enforceable. The expenses of collection were

heavy and stamps were not sold. Patriots refused English goods to such an extent that British merchants and manufacturers added their protest. William Pitt bestirred himself on the colonial side, as he maintained with other English liberals that the Americans were waging not only their own but Britain's fight for freedom. There-with, as a matter of policy the act was repealed, but not without a declaratory clause maintaining the right of taxation. Yet Pitt was a firm supporter of the old trade regulations, declaring that if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool or a horseshoe, he would fill their ports with ships and their towns with troops.

The Quartering Act. In preparation for the coming troops a quartering act was passed. This provided that the governor and military commanders, in the absence of barracks, could seize quarters and necessary supplies at prevailing rates. The act was not as innocent as it appeared. It would bring financial burdens, especially on New York, where because of its strategic, central location a large garrison would be settled. People feared that soldiers would be quartered in their homes to spy on them and control their actions. New York opposed quartering more vigorously than Boston. Possibly they recalled the massacre of the rebel McDonalds of Glencoe, in Scotland, by the soldiers of William III who were quartered in their midst. At least, the Highlanders of the Carolinas well remembered the sad fate of their murdered clansmen.

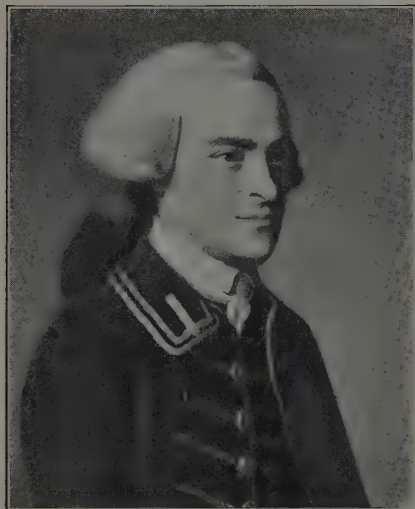
Townshend Acts (1767). Townshend was the important figure in the new Pitt-Grafton ministry. He had no intention of giving up colonial taxation. Probably no ministry could last which would do so, for the demand that America be taxed was growing as strong in England as the refusal in America. As New York failed to comply with the Quartering Act, her representative assembly was suspended. The customs service was reorganized, with general commissioners established at Boston. Duties were placed on glass, colors, painter's lead, and tea. In accordance with an old law, long applied in Ireland, prisoners accused of treason would be tried in England by an English jury.

Massachusetts' Disorders. Governor Bernard had aroused violent hostility by interfering with the legislature, dissolving it at will, vetoing its selection of councilors, and denying Otis the Speakership. Finally he retired to England, leaving the disorderly colony to the management of his deputy, Hutchinson. The latter was a good man but a narrow-minded Loyalist with little tact. Because he was a native, he was all the more detested by the Sons of Liberty and Samuel Adams's town worthies who composed the Caucus Club. Adams drew up a circular letter to the colonies expressing lip loyalty to the king, protesting against taxes, and suggesting an agreement to purchase no English goods which the crown vainly condemned.

Customs officers were defied. Smugglers were aided and the rewards of smuggling grew greater. John Hancock's sloop, *Liberty*, was seized by a British cutter while landing a cargo of foreign wine at Boston port. Elsewhere it was the same: a revenue cutter was burned at Newport, and collectors were tarred at Providence. The nonimportation plan of Boston merchants found support in New York, Pennsylvania, New

Hampshire, and Virginia. This scheme had taken root since the panic in the Stamp Act days of those British merchants who feared that they would lose heavily if the colonists refused to buy English-made goods. And American imports did fall.

Boston Massacre (March 5, 1770). Faneuil Hall was the scene of a protest meeting of delegates from about a hundred Massachusetts towns, on their hearing of the coming of British troops. The two regiments arrived in September, 1768. Boston was in a ferment. There



JOHN HANCOCK

burned afresh the old Anglo-Saxon fear of a standing army independent of the legislature. Today it is hard to realize the colonial dread of régulars in peace time, save that they were foreign police intended to enforce tyrannical laws and destroy colonial liberties and individual rights. Antagonism to England was no longer confined to the merchant and radical groups. It was astounding that the conflict did not come sooner. Boys and young men on a winter night in 1770 were hurling snowballs and epithets at the redcoats. The soldiers fired and several citizens, including a negro, were shot down. No doubt

it was a mob, but one which represented the town sentiment as few mobs ever have. Samuel Adams, with all Boston behind him, demanded that Hutchinson remove "both regiments or none" to the fort in the harbor, and the governor did so. John Adams and Josiah Quincy braved the wrath of their fellow citizens by defending Captain Preston and seven soldiers and obtaining an acquittal on a manslaughter charge of all but two, who were given nominal sentences. The massacre would long have been forgotten if this first bloodshed had not been followed by a successful revolution.

Farmer's Letters. Moderate men were worried lest the radicals push matters too far. Dickinson of Pennsylvania in his *Farmer's Letters*, which were widely read in America and England, urged compromise and moderation. He admitted Parliament's power over trade and commerce, but described the recent direct taxes as a dangerous experiment. He recalled historic examples of English resistance to tyrannical taxation and cautiously suggested that a people had the right to revolt.

Repeal of the Townshend Acts. The Lord North ministry (1770) repealed all taxes save that on tea. This was retained on principle lest it seem that Parliament's right to tax was waived. In answer colonial imports about doubled, reaching £4,000,000 that year. The tea tax brought no further protests, any more than the new penny tax on molasses. In three years over 400,000 pounds of tea were landed in Boston, about a fourth being handled by Hancock. In addition, some tea was smuggled from Holland. No doubt this tea found sale in other colonies, but Boston was its chief depot. It is doubtful if the poor could afford to drink such an expensive beverage, for common people drank sparingly of tea in the British Isles. The nonimportation agreements passed away. It looked as though moderation would prevent rebellion and that Royalists and conservatives were in command.

Patriotic Propaganda. Moderate counsel did not prevail. As we have noticed, the English policy regarding western lands and the Indians irritated the frontier. Governors and assemblies

were at odds here and there over governors' salaries, royal vetoes, official support of the slave trade, election of speakers, and issues of cheap paper money. The Massachusetts assembly was convened at Cambridge, apparently in response to the governor's desire to be freed of Boston's influence. Revenue agents were handled roughly. In Rhode Island a grounded revenue ship, the *Gaspee*, was fired by Sons of Liberty.

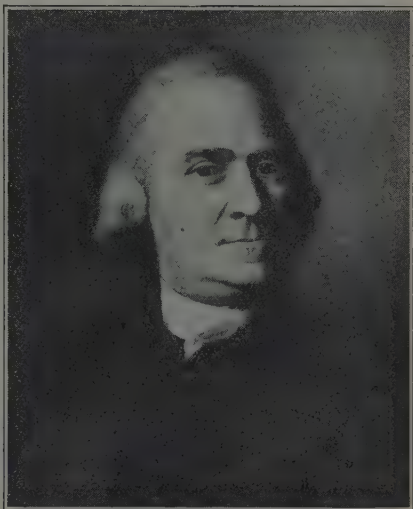
Radicals did not let matters rest. In Massachusetts the conservative faction of officials, lawyers, the bulk of the merchants, and farmers was the more powerful group, but it lacked spirited leadership. The patriot party, composed of a few merchants, the seafaring population, farmers, and debtors, found forceful leaders in John Hancock, a rich merchant, and Samuel Adams. As leader of the advanced group in the assembly and an originator of the town committees of correspondence, Adams exerted commanding influence. "The father of the town meeting" did much to keep alive anti-British feeling and to inspire a spirit of independence.

In New York small farmers and voteless men of the city formed the radical wing, while the ruling class of merchants, lawyers, and patroons were for the most part conservative. Propertied men as a whole had to be careful lest their wealth be endangered. Quiet prevailed; it was the lull before the storm. In Virginia the advanced group was made up of dissenters, Piedmont farmers, the Scotch-Irish, and land speculators who wanted to deprive the Indians of their western lands. Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry were the accepted leaders. In Pennsylvania it was much the same. The Germans were not interested, and the Quaker merchants and landholders were satisfied with conditions. Indeed, in Pennsylvania and Maryland hostility was directed against the lords proprietors rather than against English rule. The conservatives appeared dangerously strong everywhere, — if the English ministry would stop muddling matters.

Tea Act of 1773. The East India Company was closely allied with the ruling class. As it faced bankruptcy, its stockholders must be aided. A better market must be found for millions of

pounds of tea held in storage. Lord North's act permitted direct sale to the colonies, whereas previously tea had been handled by London brokers, who in turn sold to colonial merchants. Thus the middleman's profits would be cut off. In addition, a tax of a shilling a pound was returned on all tea exported from English warehouses, and only threepence was added as customs duty in America. Thus the colonial could buy tea at least ninepence a pound lower than the home consumer and cheaper than under the earlier arrangement. Possibly North used this bait to force the sale of tea and acceptance of the principle of taxation. If so, he failed. It was not cheap tea that the colonies wanted, but a recognition that taxes could only be levied by their representative legislatures. They realized that if they carelessly gave up the principle, other taxes would rapidly follow.

The Boston Tea Party (1773). The company sent a fleet of tea ships, expecting a ready sale. Adams induced the Boston town meeting to forbid the landing of the cargo, or even its storage in warehouses under guard of a town agent. Governor Hutchinson refused to allow the ships to return, for he was concerned with the sale of the tea as well as with the collection of the tax. So matters stood when, on December 16, a crowd of citizens disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the ships and dumped the tea into the harbor. In Philadelphia and New York authorities allowed the tea ships to return, and in Charleston the tea was stored in damp cellars and three years later sold for the support of the war. The liberal leader Pitt regarded this destruction of



SAMUEL ADAMS

property as criminal, and Franklin, though already busied in a number of ways in the patriots' cause, considered the action an injustice which called for reparation. However, radicals of Boston gloried in their challenge to the British Empire.

The Intolerable Acts (1774). England answered the challenge. Wise statesmen like Pitt and Edmund Burke favored conciliatory measures, but Parliament readily passed North's coercive, or "intolerable," acts. Boston port was declared closed until payment was made for the tea. The merchants were willing to pay, but popular clamor would not permit such a surrender. Salem was made the capital and port of entry. The old charter was revised. Henceforth the crown, not the assembly, appointed members of the council. This would mean, as in other royal colonies, that in future conflicts with the lower house the governor could count on the support of the council. In Massachusetts the council elected by the assembly had always stood with the lower house in such conflicts. The governor was empowered to appoint judges, sheriffs, and marshals, but a judge could be removed only by the crown. Juries were to be selected by the sheriffs, not in town meetings. Royal agents accused of crime in the pursuit of duty were to be tried in England. No further chances were to be taken with local lawyers and juries. Aside from electing town officials, the town meeting was to be convened only on the governor's license. An ominous thing was the appointment of General Thomas Gage with four more regiments to police the Bay Colony. Then there was the Quebec Act, which narrow-minded patriots insisted was aimed at the Congregational churches.

The die was cast. Massachusetts had her back to the wall. Samuel Adams busied himself. Local committees of correspondence were active. Nonimportation and no exports to England were decreed in patriot circles, and a call for a general congress of the colonies was ordered.

The First Continental Congress. The suggestion of Massachusetts patriots to hold this Congress was brought by Paul Revere, who journeyed to Philadelphia on horseback. The guild of carpenters donated the use of their hall despite the danger

of royal seizure. All the colonies save Georgia sent delegates, many of whom were remarkable men: John Sullivan of New Hampshire; Thomas Cushing and the Adamses of Massachusetts; Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island; Silas Deane and Roger Sherman of Connecticut; James Duane, John Jay, and Philip Livingston, of New York; William Livingston of New Jersey; Joseph Galloway, Thomas Mifflin, and Edward Biddle, of Pennsylvania; Thomas McKean and George Reed of Delaware; William Paca and Samuel Chase of Maryland; Peyton Randolph (president), Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Washington, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, of Virginia; John and Edward Rutledge, Christopher Gadsden, and Thomas Lynch, of South Carolina. These were the chief figures. They

were prudent men, as William Pitt (Lord Chatham) advised the Commons on reading their communications and petition.

John Adams wrote home :

It is such an assembly as never before came together on a sudden in any part of the world ; here are fortunes, ability, learning, eloquence, astuteness equal to any I ever met in my life. Here is a diversity of religions, educations, manners, interests, such as it would seem impossible to unite in one line of conduct.

Some opposed an opening prayer because of the diversity of beliefs, but on motion of Puritan Samuel Adams, a local Epis-



CARPENTERS' HALL, WHERE THE FIRST
AMERICAN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

copalian minister was called. Here was evidence of a beginning in toleration: Then Patrick Henry electrified the members in an impassioned address urging them to remember that theirs was a common interest and destiny and that they were Americans rather than Virginians or New Englanders. He struck a critical note; the colonies must unite.

Congress approved Massachusetts' opposition to the "Intolerable Acts," and agreed that all America would aid if Great Britain attempted enforcement. All the members signed the "Association," which was an agreement not to import or consume British goods until colonial wrongs were righted. It was voted to discontinue the slave trade, which was especially profitable to the Royal African Company. Sheep-raising was to be encouraged, strict economy to be observed, and all idle pleasures set aside. It was ordered that profiteering by merchants and violations of the Association be prevented by town committees and publicity. On the adoption of an address to the English nation and a petition to the king, the session (September 5 to October 26, 1774) ended, with the agreement that a second Congress should meet the following May.

References

HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 383-453; C. L. BECKER, *The Eve of the Revolution* (Chronicles); ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*.

Bibliography

ANDREWS, "American Revolution," *American Historical Review* (January, 1926), *Colonial Background of American Revolution*; G. E. HOWARD, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*; CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. III, pp. 1-154; BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 425-456; C. L. BECKER, *Beginnings of the American People*, pp. 202-253; C. H. VAN TYNE, *The Causes of the War of Independence*; C. E. MCILWAIN, *The American Revolution*; A. M. SCHLESINGER, *Colonial Merchants in the American Revolution*; R. G. ADAMS, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution*; LECKY, *American Revolution* (Woodburn's ed.), pp. 105-179; RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *The Rise of the Republic*, pp. 158-455; S. E. MORISON, *Sources and Documents on the American Revolution*, pp. 1-145; P. O. HUTCHINSON, *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*; J. K. HOSMER, *Life of Thomas Hutchinson*; H. E. EGERTON, *Causes and Character of the American Revolution*, pp. 1-113; L. H. GIPSON, *Jared Ingersoll*; P. R.

WILSON (Ed.), *Andrew Burnaby, Travels, 1759-1760*; C. H. LINCOLN, *Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*; H. J. ECKENRODE, *Revolution in Virginia*; W. E. FITCH, *Some Neglected History of North Carolina*; M. D. HAYWOOD, *Governor Tryon*; C. E. MERRIAM, *History of American Political Theories*; A. L. CROSS, *Anglican Episcopate and American Colonies*; G. S. KIMBALL, *Correspondence of Pitt with Colonial Governors*.

2. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Last Efforts at Conciliation. Parliament, at the close of 1774, considered the petition and address of the Continental Congress. Two months before, Lord North, who personally had little heart for war, notified George III that all New England was in a state of rebellion. Liberal members of the Whig party argued that Americans were fighting for popular rule even as they themselves were contending against the Tory government. They would compromise and prevent war. Pitt urged that the troops be withdrawn from Boston, but neither this request nor his conciliation program was heeded. Edmund Burke delivered famous speeches on American taxation and conciliation with the colonies. Innumerable tracts appeared on one side or the other. Tories stiffened and supported their obstinate king in his arrogant determination to beat down liberalism in the colonies. North, loyal to his king, served and carried out the will of the sovereign and his ruling clique against his own better judgment. As yet the prime minister regarded himself as a royal servant rather than the representative of the nation and the mouthpiece of the majority group in the House of Commons. A restraining act further limited colonial trade and answered the American petition with more annoying regulations.

The Spring of 1775. Gage managed to keep the peace in Boston. His attitude was cautious. Instead of arresting Hancock and sending him to England for trial, he sought his aid in obtaining barracks for the troops. His agents noted the growing opposition. Jefferson's logical summary of colonial grievances and condemnation of British misrule was printed in a widely distributed pamphlet. The nonimportation agreement was enforced by violence when necessary. A revolution requires

desperate measures; for it is a last resort when legal processes fail. The patriots realized that their cause could not be advanced by nice means but only by drastic action. Disobedient merchants were warned; royal supporters were mobbed; destruction of property and burning of buildings frightened objectors and neutrals; tar-and-feathering of Tories was frequent.



STATUE, BY J. E. KELLY, OF PAUL REVERE
MOUNTING HIS HORSE

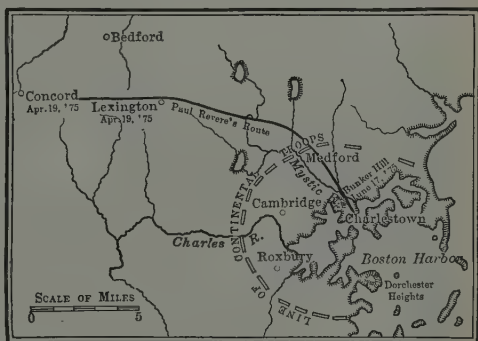
The Massachusetts provincial congress appointed a committee of safety, of whom Hancock, Joseph Warren, and Benjamin Strong were the most active. Similar committees appeared in other colonies. Military preparations were ordered. Rhode Island seized the Newport batteries. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland, in provincial conventions, — the last three called in spite of hostile gov-

ernors, — provided for an enlarged and trained militia. In Massachusetts towns the patriots had seized control. Only Boston was held by General Gage. The assembly met in Salem, in Concord, and in Cambridge, and the governor was powerless to prevent its meetings. The authority of the king was at an end.

Lexington, April 19, 1775. Gage planned to seize the munition stores at Concord, and arrest Adams and Hancock. His plans were learned by watchful patriots; the signal lantern was seen in the North Church; and Warren dispatched Paul Revere to sound the alarm "through every Middlesex village and farm." Longfellow's story needs no retelling. "The British are coming,"

like a cry of "Fire," rang through the night. At dawn Major Pitcairn with eight hundred men drew up at the Lexington village green to find about seventy minutemen blocking the way. The order "Disperse, you rebels!" was heard; then someone fired. When the smoke cleared, eighteen patriots lay dead or wounded. Without firing, the militia broke, and the regulars marched to Concord.

Battle of Concord. Before the British arrived the cannon and powder had been removed, and Samuel Adams and Hancock made good their escape. The warrants for their arrest as traitors were never to be served. When the British arrived at Concord bridge, they saw the patriots drawn up on the opposite side. In the battle that followed the British were defeated. The futile march ended; the Brit-



THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

ish turned back to Boston. The return was a massacre. The regulars in ordered lines were cut down by patriot marksmen hidden behind rocks, trees, and fences. Only the arrival of Lord Percy with fifteen hundred men saved the regulars from disaster. About three hundred British soldiers were killed or wounded, while the patriots lost only a third as many. The firing resounded throughout the colonies and echoed round the world. The Revolution had commenced.

War is a cruel thing. The British soldier was sent to death in his master's cause. Impressed, or forced, into the service by the same hard economic conditions that had sent emigrants to America, he had no interest and probably little heart in the fight. He did not realize, nor did the patriots, that the Americans were fighting his battle for democracy as well as their own. The student should remember this, lest the war leave a feeling of hatred.

All New England was stirred. Volunteers flocked from near-by towns to Boston. Colonel Israel Putnam, hero of numerous wolf hunts and feats of daring, left his plow and led a Connecticut detachment; Benedict Arnold, a New Haven druggist, brought a trained band; Nathanael Greene headed Rhode Island volunteers; and John Stark led his New Hampshire boys. By



THE BRITISH IN RETREAT FROM CONCORD TO LEXINGTON

By permission of the artist, H. A. Ogden

May the news had reached South Carolina, which recruited two regiments. General Gage reported, "The people of Charleston are as mad as they are here in Boston." Washington, farming his vast estate at Mount Vernon, predicted that it meant war or slavery. In England news of Lexington came like a thunder clap. Yet the government accepted George III's decision: "America must be a colony of England or treated as an enemy."

Bunker Hill, June 17. Within a few weeks 16,000 "embattled farmers" were besieging Boston. New British troops appeared under Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, increasing Gage's force to

10,000 trained and well-supplied regulars. To make the siege more effective and prevent British occupation of Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston neck and city, the patriots decided to occupy Bunker Hill on the Charlestown peninsula. However, Colonel Prescott selected Breed's Hill near by, and his men, by the light of shaded torches, threw up an embankment and intrenched themselves. The enemy awoke to see American guns trained on them. General Clinton wisely advised that the neck of land be seized and the rebels thereby cut off from the mainland and retreat. Gage insisted on a direct assault when the ships' batteries failed to dislodge the Americans. The slow process of ferrying the troops to Charlestown gave Prescott time to improve his earthen fortifications and obtain reinforcements from Cambridge.

Neither British officers nor soldiers had any respect for the "fighting colonists," whom they failed to recognize as freemen. Tales of American cowardice at Quebec and Louisburg were current in British army circles. Hence the assaulting force took needless risks. They expected the colonials to throw down their fowling pieces and run. To the 1200 sleepless men who had dug themselves in the night before Prescott gave orders not to fire until they could see the whites of the enemy's eyes and then to aim at their hips. The first and second charges failed; British soldiers fell at every step, but with bulldog courage they kept coming. The third assault succeeded, for Yankee powderhorns were empty. The Americans lost 450 men, including the beloved Dr. Joseph Warren, who served as a volunteer in the ranks. They had won a moral victory and sold the hill at a terrible price, for the English losses amounted to 1500. Considering the numbers engaged, no battle in the Seven Years' War had cost a British detachment a heavier quota, and probably no other battle in the Revolutionary War did so. The untrained colonial, fighting for home and liberty, had shown his mettle. Rebels throughout the land gained heart, and the British fighting men learned respect for them.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In the meantime Arnold and Ethan Allen, leading Vermont woodsmen (Green Mountain boys), surprised by night the strong fortress and military storehouse of

Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. The commandant was ordered by Allen to surrender in the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress, and did so without a blow (May 10). Crown Point also fell without a shot. This gave the "rebels" command of the strategic waterway of the Hudson River, Lake George, and Lake Champlain and a store of cannon, muskets, and powder that did good service in forcing the evacuation of Boston.

Affairs in the South. Patrick Henry and Virginia were not idle. In the revolutionary assembly, Henry headed the war party. When it was learned that Governor Dunmore had set a death trap for anyone tampering with the powder magazine at Williamsburg, the patriots were furious. Thereupon the governor took refuge on a British man-of-war. With boats manned by Tories and negroes he ravaged the Virginia coasts and river plantations, and burned Norfolk (New Year's Day, 1776). These raids aided the patriot cause by driving the planters into the rebel ranks. The Carolinas faced a civil war. In the spring of 1776 Donald McDonald and his Highlander Royalists were defeated near Wilmington by the rebel patriots, and thereafter, as neutrals, kept the peace.¹ The attitude of the Highlanders is puzzling, for not thirty years before they were in the Scottish rising for Prince Charlie. In Mecklenburg County the frontiersmen set up their own government, refusing to recognize English law or officials. Later this action gave rise to the erroneous view that a formal declaration of independence had been drafted.

The Second Continental Congress. Ethan Allen's authority was good; Congress met the very day of Ticonderoga's surrender. Every colony was represented; the struggle had become national. Hancock replaced Randolph as president. Franklin, recently returned from England, and Jefferson as Washington's successor were new members, though most of the delegates had sat in the First Congress. The moderate party was still in control, but ere long the aggressive minority had become a majority. The radicals insisted that the time for protests, petitions, and compromises had passed and that a state of war actually existed. Steps were taken to raise and equip an army, provide vessels of

¹ The husband and son of the romantic Flora McDonald were among the Scots.

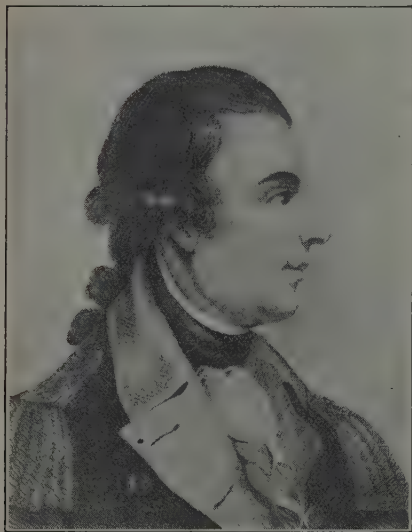
war, win Indian allies, enforce the nonimportation agreement, and seek foreign sympathy and, if possible, active aid. This revolutionary assembly with no legal right of existence prepared to conduct a spirited campaign in defense of American liberties.

The army besieging Boston was made a national force with Washington as commander in chief. It was a judicious appointment. As a number of the generals were New Englanders, a Virginian in chief command made clear that the war was an all-American movement. Then, as an Anglican, a social leader in the South, and one of the richest colonials, Washington made it evident that the war was not wholly a Puritan, Scotch-Irish, and poor man's revolt. His experience in the French and Indian War counted for much, but his probity, courage, sound judgment, and commanding personality for much more. Putnam, Philip Schuyler, Artemas Ward, and Charles Lee were commissioned major generals. The last, a recent immigrant and British officer, turned out a most unfortunate selection. Army rules were enacted. Recruiting was stimulated. Efforts were made to increase the supplies of cannon, guns, lead, saltpeter, and munitions. Here was the real problem: men could be enrolled but not equipped. The long-restricted manufacturers were encouraged, but the shortage of munitions was severely felt during the whole war. A national post office was established, with Franklin in charge. Privateers were authorized to fit out vessels to attack enemy merchantmen, and rules were laid down concerning their captured prizes.

Congress appeals for Support. Congress refused North's half-hearted attempt at conciliation, yet denied that it was bent upon separation from the empire. An address to the "oppressed inhabitants of Canada" carried a note of toleration quite in contrast with the New England resolutions on the Quebec Act. Addresses were dispatched to the friendly people of Great Britain, Ireland, the city of London, and several of the West Indian colonies. The latter suffered under the same grievances, but as islands their revolt would have been hopeless in the face of British naval power. Dickinson was appointed to draft another humble petition to the sovereign, which was amazingly respect-

ful if not cringing. It carried the old idea that the king personally could do no wrong and that, wrong being done, it must be due to wicked counselors. The formal, if dubious, protestation of loyalty satisfied conservatives, and its rejection made easier the stout patriots' next step — independence.

Invasion of Canada. George III proclaimed Americans rebels, and Parliament prohibited all trade with the thirteen American



GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

colonies. In October, 1775, four English ships captured and burned Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, leaving a thousand innocent people shelterless. Thus the patriots were further embittered. In the meantime Congress ordered an invasion of Canada, believing that Canadians would welcome deliverance and join in the rebellion.

Richard Montgomery, an Irishman, led a small force by way of Lake Champlain and took St. John and Montreal. He marched to Quebec, where he was joined

by Arnold and a force of picked Yankee woodsmen which had traversed the Maine wilds despite incredible hardships. A joint attack (December 31, 1775) failed; Montgomery fell mortally wounded. The Canadians had no heart for rebellion, and the citadel was manned with British regulars under the able Governor Carleton. Despite a loss of about 4000 men in this northern campaign the Americans continued the siege until spring. Meantime Arnold was superseded by Sullivan. Receiving reinforcements, Sullivan attempted to take Three Rivers, but failed and retreated to Crown Point. It was a costly and futile campaign, but it showed the stamina of frontier fighters.

The Evacuation of Boston (March 17, 1776). Two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, Washington took command of the patriot forces at Cambridge under the famous elm tree, which has only recently been destroyed by time. He found a body of untrained minutemen, armed with fowling pieces, and pikes hammered out at local forges. Supplies were scarce. Men were coming and going as their short periods of enlistment ended or as farm labor called. It was a discouraging task, yet despite every difficulty he welded the recruits into a disciplined force before the winter ended. At times the situation was so hopeless that he concealed it from his own staff officers. It is past understanding why the twenty British regiments did not break the besiegers' lines and dispose of the ill-prepared patriots.

In the spring Washington's position improved. A lull in farm work brought a huge crowd of militiamen. Rugged survivors of the Canadian campaign were on hand. Cannon and munitions from Ticonderoga arrived. Batteries were stationed on Dorchester Heights to the south of Boston. The British must either attack the fortified hills or seek refuge on their ships in the harbor. Bunker Hill had taught its lesson, and General Howe, who succeeded Gage, decided to evacuate the city. On St. Patrick's Day the British withdrew, and sailed to Halifax on transports crowded with soldiers and Loyalist refugees. Valuable military supplies were abandoned, to the exultation of Washington's entering army. The deliverance of Boston was great news for the united colonies.

Mission to Canada. Unable to conquer Canada, Congress, in the spring of 1776, sent Franklin, Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll, and young Father John Carroll to present the Revolutionary cause to the French. Charles Carroll, educated in Paris and at the Middle Temple in London, was the leading American Catholic and one of the richest men in the colonies. It was expected that his position, creed, and knowledge of French would give weight to his counsels. His cousin, John, educated in France and serving as a secular priest in Maryland, was also a tactful choice. Yet the mission was hopeless. Bishop Briand of Quebec was loyal to England. He could not be convinced of the

sincerity of American friendship after the outburst against the Quebec Act. The French clergy were solidly behind him, and the Canadians had hated the Puritans so long and bitterly that they could not easily forget. The mission received scant courtesy and gave up hope of any aid. The Canadians remained passive during the war, furnishing few recruits to the British army,

especially after the French alliance.

Charleston Saved, June 28, 1776. Hoping for a Tory insurrection, a British army and fleet, led by Clinton and Parker, respectively, advanced on Charleston, which was held by 6000 militia. A fort of green palmetto logs was thrown up on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the harbor, and there Colonel Moultrie awaited the attack. The ships' cannon did little damage, while American



© E. H. Pickering

CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON

guns swept the decks, so that the enemy with heavy losses hurriedly withdrew. It was here that Sergeant Jasper heroically rescued the fallen flag of South Carolina. The patriots of the Carolinas were much heartened; they too had withstood the enemy.

Moving toward Separation. In the early months of 1776 hardly a third of the people favored separation. The remainder was equally divided between stout Royalists and neutrals who prayed for conciliation. Patriots were gaining control. They were well organized through town and county committees of correspondence (thanks to Samuel Adams), provincial commit-

tees of safety, and provincial assemblies, which had replaced the old colonial governments. They had a stout minority in the Continental Congress. The patriots had an aggressive platform, which was becoming more radical and popular as English mistakes accumulated. In New England and Virginia they had the natural leaders and many men of wealth; in the cities they controlled the laboring element; in all the colonies they had the small farmers and frontiersmen. Patriot numbers were increasing as neutrals, seeing that war was inevitable, joined the cause.

Separation was rapidly gaining headway. Thomas Paine, English immigrant and revolutionist, wrote "Common Sense," published in January, 1776. The little pamphlet went through innumerable editions and was translated into various languages. Its influence was marked. Paine urged a declaration of independence, ridiculing the theory of kingship in the English constitution, and showing the absurdity of a broad continent ruled by a little island three thousand miles away. Written in language that all men could understand, its appeal was tremendous.

Washington himself advised independence. Greene urged separation upon Rhode Island's delegates in Congress. South Carolina gave its representatives authority to join in any movement for the general welfare. In April, North Carolina decided for independence, for the patriots had seized command. Virginia, which in convention had adopted a framework of state government and a bill of rights including a declaration of independence, instructed Richard Henry Lee to work in Congress on behalf of separation. Congress opened American ports to the commerce of all nations save England. This was a decisive step. Soldiers were sent to overpower the Long Island Tories. Maryland placed its governor under arrest.

Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania were lukewarm toward independence. Even good patriots, somewhat like John Adams himself, feared the mob's control in the event of independence. It was this, more than loyalty, which made so many property-owners, merchants, and solid men cautious. It was a fear not without reason and one which was not removed until a firm government was established in 1789. Only at the

last moment were patriots like Chase and Carroll able to swing Maryland in favor of independence.

Declaration of Independence. Richard Henry Lee (June 7) moved in Congress that "These united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Although the motion was hotly debated for nearly a month, a committee (Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman) was named to draft a declaration in expectation that the motion would be approved. To Jefferson this labor of love fell. He was prepared to draft the document, for he had compiled a list of the royal tyrannies in a famous pamphlet and had taken an active part in the Virginia declaration and bill of rights as fathered by George Mason, Henry, and Thomas Nelson. Jefferson's draft was slightly revised by Adams and Franklin and submitted to the Continental Congress, July 1. The following day it was accepted, for most of the delegates had instructions from their provincial assemblies to support this program. Dickinson and Robert Morris remained away, and their absence gave Pennsylvania's vote for separation. Pennsylvania's acceptance was doubly essential because of its size and geographical location. Rodney hurried pell-mell from his home in Delaware to add the weight of his vote. It was several days before the New York delegates were instructed to sign. On July 4 the revised Declaration of Independence was read and approved. Printed copies were sent to colonial and military authorities, and within a few weeks it was officially read in all parts of the land. On August 2 most of the signers appended their names to the engrossed document, though several, because of enforced absences, signed later.¹

¹ Charles Carroll was the only Catholic signer, though another Maryland signer, William Paca, joined the Church later in life. The story is told that, as there were so many Carrolls in Maryland, one of the signers jestingly said that Carroll was in no danger, for the king could never identify him. Thereupon he is said to have made the identification complete by adding "of Carrollton," the name of his manorial estate. The story is hardly true as this was his usual way of signing his name.



© H. A. Ogden

SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 2, 1776

The Declaration of Independence should be carefully studied. It is a famous liberty document on the order of the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Its strong, concise, logical, rhetorical, and appealing diction show Jefferson at his best. And no living man wrote better English or was more concerned with the best political thought of the past. The Declaration restated the old feudal principle of the right of a people to a just rule and, in the event of the governing power's failure, the right of a people to bear arms in revolt. It recognized that all men are born free and equal and "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Jefferson was a reader of the contemporary French philosophers, and no matter how irreligious they may have been, they were steeped in the Catholic philosophy acquired in the Jesuit schools in which they had been trained. They borrowed heavily from Cardinal Bellarmine, and from St. Thomas Aquinas and other scholastic philosophers. There is an unbroken link between the underlying philosophy of the Declaration and the medieval theories of government.

The Declaration maintained that a people about to revolt and establish itself as an independent nation among the powers of the earth should declare before the world the causes of its action. Then followed that "long train of abuses and usurpations" which were charged to George III and his government. Here was an appeal to a candid world for moral sympathy. Here was the patriot party's war platform. Here was an appeal to American neutrals, completely justifying this resolute action of Congress and the patriot party. Then followed the declaration of the representatives of the "United States of America, in General Congress assembled," that the former colonies of Great Britain have severed their connection with that nation and are free and independent states with full sovereignty.

"With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor,"— and then follow the glorious names of the signers, topped by Hancock's bold signature. To sign took courage; for if the Revolution failed, every man knew that as a

rebel his life would be in jeopardy. Franklin's witticism that they must all hang together or they would hang separately was not without reason. Only in union could there be success.

References

BURKE, *Speeches on America* (Everyman's Library); G. M. WRONG, *Washington and his Comrades in Arms* (Chronicles), pp. 1-80; E. L. DUDLEY, *Franklin*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. III, pp. 155-206; LECKY, *American Revolution* (Woodburn's ed.); FISKE, *American Revolution*; HAROLD MURDOCK, *The Nineteenth of April*; ALLEN FRENCH, *The Day of Concord and Lexington*; J. FITZPATRICK, *The Spirit of the Revolution*; EZRA STILES, *Literary Diary*; J. H. HAZELTON, H. FRIEDENWALD, and CARL BECKER have written volumes on the Declaration of Independence; G. H. PREBLE, *History of the Flag of the United States* (similar books by J. H. FOX, P. D. HARRISON, and H. H. HORNER); BECKER, *Political Parties in New York, 1760-1776*; E. H. GOSS, *Life of Paul Revere*; RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*; M. D. CONWAY, *Life of Thomas Paine*; K. M. ROWLAND and L. A. LEONARD have lives of Charles Carroll; FORD, *Writings of John Dickinson*; RALPH HARLOW, W. V. WELLS, and J. K. HOSMER have lives of Samuel Adams; WILLIAM TUDOR, *Life of James Otis*; M. C. TYLER, *Patrick Henry*; A. E. BROWN, *John Hancock*; W. W. HENRY, *Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence, and Speeches*; K. M. ROWLAND, *Life of George Mason*; E. W. ANDREWS (Ed.), *Journal of a Lady of Quality*; F. G. HINKHOUSE, *Preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English Press*; lives of Franklin by PHILLIPS RUSSELL and by J. T. MORSE, JR.; J. C. RAGER, *Political Philosophy of Cardinal Bellarmine* (Catholic University series).

3. THE REVOLUTION

War for Independence. The Declaration of Independence ended all possibility of compromise. It was war to the finish — for independence or conquest. Americans were out-and-out rebels. Since it was no longer a party struggle, British Whigs showed American liberals no more sympathy, but, as loyal subjects, backed the war of subjugation. In America men were forced to take sides. They were either Loyalists and Tories or Whigs, patriots, and rebels. Only cowardly men thinking solely of their personal fortunes could remain neutral.

The Loyalists. Possibly a third of the population was loyal to the king. Some conservative men opposed rebellion and feared "mob" control. They believed that their liberties and property were safer under the old rule than in revolutionary states. Some believed that the causes were not sufficient to warrant rebellion. Others were loyal because they revered the anointed sovereign and the British system. As a whole, the Tories displayed a courageous loyalty to the mother country and suffered sorely in her cause.

Even in New England, where Tories were least numerous, the larger share of the educated, well-to-do, and previously respected group was Loyalist in sympathy. Most of the Episcopalians and Methodists, lawyers, and royal officials were Tories. The majority was inactive, for the patriots enforced silence. In 1778 Massachusetts banished three hundred families with well-known names. Sir William Pepperell's estates were confiscated. In New Hampshire twenty-eight large estates, including Governor Wentworth's, were taken. Providence was a Tory center; and in Connecticut Tories were numerous enough to be a danger.

New York City and surrounding counties were largely Tory, especially the propertied and middle-class people who feared debtor rule. During the British occupation the Tories prospered, but the patriots confiscated the lands and rents of numerous families like the De Lanceys, Phillipses, and the family of Roger Morris, in all about £3,000,000. In Pennsylvania half the people, including merchants, landholders, and lawyers, were Tories. The Penn family lost property worth £1,000,000. Even in Maryland, where Tories were powerful if not actually a majority, Tory property worth £500,000 was confiscated. In Virginia they formed a large minority, and elsewhere in the South more than 50 per cent of the people. Such a large section of the population cannot be condemned with a sneer, as was the practice in old textbooks.

The Loyalists and the War. The bulk of the Tories remained quiet and were probably unmolested. Congress was anxious to convert them by fair treatment. Wealthy Tories were treated more harshly, for the patriot party in the various states was

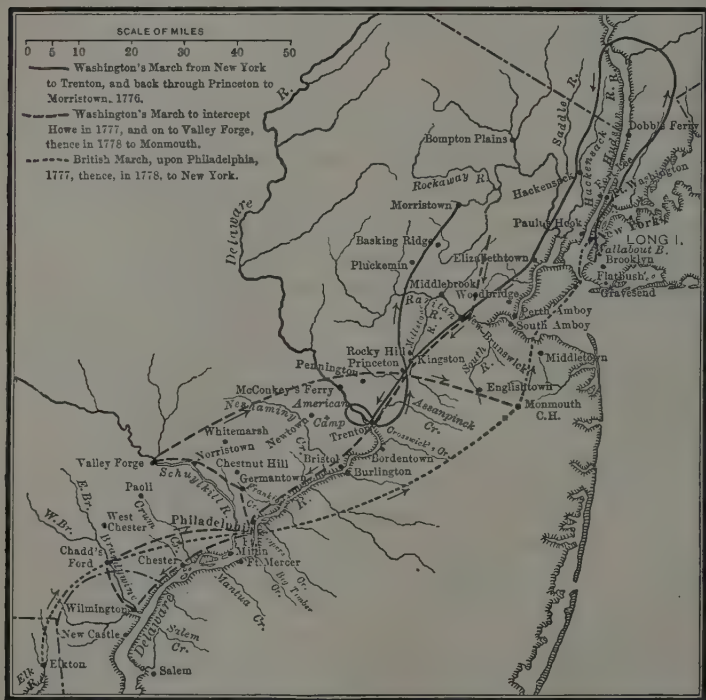
anxious to confiscate their property for war purposes. In all, the Loyalists estimated that £8,000,000 had been so seized, though Parliament only granted £3,000,000 in indemnities in addition to land grants. About 100,000 Tories left the country. Some returned to England, but fully 50,000 settled in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Cape Breton Island, where they helped to build up the Canadian domain. They furnished at least 30,000 soldiers.

The Hessians. English enlistments were slow, and George III preferred to hire foreign soldiers rather than to improve conditions of service in the British army. On the failure of Catherine of Russia to provide 20,000 Cossacks, the war department contracted with the autocratic princes of Hesse, Anhalt, and Brunswick for mercenaries. These princes gladly hired out their subjects as a source of revenue. The poor men had no voice in the matter and little knowledge of their destination. In all, 30,000 Germans were imported. They were well-trained men, but probably did not fight with much enthusiasm. Desertions were numerous when the Hessians were encamped in German localities, and many allowed themselves to be captured. Numbers of them settled down among their countrymen, seizing the opportunity of owning land. The British use of German mercenaries embittered the Americans. Carroll urged that the Americans retaliate by hiring Germans or raising an Irish brigade for American service, but nothing came of the suggestion.

Campaign of 1776. General Howe soon sailed from Halifax to New York, which he recognized as the vital point of attack. In July he had an army of 25,000 men on Staten Island, including Tryon and a force of Tories. Earl Howe, his brother, commanded a fleet in the harbor. New York, poorly fortified, was further weakened by the large percentage of Tories in its midst. Redoubts were built by the Americans on Governors Island and on Paulus Hook (Jersey City), and obstructions were placed in the channel, but these counted for little when bombarded by English land and ship batteries. Nathanael Greene and Putnam were stationed at Brooklyn Heights with 7000 men, and about 18,000 American militia were under Washington in

New York City or in Forts Lee and Washington, which had been fortified to protect the Hudson River.

On August 22 Howe crossed over to Long Island and five days later led an attack on Sullivan and Sterling, who were forced back with a loss of 1500 men. Washington rushed aid, which saved the



WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGNS, 1776-1778

American army from capture. If the Howes had known the land better and if high winds had not made it impossible to sail up the river, the Americans would have been trapped on the island. However, on August 29, under cover of fog and with Washington's aid, they withdrew from Long Island to Manhattan. The city, commanded by British guns on the Brooklyn cliffs, could not be held, and sadly the patriot forces retreated up Broadway

to Harlem Heights. It was then (September 22) that Nathan Hale, the youthful Connecticut schoolmaster, was executed as a spy, with the inspiring words on his dying lips, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." Only recently has his alma mater, Yale, erected a memorial in his honor. The British dug intrenchments across the island, virtually cutting New York City off from the rest of America until the end of the war. Putnam, so the story goes, was saved by the delay of Howe, who accepted wine and refreshments from the patriotic Mrs. Murray in her farm mansion at Murray Hill, where now stands the Grand Central Station.

At White Plains (October 28) the Americans accepted defeat, but not without severely damaging the enemy. Washington, against his own judgment, followed Greene's advice and did not withdraw the garrison from Fort Washington, with the result that it was stormed and captured, with supplies and 2600 of his best soldiers (November 16). Fort Lee too fell with considerable loss in munitions, but the garrison escaped (November 20).

Washington withdrew to Hackensack and Newark. Charles Lee, treacherously violating orders, failed to come to Washington's aid. It was a relief when he was captured by a British foraging party. General Sullivan came, as soon as British invaders from Canada had been repulsed. The American force, through losses, desertions, and the withdrawal of Maryland and New Jersey militia, whose short enlistments had expired, dwindled to 6000, when Washington commenced his masterly retreat through New Jersey to avoid capture by Cornwallis's strong pursuing force. When he arrived at Trenton, his army scarcely numbered 3000 veterans, and it was with a heavy heart that Washington crossed the Delaware with the British advance guard at his heels. As all boats were seized or sunk, Cornwallis was unable to follow. Washington at least avoided surrender.

The Darkest Days of the War. In the last days of 1776 American hopes sank low. The recent campaign was wrongfully regarded as disastrous. Men forgot that Washington and his men had gained valuable experience, and that under the circumstances avoiding capture was really success. The intrigues of

Charles Lee had hurt the army morale. New York was in the enemy's hands. The capture of Philadelphia was so imminent that Congress adjourned to Baltimore, patriots fled from the city along every road, and the rich Tories were preparing to receive the British. Everywhere Loyalists were growing more numerous and aggressive. And it did seem that America had lost interest, when a nation of 3,000,000 people had a regular army of only 3000. In the recent World War, for every three million of our population, at least 125,000 men were under arms.

It was at this time that Paine wrote *The Crisis*, urging courageous action: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." Of Washington he wrote: "There is a natural firmness in some minds that cannot be unlocked by trifles. I reckon it among public blessings that God hath given him a mind that can flourish upon care." Congress could give Washington no material aid, but it voted him dictatorial powers over the conduct of the war.

The Continental Army. The continental army was never a popular service. The colonies regarded any standing force as a menace to their liberties. A regular army carried the idea of royal tyranny. Yet in a long war no militia is of service save as an auxiliary force or to protect the locality from which it is drawn. Congress, in November, 1775, fixed the continental army at 20,000, but two months later only half that number was enrolled, and of these many were absent. The colonial did not desert; unused to discipline, he merely left without leave. Technical desertions were numerous at all times. The first enlistments were for a year, but this was increased to three years or for the duration of the war. In September, 1776, Congress called for 84 battalions, promising each recruit a bounty of £20 and a land grant at the conclusion of the war. The states did not furnish their quotas. Enlistments were disappointing, though soon states were giving bounties of several thousand dollars in paper money and promises of land. Times were too good; wages were high, and able-bodied men preferred to labor rather than to fight.



THE BRITISH CAMPAIGN OF 1777

Washington, with full control, was only able to keep a force of 6000 to 10,000 men exclusive of militia. Even though half the Americans were not behind the war, this was a wretched showing. The Tories did rather better for the British service, but persecution drove them in, and plentiful supplies and gold enticed them. Washington's men were unpaid and in rags and underfed. Those who stood firm deserve the greatest credit for their sacrificing loyalty to the cause and to their commander.

Of the small, dependable force every other man in the ranks was an immigrant, or recently a foreigner. The Pennsylvania line was Scotch-Irish (Irish Protestants), as was the bulk of the Maryland and Carolina continentals. The Germans were numerous, and in the rosters a surprising number of Celtic names are found. The English-Americans outside the militia failed to keep up their end. At one time the French soldiers outnumbered the continental army. The total Revolutionary enlistment, including militia and innumerable duplications, was nearly 400,000, but 35,000 regulars and militiamen was the highest number in the field at any one time.¹

Financing the War. Congress was unable to levy a nationwide tax, as a stronger government would have done. About \$250,000,000 in paper money was issued; but as there was no security behind it and the credit of the central government was low, it depreciated to the vanishing point. In January, 1778, a paper dollar was worth only one eighth of a silver

¹ Concerning the troubles with the militia Washington wrote frequent and severe letters to the helpless president of Congress. In 1780, looking back, he observed:

"Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning . . . we should never had had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776, trembling for the fate of America; . . . we should not have been the greatest part of the war inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford, and of seeing the country ravaged, our towns burnt, the inhabitants plundered, abused, murdered, with impunity, from the same cause."

Again, he wrote:

"Regular troops are alone equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defence as offence, and wherever a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous."

or gold dollar, and by the end of the year only one fortieth. In addition the states issued \$200,000,000. The fall in value was speedy. By 1780 paper, or continental, money was hardly worth the paper on which it was printed. Hence the remark "not worth a continental" came into use. Congress finally called in all paper currency, giving one dollar in a new issue for forty in the old. Soon the new issue was worth only a fraction of its marked value. This repudiation by Congress ruined our credit and proved a hardship to all classes. Paper money was virtually a forced loan or tax on the nation, though the government received in actual value hardly a tenth of the face value of the various issues.

Congress made requisitions of money on the states; but the return was small, for the states had difficulty in collecting taxes. From 1777 to 1781 only \$3,000,000 was procured in this way, or about twenty-five cents a year per head of the total population. Finally Congress was compelled to beg allowances of corn, hay, and meat. Congress borrowed about \$67,000,000 on 6 per cent bonds during the war. As it was subscribed in depreciated paper, the actual purchasing value was only a fraction of this amount.

Foreign loans were negotiated by our agents in France, Spain, and Holland, but the total hardly approached \$8,000,000.¹ Prior to the French alliance our agents bought supplies and munitions on credit from Beaumarchais, who dealt under a fictitious name, and from the Spanish firm of Gardoqui and Sons. This was done secretly, for English agents accused France and Spain of violating their neutrality in winking at such dealings. Yet so great was our need that any aid was vitally important.

The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. On Christmas night Washington crossed the Delaware's icy waters, and in a forced march of eight miles reached Trenton, where a detachment of Hessians was making merry. Surprised and surrounded, on the death of their leader a thousand Hessians surrendered and were

¹ France, \$5,352,500; Spain, \$174,017; Holland, \$1,304,000. After the war \$2,000,000 was borrowed to pay interest on earlier loans, yet in 1789 we owed about \$2,000,000 in interest. All this was paid in full, with interest at 5 per cent.

rushed as prisoners into Pennsylvania. Recrossing the Delaware, Washington established his force of 2500 men south of Trenton. Cornwallis, with a larger army, faced him on January 2, awaiting 2000 reënforcements coming by way of Princeton. In the dead of night, with cannon wheels wrapped with silencing cloth, the American force stealthily, under whispered orders, crept out of the trap. In the dawn Washington defeated three regiments at Princeton, cutting the enemy's line, which extended across New Jersey from Trenton to the sea, and later camped at Morristown. General Howe no longer dared leave scattered detachments in New Jersey, lest they be destroyed one at a time by the wily Washington. New Jersey was again American territory. While Washington can never be classed as a military genius or even as one of the world's great generals, this campaign won the unqualified praise of Frederick the Great. Its chief significance lay in the revival of hope on the part of patriots, the renewed confidence in Washington, and the consideration gained in the royal courts of Europe.

British Plans in 1777. The war office planned to cut America into halves by seizing the Hudson-Champlain waterway. Howe with an army and small vessels was to proceed up the Hudson; Burgoyne was to strike southward from Montreal; and St. Leger was ordered to cut his way from Oswego through the Mohawk valley to Albany, where he would join the other forces. The idea was brilliant, but the war office erred. It had sent second-rate but socially well-connected generals to America; it had never unified its forces under a supreme commander; and it made the desperate mistake of trying to manage a war three thousand miles away, a six weeks' voyage, without knowing American geography and local conditions. English muddling inefficiency played into American hands from Lexington to Yorktown. This time Howe's orders never reached him.

Brandywine and Germantown. General Howe, in ignorance of the British plan, which Washington understood through his spies, decided to leave a garrison in New York and transport his main army to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and then march to Philadelphia. Washington, astounded, considered Howe's

sea movement as a ruse to draw him away from the Hudson and did not march southward to protect the capital until Howe's force was at Elkton, Maryland. The two armies, Howe with 18,000 soldiers and Washington with 4000 soldiers and 7000 militia, met at Brandywine Creek (September 11). The Americans, attacked on two sides, fought until dark, when, with a loss of a thousand men, they withdrew to Chester. The British



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE

loss was hardly less. Howe then entered and fortified Philadelphia (September 26), stationing part of his force at Germantown.

Washington, not far away, watched his chance. The British intelligence system must have been poor, or American surprise attacks could hardly have been so frequent. In a dense fog Washington with 9000 continentals attacked the enemy in spirited style. The battle was almost won, but several companies of Britishers in a stone mansion held out until the disordered regiments regained their lines and fresh troops arrived from Philadelphia, a few miles away. Washington, with a loss of 1200, or twice that of the enemy, retreated to Valley Forge.

Foreign Officers. It was at this time that Lafayette appeared. Our agents in Europe received numerous requests from soldiers of fortune seeking service and high honors in America. Numbers were accepted and did splendid service, but frequently Congress refused to abide by our agents' promises. There was too much jealousy on the part of native officers who resented being superseded by foreign professional soldiers. Among the number who did come were Marquis de Lafayette, Baron von Steuben,¹ Count Pulaski,² Kosciusko,³ and Johann de Kalb,⁴ whose heroic services and self-sacrifice have given them high places in American annals.

¹ Frederick William, Baron von Steuben (1730-1794), a Prussian who saw hard service in the Seven Years' War and served as an aide of Frederick the Great, came as a volunteer (1777). He was a drillmaster, and whipped the army at Valley Forge into a fighting machine. No man did better work or was more deserving of a major-generalcy. Voted honors and a pension by Congress, and land grants by four states, he remained in America. Steubenville, founded 1797, three years after Steuben had died, was on the site of Fort Steuben, which had been named in his honor.

² Casimir Pulaski (1748-1779), son of a Polish count and jurist, gave up law for military training. A leader in the Polish rebellion of 1768, he was forced to flee to Turkey and then to France, where he offered his services to Franklin. Commissioned a brigadier of horse, he joined Washington and fought gloriously at Brandywine and Germantown. The following year he organized Pulaski's legion, which did valiant service in the Southern campaign. He was killed at Savannah and buried in the waters of the harbor. In his honor a monument was erected in Savannah, where Lafayette, on his visit in 1824, laid the cornerstone. Congress ordered another monument erected in Washington in 1910.

³ Thaddeus Kosciusko (1746-1817), a graduate of the military academies of Warsaw and Versailles and a captain in the Polish army, joined Washington as an officer of artillery (1776) and served throughout the war. As he was a trained soldier and engineer, Kosciusko's work was invaluable. Returning to Poland, he served as a brigadier general in the war against Russia (1789), and later, on the partition of Poland, headed an uprising against Russia. Wounded and captured, he was imprisoned for two years, after which he was liberated by Czar Paul. Thereafter this ardent republican lived in retirement near Paris and in Switzerland. He revisited the United States in 1797, and was received with universal acclaim. Congress awarded him a pension and a land grant. After his death, by permission of the czar his remains were buried in the Cathedral of Cracow. There are memorials in Washington, Milwaukee, West Point, Boston, Cleveland, Perth Amboy, Chicago, and Yonkers.

⁴ Johann de Kalb (1721-1780), a German officer long in the French service, had been sent as an agent to America (1768) to learn of the colonial attitude to England. He came again with Lafayette and fought in several campaigns. At Camden, where he was killed, there is a monument. Another memorial stands at Annapolis as an inspiration to the students of the Naval Academy.

Lafayette, son of a noble, fighting family, was only nineteen years old when he read the Declaration of Independence. He was fired with enthusiasm for America and liberalism. Escaping from France and his friends who would dissuade him, Lafayette reached Philadelphia and offered to enlist as a volunteer without pay: "As the defender of that liberty, which I adore, free myself beyond all others, coming as a friend to offer my services to this interesting republic, I bring with me nothing but my own free heart and my own good will, no ambition to fulfill and no selfish interest to serve." "The boy," as Clinton called him, won the high regard of Washington and Congress, and was made a major general largely because of his name. His coming greatly aroused French interest and proved a harbinger of active support.



KOSCIUSKO

Burgoyne Campaign.

According to orders, Burgoyne with 8000 men left

Montreal for Albany, June, 1777, arriving at Ticonderoga on July 1. The American garrison of 3000 men under St. Clair withdrew and, as they retreated, cut off supplies, felled trees to blockade roads, and captured stragglers and foraging parties. Thus the British were a month in reaching Fort Edward, which was also surrendered, but not until its garrison joined St. Clair. Burgoyne, who was hard pressed for supplies, sent a regiment of Hessians into Vermont, which he supposed to be loyal. At Bennington they were surrounded and captured by New Hampshire militia under John Stark (August 16). It was a hard blow, made worse by the news that St. Leger had been defeated and driven back.

From Oswego St. Leger with a force of Canadians, Tories, and Indians had reached Fort Stanwix (Schuyler). The Iroquois were loyal to the British because their gifts were greater and because of a deep hatred of the colonists. As the fort was well defended, St. Leger lay siege. This delay enabled General Nicholas Herkimer to raise the Mohawk valley Germans for the relief of the fort. At Oriskany St. Leger was defeated. Every tree in the forest hid an American sharpshooter. The Indians in defeat deserted. Arnold was coming to Herkimer's aid, but St. Leger did not wait. He wisely hastened back to Canada (August 22).



THE WAR IN NORTHERN NEW YORK

Such news encouraged the patriots. The militia and frontiersmen of New York and northern and western New England sped to Albany and up the river to meet the invader. In all, some 20,000 men were ready, with Horatio Gates in command, and, as aides, the abler soldiers Schuyler, Morgan, Arnold, and Lincoln. Gates was a poor soldier,

loyal to the cause but disloyal to Washington, whom he hoped to replace as commander in chief. His intrigue, the so-called Gates-Mifflin-Conway cabal, failed, though he was not without backers in Congress. When Burgoyne reached Stillwater he found his way blocked. He was helpless, for his army had dwindled to 5000 men, through losses and detachments left behind to hold the long line of communications. Defeats in two engagements and a month's delay on short rations had ruined the morale of his troops. Surrounded at Saratoga, he surrendered his army (October 17) before Clinton in New York could send aid. Thus

the British campaign of 1777 ended in failure. It marked the turning point in the war. The surrender at Saratoga was beyond British understanding. For the first time Englishmen became aware that the colonials might win, especially as France was prepared to join them.

Foreign Affairs. The congressional committee on foreign affairs had sent Silas Deane of Connecticut as an agent to



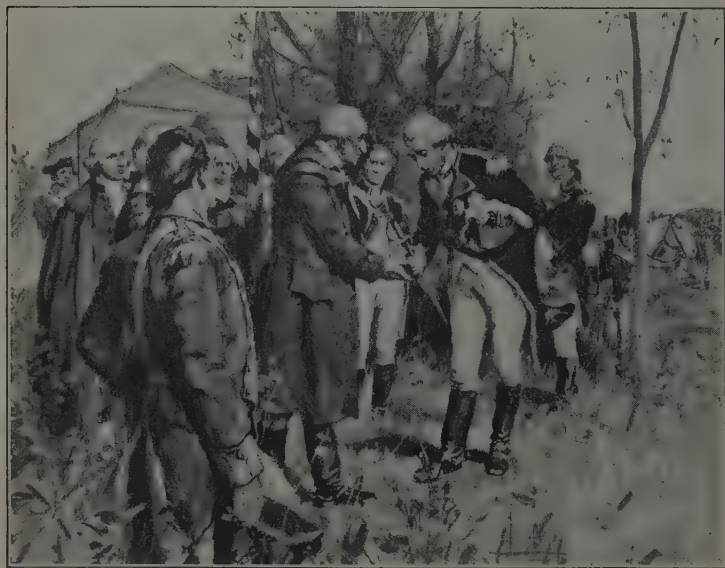
HERKIMER AT THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY

From a painting by F. C. Yohn. (Courtesy of Utica Public Library)

France (March, 1776). Franklin and Arthur Lee soon followed. John Jay was dispatched to Spain, William Lee to Prussia and Austria, and Izard to Tuscany. Prior to the Declaration of Independence they were instructed to seek aid, but afterwards to strive for recognition of American sovereignty. Naturally they were not officially received; for such a reception would virtually have meant war with England. Yet they accomplished much in obtaining some secret aid and supplies, and in placing our cause before the foreign powers. Deane was unable to accomplish much in Holland, and the appointment of Jay was singularly unfortunate because of his bitter anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish bias. Spain had no interest in the liberation of

America, fearing that the spirit of revolt might spread to her own misgoverned colonies. Her sole interest was in striking at England with the hope of regaining the Floridas and Gibraltar.

Franklin became the idol of French society, high and low. The best-known American of his day, he was in high esteem as a simple democrat, writer, scientist, and rationalist. He became



THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE

From a painting by F. C. Yohn. (Courtesy of Glens Falls Insurance Company)

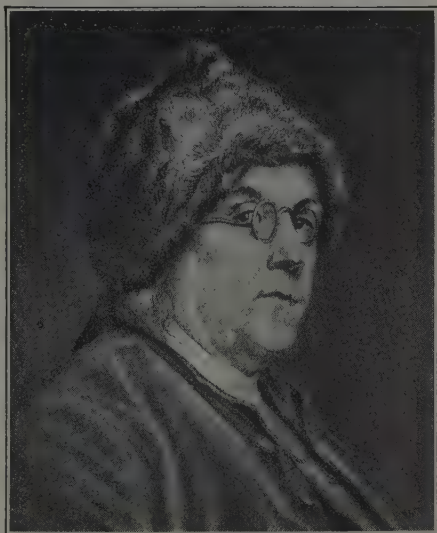
the rage. His dress was copied. Busts and medallions of Franklin became popular ornaments. Even the court, little realizing what democracy had in store for it within a few years, worshiped at his shrine. Soldiers of fortune sought Franklin's aid to send them to America to fight in the cause of liberty. Franklin won Vergennes, the foreign secretary, who urged Louis XVI to give secret aid to America and thus draw out the war and weaken the national hereditary enemy, England. Secretary Turgot stood off; for no one knew better the bankrupt state of French finances.

Spain held back, and Spanish aid seemed necessary as well as some brilliant American successes, which would give France assurance that a joint war against England would not fail.

The French Alliance (1778). France felt that the day had arrived when England could be humbled and the disastrous peace of 1763 avenged. The nation wanted war. Vergennes was cautious, but with the defeat of Burgoyne he threw caution to the winds. Messengers were sent to Madrid to obtain Spanish recognition of American independence. A treaty of commerce and another of offensive and defensive alliance were negotiated between France and America (February, 1778). Franklin had accomplished his work; Louis XVI and the French court had been won even as the French nation had been earlier. The alliance meant war between England and France. Spain, allied to France by treaty, declared

war on England in 1779, not, to be sure, as an ally of rebel America but as a member of the coalition against Great Britain.

The effects were immediate. England offered a compromise which granted everything short of independence, and sent commissioners to Philadelphia. America would have nothing of compromise; the time for that had passed. She was bound to win independence. The war was becoming a world war. Holland was soon fighting England in defense of her maritime rights. Frederick the Great saw his opportunity. He bore a grudge against England for leaving him in the lurch during the Seven



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

From a print in the Congressional Library

Years' War. Now he made it impossible for England to buy more Hessian recruits in the German States. Soon Russia, Denmark, and Sweden joined in an armed alliance to protect their commerce against British violations. England was forced to use care lest this alliance be directed against her in open warfare. Truly American successes were full of significance; all England's enemies now awaited the chance of revenge. It would be idle to hold that France, or Spain, or Prussia, or Holland was anxious to see a successful colonial rebellion (for all but one of them had colonies) or to aid in the establishment of a republic (all but one were absolute monarchies); their motive was to weaken, and if possible mortally injure, the British Empire.

Ireland's Attitude. Ireland suffered from the same commercial and restrictive measures and hence had an economic basis for sympathy with America. The Presbyterians of the North, hearing of so many of their exiled brethren in the patriot ranks, looked on the Revolution as an Irish revolt. In Catholic Ireland, inherited antagonism for England and love of France made the American cause doubly popular. Ireland was regarded as "American mad." Pitt believed that every Irishman favored the colonies. Men in the parliament at Dublin cried out against the same abuses as America. They believed that if America failed, Ireland's few rights would be lost. Irish Protestants in Parliament, like Fox, Burke, Barré, and Connolly, were among our most outspoken friends. Henry Grattan, the Irish constitutional leader, described America as "the only hope of Ireland, and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind."

Enlistments in Ireland failed; Burke opposed them. For the first time Catholics were declared eligible for service,¹ yet recruits were not forthcoming. Agents were mobbed. In Dublin the press was anti-English, and the people attacked the lord lieutenant's palace. Franklin, in an address to Ireland (1778),

¹ In 1778 Parliament modified the anti-Catholic laws. Cornwallis as early as 1770 had urged that army service be opened to Catholics by withdrawing impossible oaths. These were finally made less objectionable. Religious services were permitted in private; rewards were withdrawn for ferreting out priests; priests were virtually freed from persecution; Catholic estates were secured; and Catholics were soon permitted to vote. A step had been taken toward Catholic emancipation.

assumed Irishmen to be stanch friends of America. Catholic Irish exiles on the Continent tendered their services or joined French regiments. To many it seemed that in England's hour of danger Ireland's opportunity had come, and Ireland, ready to revolt, was a menace which English leaders were compelled to consider.

Philadelphia versus Valley Forge. The British spent the winter of 1777-1778 in Philadelphia. General Howe and his officers were fêted by Tory-Quaker society with banquets, balls, and a round of pleasure. His army was quartered in comfort. Every luxury was available. The countryside supplied all needs, for the British had plenty of gold to pay for supplies.

Washington was a few miles away at Valley Forge.¹ He himself was in want because he refused luxuries when his soldiers were in need. Without funds even in depreciated paper, supplies could not be purchased from the farmers. Half starved, their clothes torn and tattered, his soldiers sought the shelter of barns, huts, and dugouts. These were the 3000 tried men whose loyalty was not dulled by suffering. Small wonder that when Washington saw their bloodstained footmarks on the snow, he is said to have knelt in a hidden thicket and prayed to God for brighter days. All this, too, in a prosperous, well-fed land! The contrast with Howe's situation made Washington's plight more vivid. The patriots had hopes, however; for before spring approached they knew of the French alliance. They were aware that it would mean men, munitions, and supplies and, in all likelihood, victory.

Philadelphia abandoned; Battle of Monmouth. General Clinton, who superseded Howe, was ordered to move his army to New York in order to watch the coast and afford aid in projected attacks upon the French and the Spanish West Indies. The enemy's occupation of the capital had not weakened the American morale, for Philadelphia was not the heart of a nation, as was London or Paris. Sending his cannon and supplies by water,

¹ Valley Forge is now preserved as a park where visitors may see Washington's headquarters, the remains of old redoubts, and reproductions of the officers' log cabins and soldiers' dugouts. Near the grounds there is an Episcopal memorial chapel built by voluntary offerings.

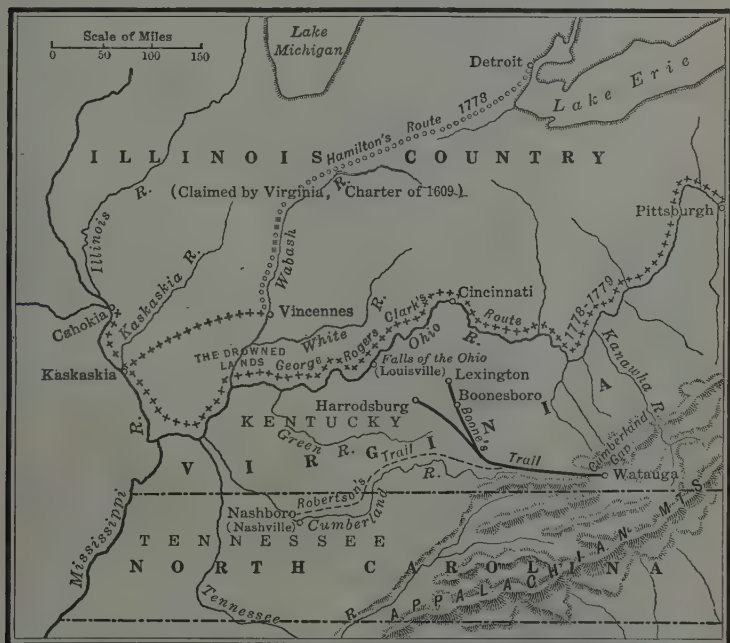
Clinton led his army across New Jersey to New York City. On the way he was forced by Washington to give battle at Monmouth (June 28, 1778), where the Americans would have had a decided advantage but for the treacherous inaction of Charles Lee, recently released from a British prison by exchange. Lee was dismissed from the service. His case is not clear, but there was evidence of his design to betray the American army. As it was, Clinton reached New York, and Philadelphia again became the American capital.

The War in the West. Frontiersmen, pushing into Kentucky and Tennessee, had incited an Indian uprising, which was put down by Governor Dunmore in 1774. Hostility to the invasion of their hunting lands by settlers made it easy for British agents to arouse the Indians to a renewal of the war in 1776. The Cherokees were finally defeated by volunteers from Virginia and the Carolinas. The hatred of the frontier for the British was fiery, and it was especially aroused against Hamilton, the governor of the Northwest, who was known as the "hair-buyer." He was charged with inciting Indian raids and massacres and paying the redskins a bounty on the scalps of their victims, whether they were men, women, or children. The charges were probably exaggerated. Either side would willingly have used redskin allies, but circumstances and rewards made the Indians English supporters. Naturally, where Indians were engaged the worst atrocities took place, for their brutality could not be checked. Burke in Parliament sarcastically pictured the use of Indians, to which he was opposed: "My gentle lions, my humane bears, my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt man, woman, or child."

The Iroquois and Tories defeated an American force near Wilkes-Barre, and the terrible massacre of Wyoming Valley followed (1778). Cherry Valley in central New York was the scene of another raid, with atrocities beyond description. And Americans knew scalps were bought by British agents! General Sullivan retaliated by laying waste the Seneca lands, but the half-breed chief, Joseph Brant, under British protection, con-

tinued his raids from Niagara. It was useless to defeat isolated Indian raiders. The American frontiersmen realized that the British fur posts in the interior must be captured, for they were centers from which the Indians were supplied and supported.

The Conquest of the Northwest. George Rogers Clark, a Virginia frontiersman, caught the idea. Commissioned by Governor



THE WAR IN THE WEST

Henry of Virginia, he raised 150 rugged fighters and set forth by way of Wheeling (May, 1778). Following the Ohio River to modern Louisville, he struck into the Illinois country, where the old French towns and forts, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, were under the British flag but commanded by Frenchmen. American sympathy was strong in the habitants, for was not France an ally of the United States? The most influential figure was Father Pierre Gibault, who was vicar of the whole

region and decidedly anti-British. Clark, with his men, arrived at Kaskaskia, and the French commander lowered the English flag and surrendered. Clark guaranteed religious liberty, and these subjects of England took the oath of allegiance to the



SURRENDER OF THE BRITISH FORT TO GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

From a painting by F. C. Yohn. (Courtesy of Indiana Historical Bureau)

United States. Gibault translated the proclamations and journeyed to Vincennes to counsel surrender, and Vincennes and Cahokia did surrender without striking a blow.

Hamilton retook Vincennes (December, 1778), but awaited spring to recapture the other towns. Vigo, a Spanish trader, escaped and brought information concerning the strength of its

garrison and Indian defenders to Clark at Kaskaskia. Clark raised 130 men and set out on a march of over two hundred miles under conditions even more desperate than those encountered by Arnold's expedition to Quebec. In February weather the party crossed the water-covered flats, often wading shoulder-deep with rifles and ammunition carried high above their heads. Food gave out, game was scarce, and no fires could be lighted. Yet they staggered on. Creoles gave information that Hamilton was unaware of their approach; habitants supplied food and ammunition. At last they were at Vincennes. The surprise was complete. Hamilton surrendered and was sent a prisoner to Virginia. The "hair-buyer's" day was over. The Northwest had been won.¹

War on the Sea. Congress in 1775 provided for thirteen frigates, but nine were captured by 1778, and at the end of the war, despite additions through purchase and capture, the navy consisted of only six ships. Yet John Paul Jones, John Barry,² and

¹ Detroit still remained in British hands. Clark, who was made a brigadier general of militia by Governor Jefferson, planned its conquest, but was never able to get a sufficient force. Yet from its gates no more dangerous raids were made. Clark was given a land grant and died in 1818 in a cabin on the Ohio, feeling that his services had never been appreciated. Long afterwards Indianapolis raised a memorial to the conqueror of the Northwest.

² Captain John Barry, born in Ireland in 1745, became a commander of merchant ships plying from Philadelphia. Congress on December 4, 1775, commissioned him captain of the *Lexington*, which later gained for him the title "Father of the American Navy." He was the first to capture an armed British ship; seized numerous enemy merchantmen; aided Washington's crossing of the Delaware prior to the battle of Trenton; operated on the Delaware during the British occupation of Philadelphia, cutting off supplies; carried Lafayette back to France; and, with his ship the *Alliance*, made his last capture just as peace was proclaimed. In 1794 the new government, fearing war with the Algerine pirates, established a navy, and of six captains Barry, as captain of the *United States*, ranked first. In 1798 he commanded a fleet along the New England coast and in the West Indies, with orders to capture French armed vessels. This he did. Later he carried our envoys to France. After Jefferson's election the navy was put on a peace basis and the *United States* was moored in the Washington navy yard, which, along with yards at Philadelphia, Portsmouth, and Norfolk, Barry had advised Congress to establish. He was retained in service with eight other captains. In 1803 he died and was buried in St. Mary's churchyard, where Thomas Fitzsimons, Captain John Rosseter, Moylan, and George Meade, patriot merchant, also rest. Benjamin Rush drafted his epitaph, a eulogy of his life and his service. There is a portrait in Independence Hall, and there are memorials in Philadelphia and Washington, which the Sons of the Revolution never fail to decorate.

Esek Hopkins, by thrilling exploits, damaged enemy commerce and set a high standard for the future navy. In September, 1779, Jones, cruising along the British coast in the *Bonhomme Richard*, encountered the stout English man-of-war *Serapis*. With ships lashed together, it was a desperate fight. The *Serapis*, a third of her men killed, lowered the British ensign and surrendered to Jones, whose ship was sinking.

American privateers, of which there were over 500 with many thousand sailors, did tremendous damage to enemy commerce. This was a favorite service in New England, for the seizures offered a rich prey to officers and men, who received a large share of the prize money. Not only along our coast and the West Indies, but even off the British Isles they lay in wait for English merchantmen. Irish waters were especially popular, for there they found safe refuge, supplies, and volunteer sailors. Insurance rates were greatly increased, thus further injuring British shippers. Among the privateersmen the best known were Manley and his Marblehead (Massachusetts) sailors, and Jeremiah O'Brien of Machias Bay, Maine. Huge profits were made in privateering; for instance, Robert Morris of Philadelphia is said to have increased his fortune by half a million dollars.

The Arrival of the French. A French fleet of 17 ships and 4000 soldiers, under Count d'Estaing, arrived off the Delaware capes a little too late to prevent Howe's fleet from leaving Philadelphia for New York. America, however, was jubilant. Gérard, the French ambassador, was well received by Congress and Philadelphia. D'Estaing, a poor sailor, proved in the end a disappointment. The French apparently thought in terms of their own military advantage. The fleet sailed for New York, but, though larger than Howe's, did not venture to cross the bar at Sandy Hook and enter the outer harbor. Then D'Estaing turned to Newport, where Sullivan, with 1200 continentals, was watching a British garrisoning force of 3000, which had held the town since 1776. It was hoped that the British would be surrounded and captured, but such expectations were doomed.

The Newport Fiasco. Washington sent Greene and Lafayette to aid Sullivan, whose force had been increased by 6000 New

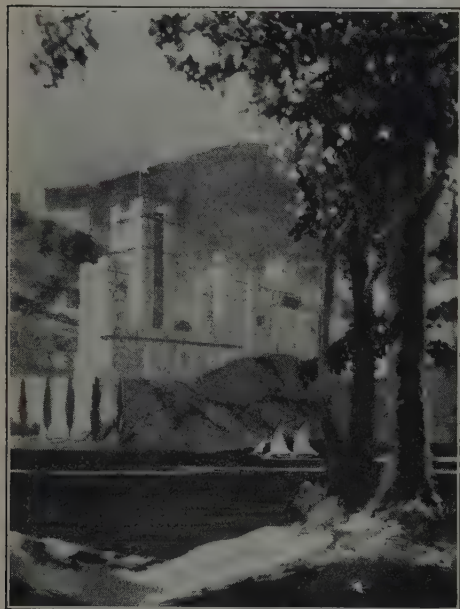
Englanders under John Hancock. It looked dark for the British until Howe's fleet appeared outside the harbor. The French admiral then reëmbarked his 4000 soldiers, instead of leaving them to coöperate with the Americans in assaulting the town and capturing the British army. He decided to attack Howe's smaller fleet, but a gale prevented the battle, and both fleets were compelled to withdraw for repairs, Howe to New York and D'Estaing to Boston. Sullivan was in a furor. Hating the French with uncontrolled bigotry, he issued an insulting manifesto. Washington was scarcely able to keep peace. Sullivan, alone, assaulted the outer fortresses; but as 5000 militiamen had withdrawn and Howe again appeared with 8000 reënforcements, the attack was abandoned. Sullivan withdrew to Providence; the British contented themselves with holding Newport; and the French fleet cruised in the West Indies, destined, despite its promises, never to aid Washington in his campaigns.

The War in the North (1778-1780). Washington divided his army into small detachments, which wintered in New Jersey and the highlands of the Hudson. In this way they were more easily supplied. Clinton's forces lived luxuriously in Newport and New York. In the spring Clinton seized Stony Point and a fort at Verplanck's Point, but did not hazard an attack on West Point, which was strongly garrisoned. In July Wayne, according to Washington's plan, recaptured Stony Point in the dead of night in a hand-to-hand bayonet fight at a cost of 100 men. The British loss amounted to 600 men and supplies, the latter going to Wayne's unpaid men. As it would require a large force to hold the fort, Washington ordered its evacuation, and the British again took possession. In October Henry Lee made a similar successful attack on Paulus Hook. Such engagements annoyed the enemy and kept up the American morale.

Clinton sent out raiding parties: one burned Norfolk in Virginia and seized tobacco-laden ships; another, under Tryon the Tory, ravaged the Connecticut towns on the Sound. Norwalk, Fairfield, and New Haven were left in ruins, but the Tories spared Yale College (July, 1779). These raids only increased American antagonism and were remembered long after the war.

Newport was abandoned, and British forces of 30,000 were concentrated in New York. Washington with 10,000 men wintered his battalions at Morristown, along the Hudson, and in Connecticut. Only minor skirmishes were fought in New Jersey.

Arnold's Treason. Washington valued Arnold and truly appraised his great services, but Congress failed to honor him as



WEST POINT

Courtesy of New York Central Lines

he deserved. His feelings were wounded, and his rancor grew virulent. Appointed governor of Philadelphia, he lived in luxury, fell heavily in debt, quarreled with Congress, and finally married a wealthy Tory. Arnold was court-martialed, and Washington was compelled to reprimand him. The tactful reprimand was almost a eulogy, and was followed by his appointment as governor of West Point. This honor Arnold had solicited with the treacherous intention of turning this key fortress over to the

enemy. He had visions of revenge and a great future in the English service. Soon he was in correspondence with General Clinton.

Major André was sent to interview him at a secret meeting near Stony Point. There Arnold delivered data and plans of the highland defenses and of West Point, and arranged for its surrender on British attack. When returning, André was captured and searched by three men of the region, who brought him before American authorities. No bribe could deter these

patriots. Arnold learned of the capture and took refuge in flight hardly an hour before Washington's arrival. André¹ was tried by a court martial presided over by Greene, and Washington approved the death sentence, though he would have exchanged the unfortunate spy for Arnold. This Clinton would not do, though Arnold, always courageous, was ready



THE CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

By permission of the artist, H. A. Ogden

Though West Point was not taken, Arnold received a commission as brigadier general in the British army, a pension, and a Canadian land grant. He fought in the Virginia campaign, and in 1781 captured Forts Trumbull and Griswold and burned New London, only a few miles from his own birthplace. Arnold issued a strong anti-Catholic appeal to his former countrymen, hoping to play on Puritan bigotry by pointing to the Catholic

¹ André's case was sad. He was young, talented, and destined for a glorious career. A pen sketch which he made of himself the night before he was hanged is preserved in the Yale University library. His last request to be shot instead of hanged was denied; but forty years later America graciously gave his remains for burial in Westminster Abbey.

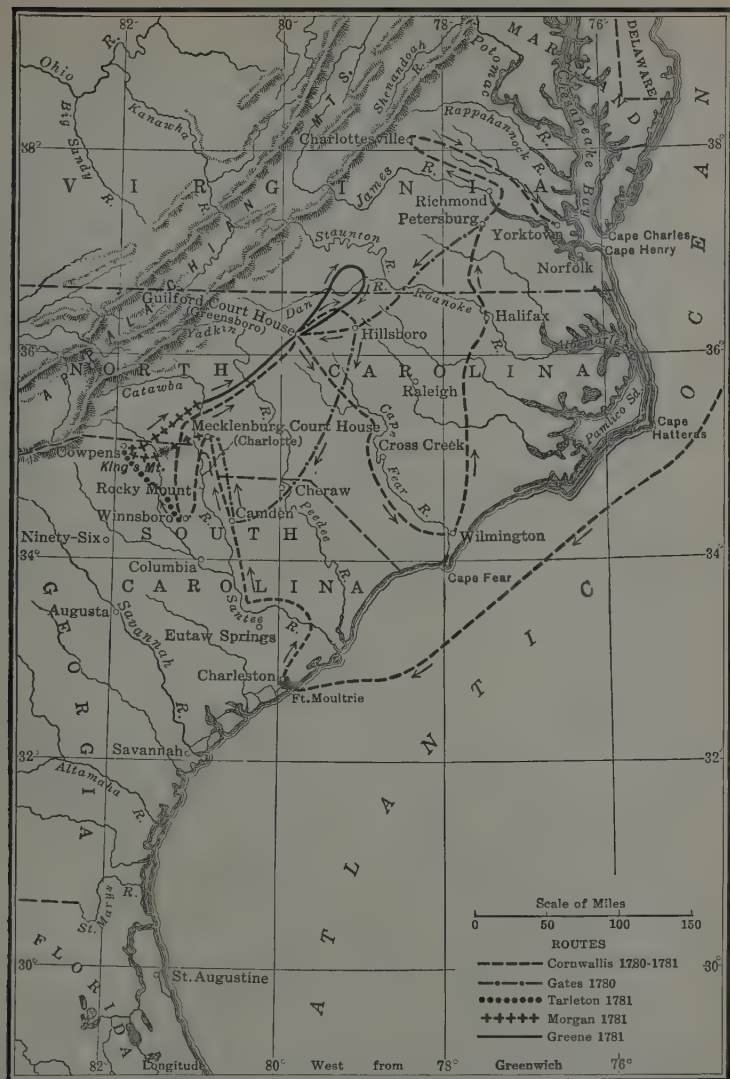
French allies and to the members of Congress who attended Mass for the repose of the deceased Spanish agent's soul.¹ This intolerant appeal by a traitor became an argument for toleration. Disliked by his brother officers, he died in poverty twenty years later with the request that he be buried in his old uniform. Ambition, avarice, and vanity outran honor and patriotism — and Arnold sadly enough has merited the place of one of the world's best-known traitors.

Arrival of Rochambeau. In July, 1780, there arrived in Newport a French fleet of seven vessels and transports under a good sailor, De Ternay, and 6000 troopers under Count Rochambeau.² Although they tarried nearly a year in port, they finally worked in splendid unity with Washington and earned America's everlasting gratitude. A larger land force might have been sent, but the French were aware that Americans might feel that it was a conquering expedition rather than an auxiliary force. The same reason is said to have kept France from a spirited attempt to regain Canada. Newport finally became accustomed to the French Catholics and to the first Masses which were said in Rhode Island. The war was incidentally breaking down racial and religious hatreds.

The War in the South. Danger of French and Spanish attacks on her colonies the world over compelled England to dissipate her energies. No longer could she concentrate on America. Disaffection in Ireland and the unfriendly attitude of European powers were further dangers. Even in England there

¹ Members of the Continental Congress attended official Masses four times: funeral services for General Coudray and Juan de Miralles, the Spanish minister; and Te Deums on July 4, 1779, and in thanksgiving for Yorktown on November 4, 1781.

² In Rochambeau's force were Count Zweibruchen's Alsatian-German regiment, and Dillon's and Walsh's regiments, the latter belonging to the famous Irish brigade of the French army. These regiments were officered and manned by Germans and Irishmen. Rochambeau (1725-1807) was not only an able general but a diplomat, and tact was required to maintain good spirit between the Americans and French, since the latter felt they were bearing the brunt of the battle and yet were cheated by American merchants who were avaricious for good gold in an era of worthless paper. Later Rochambeau barely escaped the guillotine during the French Revolution, when many a French officer who had served in America was executed for loyalty to the royal house of France.



THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

was opposition to this costly, dragging war which could show no results. It was becoming difficult to obtain soldiers and sailors. The war office determined on a new plan of campaign. Commencing with Loyalist Georgia, the South was to be conquered piecemeal and the old governments reestablished.

Three thousand soldiers were sent to Georgia. Savannah was captured by Campbell and his Highlanders in spite of a spirited defense by the Georgia militia (December, 1778). It was in this battle that the heroic Pulaski was killed. D'Estaing, with a French-and-Spanish fleet, had been raiding the British West Indies, but he now came to join General Benjamin Lincoln in an attempt to regain Savannah. Again, without giving material aid, the fleet withdrew at a moment when success seemed likely, and returned to France. The siege had to be abandoned. The French fleet was a keen disappointment.

In the meantime Lincoln had driven Prevost and his Britishers out of Charleston, but American tenure was short-lived. Clinton, with a fleet and 7000 soldiers, arrived from New York and besieged the city. Cut off, Lincoln was compelled to surrender with 5000 men, almost the whole Southern force (May, 1780). It was a hard blow, and an unnecessary one, for Lincoln should have withdrawn in the face of a more powerful enemy and abandoned the city rather than lose an army. The British plan seemed likely of success. The Tories, so numerous in the South, were enheartened. The old governor was restored in Georgia, and the "rebel" organization of South Carolina had broken down. Indeed, her governor was in Philadelphia beseeching Congress for aid. Patriot fortunes were at a low ebb in the South.

Guerrilla Warfare. The patriots did not give up. They fell back on irregular warfare, even as the Spanish nation, a generation later, fought Napoleon. The struggle was desperate, patriot against Tory, with little quarter given on either side. Frontiersmen fought in Indian fashion in little bands led by such captains as Moultrie, Marion ("the swamp fox"), Sumter, and Davie. Attacking an unguarded enemy, a foraging party, or a Tory center, these bands would retire to the forests and morasses on completing their work of destruction. Knowing the country,

they easily avoided capture and struck hard blows at unexpected moments. At times a band might dwindle to a few men, and again, with militiamen attached, it might number several hundred. They kept the Loyalist element in check and proved a sharp thorn in the side of the British.

Colonel Tarleton, with a Tory force, captured 500 militiamen and gave few of them quarter. Ruthless was this struggle between old neighbors now ranged on opposite sides. Clinton, in a belief that the heavy campaigning was over, left Cornwallis with 5000 British and Hessians to subdue the Carolinas. But the guerrilla captains could not be captured or conquered.

Battle of Camden. Congress appointed Gates to the Southern command. His reputation after the Saratoga victory was far above his merits. Washington would have named Greene if he had been given his choice. Gates attacked Rawdon at Camden, but his delay enabled Cornwallis to send reënforcements. His inefficiency cost the Americans dearly, for at Camden they lost 2000 men, or four times the British casualties (August 16). Gates, evidencing little courage, fled to North Carolina. The skilled tactician Baron de Kalb was killed in action. Like Pulaski, there was none braver.

King's Mountain. There was a general rising of Carolinian patriots, aided by riflemen from the distant Kentucky and Tennessee settlements. On October 7, an attack was made on Ferguson and his thousand Tories, who were intrenched on King's Mountain, a flat-topped hill with precipitous inclines of a hundred feet. Ferguson felt secure, but he had so outraged the region by his brutalities that he was safe nowhere. The undisciplined frontiersmen clambered up the hill on all sides, regardless of life, and captured or destroyed the enemy. It was a vicious, not a great, battle, yet it showed American mettle.

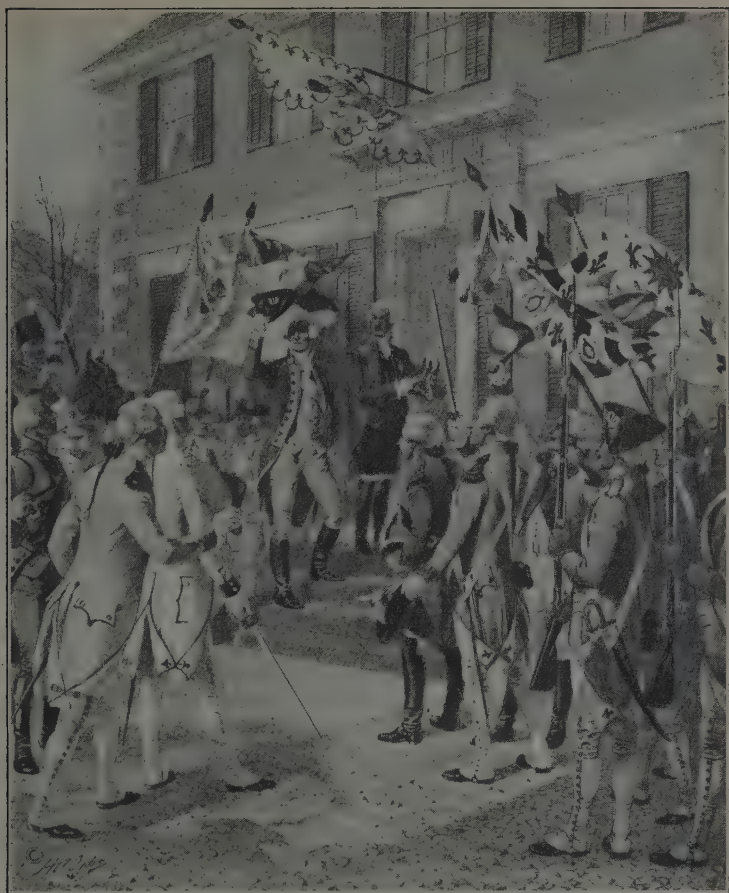
Battle of Cowpens. Greene replaced Gates in command of the army of only 2400 men. Morgan and Pickens, with nearly a thousand irregulars, forced a battle with Tarleton, who commanded a somewhat larger Tory force. After the first charge the British thought the Americans were in disorder and rushed the lines, only to be met by volleys from sharpshooters in the

second and third lines of defense and an onslaught by a secreted cavalry troop. American losses were less than a hundred, but 600 Britishers threw down their arms with cries of "quarter" (January 17, 1781). Captured stores of supplies were a welcome addition to Morgan's depleted stock.

Guilford Court House. Cornwallis maneuvered into a position between Morgan and Greene, hoping, by sudden assaults, to destroy each force separately. At Guilford Court House, North Carolina, he attacked Greene's larger but poorly equipped army (March 15). The American commander was able to withdraw in good order save that he lost his artillery. It was a costly victory for a small engagement, and Cornwallis retired to Wilmington. Here, supplied and protected by the fleet, he rested his forces, fatigued by long marches through a rough, marshy country where they faced the ever-present peril of sudden attacks by woodsmen who had learned the art of fighting from Creeks and Cherokees. The British were never at ease away from the coast. Rawdon and his Tories inflicted a slight reverse on Greene at Camden (March 25), but in a number of minor engagements the latter captured or cut off detached garrisons. In Georgia the guerrilla warfare continued until British holdings were again reduced to Savannah.

Cornwallis in Virginia. Leaving Wilmington (April), a month of marching brought Cornwallis to Virginia. Rightly or wrongly, the Carolinians regarded this movement as a retreat, and they harassed his rear guard every mile of the way. Cornwallis relieved Arnold, who, with 3000 regulars and Tories, had been devastating the countryside, burning as he went. Richmond, among other towns, had been left a smoldering ruin. Tarleton raided Charlottesville, where he put the legislature to flight and nearly captured Governor Thomas Jefferson on his Monticello estate. On July 30, Cornwallis stationed his army at Yorktown, where, in case of danger, he could rely on the fleet. This time his calculations failed.

Yorktown (1781). De Grasse, who was cruising in the West Indies, offered the use of his fleet for the summer, and at Washington's suggestion, guarded the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. In



WASHINGTON VISITS ROCHAMBEAU AT NEWPORT, MARCH 6, 1781

By permission of the artist, H. A. Ogden

a naval battle off Norfolk he defeated the British, and for the moment England lost the mastery of the sea. Cornwallis was thus blockaded on the sea side. De Grasse also furnished 3000 French veterans. With part of his army Rochambeau watched Clinton at New York to prevent the dispatch of a relief expedition. Lafayette had arrived from Richmond with 3000 men.

Militia companies were also appearing. Washington, with a force of 6000 French and Americans, slowly moved toward the head of Chesapeake Bay, thus keeping Clinton guessing. Sailing down Chesapeake Bay to the James River, he joined Lafayette's army. Cornwallis was surrounded, and the siege of Yorktown commenced. Washington's plan was succeeding, chiefly because of his ability to get along with the French commanders. In this, both Sullivan and Lincoln had failed. It was in this crisis especially that the French alliance proved helpful for without it Yorktown could never have been taken.

The American trenches and lines (September 29) were growing tighter; finally two redoubts alone protected Cornwallis's position. On the night of October 14 Colonels Deux-Ponts and Alexander Hamilton led successful assaults. Cornwallis failed to escape over the York River to Gloucester Point. On October 19 terms were arranged, and he surrendered his army of 7000 men. Our losses, French and American, did not total three hundred. Cornwallis was ill, but surrendered his sword, through General O'Hara, to Lincoln, who graciously returned it.

Significance of Yorktown. Victory at Yorktown was due to the unified command of fleet, continentals, militia, and French troops in Washington's hands. And Washington's experience had improved his strategy. The surrender really marked the end of the war; only a few minor engagements and raids occurred thereafter. Both sides seemed to realize that it was all over.¹ The English nation was relieved. North resigned, and this time King George was forced to concur. Parliament authorized a peace agreement (March, 1782), and a Whig ministry took control. The Tory government could not survive the defeat.

¹ Relative to Yorktown, Sir Esme Howard, the first English Catholic ambassador to the United States, said in a public address (1925):

"I felt [standing on the battlefield] that just as our great English heritage of sailors and poets, of philosophers and discoverers, of lawgivers and of statesmen, belongs by inheritance as much to you as to me, so the greatness of your people is a greatness of which I, as an Englishman, have a right to be proud. Yorktown, indeed, has not divided us spiritually, though it has — for the good of both — divided us politically."

Catholics and the Revolution. Professor Channing has written:

Considering the general harshness of their treatment by the assemblies of the English colonies and, on the other hand, the considerate treatment of the French in Canada by the English authorities after the conquest, it is memorable that the pride of race and spirit of patriotism kept the Roman Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania loyal throughout the French and Indian wars and attached them fixedly to the cause of independence at the time of the Revolution.

Catholics, despite past persecution and harsh penal codes, were almost to a man ardent rebels. In the event of independence they hoped for political and religious freedom in the new states. Of their loyalty Bishop Carroll testified in these words (1789):

Their blood flowed as freely, in proportion to their numbers, to cement the fabric of independence, as any of their fellow citizens'. They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men in recommending and promoting that government from whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, good order, and civil and religious liberty.

Their strength was moral, for the unanimity of their views must have been made known, and would have influence, in the Catholic lands of Canada, Ireland, Spain, and France.¹ One is surprised at the outstanding figures in a group numerically so small. The Carroll family stood first, representing the Catholic landed gentry of Maryland, whose names appear frequently on militia lists. Second only to John Paul Jones in naval affairs stood Captain John Barry. Stephen Moylan² and John

¹ The French clergy (1780) advanced \$6,000,000 on royal request, obtaining the money from diocesan funds and sale of bonds. As this loan was never repaid, the Church in France made a direct contribution to the war and the American cause.

² Stephen Moylan (1737-1811) was born in Cork of a merchant family. His brother became the Catholic bishop of Cork. Educated in Portugal, he engaged in business prior to coming to Philadelphia (1768). He was the first president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. When the war broke out he engaged as a privateersman. Washington made him muster-master general. Later he was secretary and aide to Washington and then Mifflin's successor as quartermaster general. Resigning, he raised Moylan's Dragoons, and on Pulaski's resignation was appointed commander of the cavalry units. At the close of the war Congress made him a brigadier general, and later Governor Mifflin appointed him major general of the state militia.

Fitzgerald¹ served as aides and secretaries of Washington, in addition to holding commands in the field. The latter helped unearth the nefarious cabal against Washington. The Catholic Indians of Maine and Nova Scotia, under Chief Orono, were loyal to America. And their friendship alone preserved the scattered settlements of northern New England from destruction. In appreciation the Massachusetts legislature petitioned Congress that a priest be procured for these Indians. This was done; yet, fifty years before, Massachusetts militiamen had ravaged the Abnaki lands and slain their Jesuit missionary, Father Rasle. Father Farmer is said to have refused a tempting British offer of a chaplaincy if he would raise a regiment of Pennsylvania Germans. There were no Catholic chaplains in the American service, though there were a number with the French army and fleet.

Innumerable Irish names have been found on the muster rolls of continental and colonial regiments. Of the Irish, some were Catholics. The Pennsylvania Tory Galloway before the House of Commons reported half the fighting force Irish. His figures were enlarged to discredit the American cause among Englishmen by making the Revolution appear an Irish rebellion.

The Churches and the War. Nearly all the New England leaders were Congregationalists. The ministers had been violent patriots since the passage of the Quebec Act, steeling their congregations to war and independence. Galloway described the patriots as Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and smugglers. Certainly the Irish Presbyterians were militant patriots. Princeton, like Yale and Harvard, was not only a nursery of signers and

¹ John Fitzgerald settled in Alexandria (1769), where he won business and social position and married into the Digges family of Maryland. He was a neighbor of Washington and joined him at Cambridge as an aide and secretary. His position was indicative of the reliance Washington placed on his honor. At the end of the war he became mayor and a leading citizen of Alexandria, the market town of the Mount Vernon region, and served at times as Washington's business agent. It was in his house that Mass was said by a visiting missionary. He was active in obtaining a town chapel and in collecting funds for Georgetown College. In politics he was a violent opponent of Jefferson, whose election he did not live to see. His family intermarried with that of Richard Henry Lee. He is said to have been a kinsman of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the Irish rebel, who incidentally had fought in the British army during our Revolution.

framers but aggressively anti-British. President Witherspoon, whom John Adams described as an "animated son of liberty," taught politics as much as religion, and his views had weight with his coreligionists. When the college closed after the English occupation of New Jersey, he took a prominent place in Congress.

The German Lutherans were not so tensely patriotic as the Reformed Dutch, but were aroused by their Irish neighbors in Pennsylvania. Most of them would have preferred a quiet neutrality. The Muhlenbergs, all ministers, stood out in bold relief: the father as chief divine of the sect, a son as general in the army (later first Speaker of Congress and a senator), and a second son in the Continental Congress. General Muhlenberg, from the pulpit, informed his parishioners of the fight at Bunker Hill, and throwing off his vestments, displayed a military uniform underneath, and proclaimed that there is "a time to preach, a time to pray, and a time to fight." And his example was not lost upon his people.

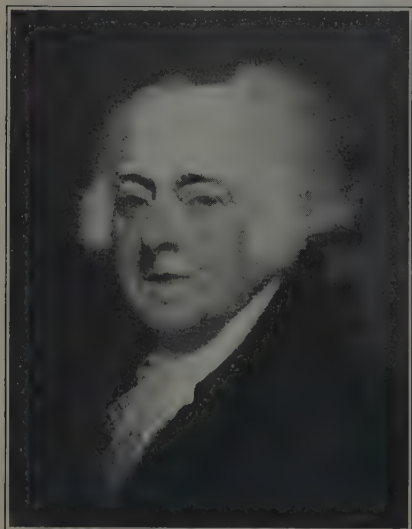
The Baptists, according to Washington, were "uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution." Isaac Backus, a leading preacher, explained that English persecutions made them patriots. Though a minor sect in point of numbers and subject to various disabilities in New England, they were more free than in England. The Methodists, on the contrary, were held in suspicion by patriots. They were recently organized, and most of their preachers were Englishmen and rabid Tories. Of the English-born only Francis Asbury remained in America, and he kept in seclusion. Individual members were often patriots. Yet, Methodists were under a cloud, for had not their leader, John Wesley, in "Some Observations on Liberty" (1776), violently denounced the rebels and likened Hancock to a felon?

The Episcopalians in New England were apt to be Loyalists, for they had always been annoyed by religious and political restrictions. During the war they faced persecution, loss of property, and close surveillance. Their ministers were imprisoned or forced to suspend their functions. Their churches were seized for military purposes. The upper class of Episcopalians in the

middle colonies were Loyalist in tone, but in the South the group was quite divided. The chief patriots were apt to be at least nominal Anglicans. It was long before the Episcopal Church outgrew popular misgivings of the war period.

Quakers and Moravians sought neutrality or a passive Toryism. Their failure to fight on grounds of conscience seemed

treasonable to their neighbors. They were taxed for nonservice and assigned to hospital work. The Quakers were weakened, and the so-called Free, or Fighting, Quakers formed separate societies. Of this number were Thomas Mifflin and General Greene.



JOHN ADAMS

Peace Negotiations. Congress named John Adams, Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens as peace commissioners, with instructions to proceed in conjunction with France. Laurens was a prisoner in the Tower of London, so that the first three agents

were responsible for the negotiations. Jay was suspicious of Spain and of the French minister Vergennes, for he believed that the latter was more interested in Spanish designs than in American welfare. Spain preferred to continue the war until Gibraltar should be taken and desired to limit the new republic's western frontier to the Allegheny Mountains. At any rate, Spain aimed at control of the Mississippi River. Finally Jay won over Adams, of whom Vergennes did not approve, and separate negotiations were entered into with Oswald, a Scottish merchant of little ability, who represented England. This secret proceeding was a violation of their instructions, but our commissioners

believed that they could drive a better bargain by concluding a preliminary agreement with England, whose hatred of our allies was far more bitter than her antagonism to the former colonies. Vergennes was annoyed, and the French government regarded the dealings of our commissioners as suggestive of duplicity and ingratitude.

The Preliminary Treaty. Negotiations dragged, for the British agent was determined to collect the debts owed by Americans for British prewar imports and to get an indemnity for Tories whose estates had been seized. Our commissioners could agree to neither. Finally, on November 30, 1782, arrangements were completed. American independence was recognized. Our boundaries were defined, with the Mississippi as the western limit. The British were to evacuate New York and the posts along the Great Lakes. The United States was awarded valuable fishing rights off Newfoundland, with the privilege of curing fish on the unoccupied coasts of Labrador and Nova Scotia. It was agreed that no legal obstacle should be placed in the way of the collection of the prewar debts, and Congress was to recommend to the states that there be no further molestation of Loyalists and that they be allowed legal recourse in an attempt to regain their properties.

Our commissioners made no positive promises; they were well aware of American hostility to the Tories and of the determination of merchants not to settle their old debts. Also, they were aware that Congress could only recommend such action to the independent states, but had no right of enforcement. The ministry allowed Parliament to expect the complete fulfillment of the provisions of the treaty in order that there should be no difficulty about ratification.

Final Treaty. In the meantime negotiations were entered into between England and the allied powers. Finally (September 3, 1783), all parties signed a definitive treaty, which included our preliminary treaty. France obtained the satisfaction of revenge. She obtained some trading privileges in India and fishing rights on the Grand Banks. She recovered the West Indies seized by the British and restored English islands which her fleet had

captured. Spain failed to recover Gibraltar, but was given both Floridas. The Mississippi River was opened to American and English commerce, for Englishmen suspected that the river's source might be in Canada. The Revolution was over. A new nation was born into the world — the American republic.

References

WRONG, *Washington and his Comrades* (Chronicles), pp. 80-276; J. T. HEADLEY, *Washington and his Generals*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. II, pp. 455-632; W. G. SUMNER, *Robert Morris*; T. N. PAGE, *Thomas Nelson of Virginia*; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. III, pp. 210-382; FISKE, *American Revolution*; BOLTON and MARSHALL, *Colonization of North America*, pp. 482-555; S. G. FISHER, *Struggle for Independence*; G. O. TREVELYAN, *American Revolution, George III and Charles James Fox*; W. B. DONNE, *Correspondence of George III and Lord North*; LORENZO SABINE and VAN TYNE both have volumes on the Loyalists in the American Revolution. S. WALLACE, *United Empire Loyalists*; J. H. STACK, *Loyalists of Massachusetts*; I. S. HARRELL, *Loyalism in Virginia*; E. J. LOWELL, *Hessians in the Revolutionary War*; I. N. ARNOLD, *Life of Benedict Arnold*; CHARLEMAGNE TOWER, *Marquis de La Fayette*; J. J. JUSSERAND, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*; BLANCHE HAZARD, *Beaumarchais and the American Revolution*; JOACHIM MERLANT, *Soldiers and Sailors of France in War of Independence*; WILLIAM JAY, *Life of John Jay*; E. S. CORWIN, *French Policy and the American Alliance*; A. H. SMYTHE, *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*; E. E. HALE, *Franklin in France*; J. B. PERKINS, *France in the American Revolution*; F. ELDER, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution*; G. CLARK, *Silas Deane*; H. P. JOHNSTON, *Campaign of 1776, Battle of Harlem Heights, Storming of Stony Point, Yorktown Campaign*; W. S. MYERS, *Battle of Monmouth*; C. K. BOLTON, *A Private Soldier under Washington*; A. M. SHERMAN, *Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien*; T. BODLEY, *George Rogers Clark*; C. O. PAULIN, *Navy of the American Revolution*; E. S. MACLAY, *American Privateers*; C. J. STILLÉ, *Anthony Wayne*; G. W. GREENE, *Life of General Greene*; ROOSEVELT, *Gouverneur Morris*; H. P. JOHNSTON, *Nathan Hale*; E. MCCRADY, *South Carolina in the Revolution*; JAMES GRAHAM, *Life of Daniel Morgan*; J. W. FORTESCUE, *History of the British Army*, Vol. III; L. C. HATCH, *Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*; EMORY UPTON, *Military Policy of the United States*; E. B. GREENE, *The American Revolution*; C. F. ADAMS, *Studies, Military and Diplomatic*; R. R. WILSON (Ed.), *Heath's Memoirs of the American War*; KEVIN O'SHIEL, *The Making of a Republic*;

V. L. COLLINS, *Continental Congress at Princeton*; M. I. J. GRIFFIN, *Catholics and the American Revolution*, *Life of Captain John Barry*; M. J. O'BRIEN, *A Hidden Phase of American History*; W. G. SUMNER, *The Financier and Finances of the American Revolution*; W. C. FORD (Ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress*; M. C. TYLER, *Literary History of the Revolution*; J. F. JAMESON, *The American Revolution as a Social Movement*. For diplomatic history the following surveys will prove useful: J. H. LATANÉ, *History of American Foreign Policy*; C. E. HILL, *Leading American Treaties*; R. G. ADAMS, *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*; C. R. FISH, *American Diplomacy*; J. Q. DEALEY, *Foreign Policies of the United States*. Catholic material will be found in the Proceedings of the United States Catholic Historical Society, GRIFFIN's *Catholic Historical Researches*, and the *Journals* of the American Irish Historical Society.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW NATION

I. THE CRITICAL PERIOD (1783-1789)

One Nation or Thirteen States? The war welded the colony-states into a confederation and held them together for eight trying years. Now that the enemy was disposed of, would the union continue or would the states separate into thirteen weak, rival republics? This was the momentous question of the critical period. There was the real danger. European and many American statesmen refused to believe that a republic so extensive could last. They expected a breaking up of the different sections into small, hostile nations which in their weakness would come under the influence, and possibly the control, of England, or Spain, or France. No large republic had ever endured. Here was a grand experiment. Could America retain its independence and build a permanent, united nation on republican foundations?

The Army Disbanded. The militia returned to their homes after Yorktown, but Rochambeau's troops did not embark from Boston until the end of 1782. The bulk of the continental army had been given furloughs which were virtually discharges. Thus the unpaid soldiers were disbanded, with less danger of rioting. The situation was terrible. The men were in distress and in bad temper, yet Congress had no money to settle their accounts. Only Washington's tact prevented a general mutiny of the soldiers at Newburg on the Hudson. About a hundred men of the Pennsylvania line marched on Philadelphia, forcing Congress to adjourn to Princeton. Nothing could better show the weakness of the city, state, and central governments. As there was no police force, and the militia was in sympathy with the rioters, Congress could not protect itself. The mutineers were men who

had fought and bled for independence and who now felt that little gratitude had been shown them. The nation was relieved when the last British regiments left New York, but quite as much when Washington's army was disbanded. Only eighty-three soldiers were retained as a guard for the fort at West Point (the military academy was established in 1802), so great was the fear of a standing force.

Washington's Retirement. On the withdrawal of the British Washington visited New York, where he took a heartfelt farewell of his officers. Going to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, he resigned his commission, praying that he might retire to his broad estates. He submitted a bill of \$64,000 for expenses incurred during the war and paid out of his own funds, but refused any compensation for his services. Miffin, president of Congress, spoke the feelings of the nation: "You retire from the theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens, but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate the remotest ages." The French minister, Luzerne, wrote to Vergennes: "All the world is touched by his republican virtues, but it will be useless for him to try to hide himself and live the life of a private man; he will always be the first citizen of the United States."

After the war Washington returned to Mount Vernon, where he dispensed a modest hospitality and took a genuine interest in local affairs, in the improvement of navigation on the Potomac and James rivers, and in canal companies which proposed a water highway connecting the West with the coast. Nor did he discontinue advocating the program which he had earlier suggested: that the states be unified under a single central government; that every last farthing of the war indebtedness be paid; that the state militia be reorganized and made effective; and that local, petty interests give way before national welfare. The true greatness of Washington stood out in his retirement even more than in his military campaigns.

The Confederation. After declaring independence the Second Continental Congress took steps to establish a Confederation of States and thus gain a legal basis for the Revolutionary govern-

ment. The Articles of Confederation, drafted by a committee, were approved by Congress (November, 1777) and submitted to the states for approval. Within fifteen months they were accepted by twelve states. Maryland refused her assent until 1781, when the various states agreed to cede their western-land claims to the central government.

Therewith the Articles became the first constitution, describing a framework of government based on that in existence since 1774. Under this constitution America carried on during the last years of the war and through the critical period of reconstruction.

Central Government under Articles of Confederation. The Articles provided a "firm league of friendship" for the loose union of semi-independent states. A Congress of a single chamber was composed of delegates appointed by the legislatures. They represented the states rather than the people, and were paid out of state funds. In this way the state had full control of its agents. Each state could send from two to seven deputies, but no deputy was to serve more than three years out of six or hold any salaried office under the central government. Each state had one vote (the majority opinion of its delegates) regardless of its size and population. This was in accord with the ancient but faulty practice of all previous attempts at colonial union. Seven states formed a quorum, but all important measures required the approval of nine states. Congress automatically convened each November and could not adjourn for more than six months. A journal of proceedings was kept. Congress had supervision over military and foreign affairs, Indian relations, the post office, and the conduct of the war; but it lacked means of enforcing its ordinances. It could call upon the states for volunteers, but could not conscript soldiers. It could not compel the states to pay their share of national expenses, but only solicit payment of their quota. In no way could it coerce sovereign states.

The president, appointed by Congress, was only a presiding officer, though nominally he held first place in the Confederation. Between 1774 and 1789 fourteen men served, of whom Peyton Randolph, Hancock, Laurens, St. Clair, Jay, Mifflin,

and R. H. Lee were the most notable. Even they were chiefly known in other connections than as the powerless presidents of the weak Confederation. During the adjournment of Congress a Committee of the States made up of one delegate from each state served as the executive branch of the government.

Freemen of one state were guaranteed all the privileges of freemen of another state. Each state gave full credit to legal records and proceedings of other states, and agreed to return escaped criminals and fugitives from labor. These reciprocal arrangements were important, for it was through just such matters that the states learned to work together.

✓ **Defects of the Articles of Confederation.** The weaknesses of the government under the Articles must be emphasized. The general recognition of these weaknesses led to a reorganization of the central government as a vital necessity. It was the experience under the defective Articles that taught the framers what to avoid and what to include in the new Constitution.

In the first place there was no strong, independent executive with power to direct the nation and enforce the laws and regulations of Congress. There was no national system of courts to try cases which might arise under national laws and treaties, or between states, or between citizens of different states. The Articles could not be amended save by unanimous consent of the states. Therefore they could not be revised to meet changing conditions and their weaknesses could not be remedied, for unanimous action would be quite impossible. Hence the Articles were doomed to be short-lived. As any important measure required nine votes, five of the smallest states or a combination of five interested states could prevent any action, no matter how essential for the general good. Yet the five states might represent a population less than that of two large states. Virginia and Pennsylvania saw little merit in a scheme of voting which gave an equal voice in the government to Rhode Island and Delaware.

The central government could not levy a direct tax or an import duty; hence it was without a dependable revenue. As the states failed to give more than 10 per cent of the moneys requested, Congress was unable to pay even the interest on war

debts. Money actually had to be borrowed to pay current running expenses. That meant bankruptcy. Had Rhode Island in 1781 or New York in 1786 consented to an act giving Congress the right to levy a 5 per cent duty on imports, the central government would have had sufficient revenue for expenses and a surplus with which gradually to blot out the public debt. But both times a single state prevented the necessary amendment. A government unable to levy taxes cannot long exist.

The central government could raise an army and navy, but had no means of supporting them; so it was unable to maintain domestic peace or protect commerce. It could negotiate treaties with foreign powers, but could not enforce their provisions on the states. Hence foreign nations refused to negotiate treaties or enter into full diplomatic relations. Congress had the right to coin money, determine weights and measures, and regulate commerce, but in effect was unable to do so, which left it powerless to advance internal commerce, control trade between the states, and improve general economic conditions.

Foreign Affairs. "Bullied by England, insulted by France and Spain, and looked askance at by Holland,"—no nation respected the weak, tottering republic. John Adams, our minister to the Court of St. James (London), was well received, but unable to negotiate a treaty of commerce. England had no interest in a treaty which would benefit only America. She had consuls in New York and Philadelphia, but did not honor us with a diplomatic representative. As her manufacturers could supply better and cheaper goods than those of any other nation, she was fast regaining her American trade. She would not withdraw her troops from the Great Lakes posts or pay for confiscated negroes, because our merchants had not paid their debts and the Loyalists had not been compensated. Therefore Adams could accomplish nothing.

Holland alone entered into a commercial treaty, in 1782. Prussia was friendly enough, but that was all. Spain was determined to obtain a more northern boundary for West Florida (the southern third of modern Alabama and Mississippi); and, on failing to do so, closed the Mississippi to our commerce.

This could easily be done, as she controlled both banks of the lower river. John Jay, as foreign secretary, was trying to negotiate a trading treaty with Gardoqui, the Spanish envoy, offering to accept a closed Mississippi for twenty-five years in return for a commercial treaty of the same duration. Westerners were aroused, for unless the Ohio-Mississippi waterway to New Orleans was kept open, they would be unable to market their crops, as the mountains cut them off from Eastern markets. For them it was a life-and-death issue. The frontier region might be lost to the Union. Spanish agents encouraged this dissatisfaction in the hope of gaining the Southwest. New England, on the other hand, muttered threats of secession if Mississippi navigation was allowed to stand in the way of a commercial treaty.

The Barbary pirates of northern Africa were plundering our ships and holding captured sailors for ransom. These corsairs forced weak nations to pay tribute. As they did not dare attack ships flying the English flag, colonial shipping had been immune. Now the piratical princes demanded tribute. America, unable either to pay or to make war upon the buccaneers, was helpless. A nation incapable of protecting the lives and property of its citizens is indeed wretched.

Economic Depression. The postwar period of reconstruction was one of desperately hard times. The states, outside the empire, found the Navigation Acts more than ever injurious to their commerce. They were unable to trade with the Spanish islands, and their commerce with the British West Indies was prohibited. Illegal trade was rigorously prevented by both England and Spain. American ships could carry products only from the state of their origin to England,—an insulting allusion to America as a country of thirteen states rather than a single nation. English ships were capturing the carrying trade along our coast as well as most of our export and import trade. American ships were tied to the wharves; sailors were unemployed; and port towns were in despair. British merchants ceased to buy American-built vessels. Hence our shipyards in Philadelphia, New York, and along the New England coast were idle.

Wartime manufactures were destroyed by British competition. The spirit of patriotism is rarely strong enough to cause people to buy a poorer product at a higher price, and national spirit in America was at a low ebb. Agriculture was in a decline. Despite treaty guaranties our fishermen were crowded off the Newfoundland Banks. Hard times arouse political discontent, for the government, rightly or wrongly, is held responsible.

Commercial War between States. Aside from its inherent weaknesses and the difficulties caused by hard times the central government was injured not only by states jealous of its control over them but by the unfriendly relations between states. Internal commerce was hindered by state jealousies. Connecticut opened her ports to England, but levied duties on goods from Massachusetts. Everywhere retaliation followed restriction. Pennsylvania levied tribute on trade from Delaware and New Jersey. New York City, rapidly becoming the first port, sought to enrich itself by taxing imports from Connecticut and New Jersey. Under Governor Clinton, antinationalism was especially strong in New York. Connecticut merchants agreed not to import New York products for a year. As foreign goods came largely through Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, these cities through their respective states were able to levy tribute on neighboring states by raising prices and imposing duties on foreign merchandise. Hard feelings resulted. The states could erect tariff walls at their frontiers, but Congress could not raise a penny by taxing imports. Tariff boundaries between the states must be abolished if America would continue a united nation.

Boundary Disputes. In addition to commercial grievances the states were in dispute over boundary lines. Both New York and New Hampshire claimed the Green Mountain region. Vermont applied for admission in 1777, but the New York delegation prevented action by Congress. Vermont went ahead, framed a constitution, and elected a governor. New York sent troops to the border, and New Hampshire was ready to follow suit. Hostilities were averted, but the dispute was not ended until Vermont was granted statehood (1791).

The Wyoming valley, settled by Connecticut immigrants, was awarded to Pennsylvania by a commission appointed by Congress. Connecticut gracefully gave up. Yet she was aroused in 1784 when the Pennsylvania legislature refused aid to the Yankee victims of a Susquehanna River flood, much as the Yankees had been left unprotected in the days before the Wyoming massacre. Pennsylvania authorities sent troops into the region; the peaceable Yankees were practically driven from the valley by officers who afterwards were charged with brutally exceeding their instructions. Men were killed, and at one time an aroused New England talked vengeance. There were disputed boundaries between Connecticut and Massachusetts, and both Connecticut and Massachusetts were contesting their boundaries with New York. These grievances had to be ironed out before the states could live in amity.

The Paper-Money Craze. The economic depression was intensified by chaotic monetary conditions. Before the war English capital tided the planters over until harvest and aided in moving the crops, much as Eastern capital now serves the Western and Southern agricultural states. After the war this was changed, and the nation was unable to adjust itself. There was no ready capital and there were no banks. Credit was not available. Gold and silver were not in circulation, but hoarded or sent abroad to pay for imports. Naturally foreign shippers would not accept continental currency, which, like the German mark of recent years, ceased to have any value. Men turned to barter: tobacco, grain, live stock, and whisky became standards of exchange in various parts of the country. Such a primitive system would not suffice for three million people. Business was at a standstill. Farmers planted merely enough for their own needs. Creditors were forced to fall back on their debtors, but the latter were powerless to pay. As a means of relief, the poor, the farmers, and the debtors demanded paper money; and all but three states attempted this dangerous expedient.

There was a popular belief that the states could make paper money legal tender and compel its acceptance in payment of debts, wages, and goods. It was not recognized that gold and

silver have an intrinsic value, whereas paper money has in itself no value unless the issuing government's credit is of recognized worth. Government paper, like an individual's note, is of value only when that individual's credit is good and the note is backed by hard money or salable property. The states were without credit and without means to redeem the paper issues in gold and silver, and hence paper money declined in value. Despite enforcement laws men refused to accept paper money save at its market value instead of its stamped value. The Carolinas and Georgia tried to enforce the legality of paper; in Maryland a legal-tender act was defeated in the aristocratic upper house to the annoyance of the masses. In Virginia efforts to force paper money were in vain. In the Massachusetts legislature paper money was defeated by a vote of four to one, and a bill to make cows and horses legal tender was also defeated.

Rhode Island's Riotous Time. In Rhode Island paper money in a few months declined to a sixth of its face value. The legislature passed coercive measures, compelling its acceptance by imposing a heavy fine and the loss of voting rights for refusal. If a creditor refused a debtor's paper money, the latter could deposit it with a court and be declared free of the debt. Thus, while nominally paying the debt, the debtor was doing so in money well-nigh worthless. In justification it must be remembered that the debtors had borrowed cheap money (possibly during the war), and creditors were attempting to get more than their just return by demanding better money than they had lent. The courts were filled with actions. Merchants refused paper for their goods; farmers retaliated by trying to starve out the city merchants by cutting off the supply of agricultural products. Mortgages were foreclosed; cattle were seized. The indebtedness of the people increased until it averaged \$200 per family.

Finally Trevett, a mechanic, sued Weeden, a butcher, for refusing legal-tender money, and the court decided that the law was null and void, much as a New York court decided that anti-Tory legislation was illegal. This brought an attack upon the judges, and a new legislature removed them. Yet in spite of riots the so-called "Know Ye men and their Know Ye measures"

(legal-tender acts) failed. Rhode Island was in a bad plight and held in disrepute as a "rogues' island" by neighboring states, who refused to trade with her.

The paper-money craze made the well-to-do, the merchants, and the creditors supporters of the Federalist faction which was working for a stronger national government. It taught monetary lessons which were long remembered, and encouraged the foundation of the first strong banks, — Morris's Bank of North America in Philadelphia, and the bank in Boston.

Western Lands. The Northwest Territory was claimed by Virginia, North Carolina, Connecticut, and Massachusetts on the score of conquest or of the vague boundary descriptions in early charters. Other states had less valid pretensions. All the claims overlapped and were irreconcilable. States without Western lands feared that if these states retained this tremendous Western area they would dominate the government, especially as the West became settled. Hence they gladly followed Maryland in waiving its claims, which were of doubtful merit. In accordance with their promises the states, with considerable magnanimity, ceded their claims to the national government by 1785.¹ Thus the United States acquired its national domain.

Government of the West. Although the newly acquired territory was occupied by only a few thousand French families and other pioneers, some arrangement for its immediate government was essential. Veterans who had been paid in land grants, and land speculators who were anxious to buy land at sixty cents to a dollar an acre in depreciated war bonds, used their influence with Congress to have the Western region opened for settlement. Jefferson drew up an ordinance in 1784, which failed of passage by the votes of only two states. It provided, ultimately, for ten states with classical names, which should be admitted into the Confederation when their population equaled that of the smallest state. Slavery was to be forever prohibited. Thus, by preventing its extension, Jefferson hoped that slavery would

¹ Connecticut retained about 3,250,000 acres in Ohio on the shore of Lake Erie (long known as the Western Reserve) as a means of paying her soldiers and for an educational fund. The early settlers in this region were largely from Connecticut.

finally disappear. He would also grant universal manhood suffrage. His proposals were too advanced, though his ordinance was the basis for the famous Act of 1787, which concerned only the Western territory north of the Ohio River.

The Northwest Ordinance (1787). In the meantime there was formed the Ohio Company of Associates, with General Rufus Putnam and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, a clever political lobbyist, as the leading spirits. Other companies were soon organized; land speculation became a mania. Cutler helped to push through Congress the Northwest Ordinance. Whatever may be said of the irregularities in winning votes for the measure, the Ordinance is one of the most significant laws passed by an American Congress.

The government of the territory was described in three stages. At first a governor, a secretary, and three judges, appointed by Congress, were to rule, according to laws patterned on the statutes of the original states. When the territory attained a population of 5000 male inhabitants it would enter the second stage and be granted a legislative assembly. Holders of fifty acres were allowed to vote for representatives, each of whom had to own two hundred acres. As all settlers were owners of the cheap virgin lands, there was practically universal suffrage. From ten names submitted by the assembly, Congress would select five men to serve as a council and upper chamber. The territory could also name a delegate to Congress, who had a seat but no vote. So far our territorial system ("territory" was used, since "colony" had an evil significance) was similar to the British colonial system. Each one of the original colonies had gone through the first and second stages, and some of them had maintained an agent in London. But America took a great forward step.

When the settled portion of the territory reached a population of 60,000 Congress would permit the governor to call a convention to draft a constitution. On ratification of the constitution by a majority of the voters and approval by Congress, the territory would be admitted into the Union with all the rights and duties of an original state. In all, five states might

be created.¹ If England had gone thus far in 1776, the colonies might have been temporarily satisfied within the empire. By the middle of the nineteenth century England had learned her lesson and gave somewhat similar self-government to her larger colonies. This was an advanced step which America had taken.

Modified and amended, these principles of territorial government have lasted to the present. With a few exceptions, all the Western states have entered the Union in this way. The settlers thus gained a valuable training in self-government.²

Liberalism of the Ordinance. Slavery was forever abolished in the Northwest Territory, though, as a matter of fact, there were a few slaves in southern Illinois until 1865. The rights of the French settlers were guaranteed, and an attempt was made to safeguard the Indians. "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," — Congress two years earlier had allotted a section of land (640 acres) in every township of thirty-six sections (six miles square) for school purposes. It was this land donation that made possible the early public schools of the Western states. It was also ordered that "no person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory." Thus the central government was setting a good example of toleration for the states.

↘ **State Constitution.** After July, 1776, it was necessary for the states to call conventions to draft constitutions which, on ratification by the voters, became the supreme law of the various states. The constitutions were conservative, describing the old system of government with only such changes as independence

¹ Ohio entered the Union in 1803; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Michigan, 1837; and Wisconsin, 1848.

² Louisiana, when purchased, was populous enough to enter the second stage. Texas and California, under exceptional circumstances, immediately became states. At present Alaska is in the second stage. Relative to the Ordinance of 1787 Daniel Webster said: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

made necessary. There were no clear-cut breaks with the past. Indeed, Connecticut and Rhode Island retained their liberal charters, only substituting the sovereignty of the people for that of the crown. In all the states the English common law was taken over, and the courts and administration of justice were unchanged save that judges were appointed for long terms by the governor or legislature.

The office of governor was under suspicion, and its powers were limited by the first constitutions. In New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island the governor was elected, but in several states he was appointed by the legislature. The term was short, a single year in nine states, and two and three years in the others. In some states he had a suspensive veto; in others, no veto power. His control over the legislature, appointments, militia, and pardons was carefully curtailed. In the course of a generation, when royal governors were forgotten, the power of the executive was increased in the interest of stronger and more efficient government and as a check on popular legislatures, which, as experience taught, could become corrupt.

Every state had a legislature of two chambers. The terms were short, for in frequency of election the framers saw popular control. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the term was six months, in six states a year, and in the others two years. In some states the qualifications were higher and terms of office longer for the members of the upper chamber. Authority was largely concentrated in the legislature, for this body had never aroused a suspicion of tyranny.

Of democracy in a modern sense there was none, but for that day the constitutions were democratic. Universal manhood suffrage was not known. In every state there were property qualifications, and in some, additional religious tests, for voting. The qualifications were apt to be higher for officeholders, but the requirement of ownership of taxable property worth \$33 to \$250 a year prevented about four men out of five from voting. In every state the same narrow group that controlled affairs before the Revolution was still in power. Tory individuals as such had dropped out, and new men had taken their places, but

the same propertied, social, and religious class ruled. As yet democracy and the natural rights of man were only theories.

Growth of Democracy. Independence meant that government could more easily grow in a democratic direction. Liberal theories, strengthened by the popularly accepted French political philosophy, would in time be translated into practice. Sovereignty would soon be placed in an ever widening body of voters. Interest in public affairs would naturally increase in a republic. Popular demands by the people at large for an active voice in government would in time break down class control. The mere forms of a republic would tend ultimately to the development of a purer democracy.

Some immediate steps were taken. The number of newspapers increased from thirty-seven in 1776 to over a hundred by 1789. The popularity of French literature resulted in the teaching of French in Harvard and other colleges and schools. Eight new colleges were established. Shortly all the states abolished the relics of feudalism in manorial holdings and in their land policies. The principle of primogeniture disappeared. Estates of men dying without a will were equally divided among the heirs. Large holdings, especially confiscated Tory estates, were subdivided into smaller holdings, thus increasing the number of landowners. Small farms worked by their owners or free renters bred a democratic, independent middle class. The criminal code was soon freed from English harshness. In time prison reform was undertaken. Imprisonment for debt was out of the question in a land of debtors, and after 1800 it was gradually abolished by the various states. Especially was the liberalism of the era seen in the attitude toward slavery and in the beginnings of religious toleration.

Slavery after the Revolution. Americans were sensitive to the presence of 500,000 slaves, which seemed contradictory to the statements in the Declaration of Independence and in the bills of rights adopted by various states that all men are created equal, and are of right free. A strong feeling against slavery appeared. Between 1774 and 1787 every state, even South Carolina for a time, prohibited the entrance of Africans or levied a heavy head

tax on those imported. In 1780 a court decision in Massachusetts made slavery illegal. Delaware (1776) provided for gradual emancipation, as did Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York (1780-1785), while Maryland and Virginia permitted voluntary emancipation by the owners and frowned on any further importation of negroes. As slaves were neither numerous nor profitable in the North, the action did not require the same moral courage as in the last two colonies. In Virginia about a thousand negroes were freed annually for ten years at a heavy financial sacrifice. Washington, Lee, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and Mason were all opposed to slavery, half excusing it on the ground of Southern agricultural needs. In the Far South the planters did not accept this view, but held slavery a necessary evil if plantations were to be profitably worked. It is interesting that, outside of Quaker circles, the growing antislavery feeling was due to the new theories of democracy rather than to moral principles.

Growth of Toleration. Religious toleration was of slow growth; yet prior to 1789 important steps were taken in that direction. The Revolution weakened Protestant sectarianism. Lay leaders replaced ministers. Men of various beliefs or no creed became accustomed to work together. Anti-Catholic bitterness died down. The Revolution furnished plenty of new holidays; and Guy Fawkes Day, which Washington forbade his soldiers to celebrate (1775), was soon forgotten by New England.¹

In Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland the new state constitutions put all Christians on the same basis. Rhode Island, alone of New England states, permitted Catholics to vote (1784). In all other states only Protestants could vote or hold office. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, Congregationalism was still the established creed. Massachusetts freed Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists from paying tithes if

¹ The so-called Gunpowder Plot (November 5, 1605) was celebrated in New England with greater spirit than elsewhere in the empire. Guy Fawkes, or Pope, Day was noticed in 1774, according to Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, by a parade, after which the effigies of three popes, Lord North, Hutchinson, and Gage were burned in a bonfire. Not until 1781 does he refer to another celebration, and this a tame one. Thereafter the day passed unnoticed in his diary.

they supported a church of their own, located within reasonable distance from their homes. According to law Protestants, regardless of creed, could vote and hold office, but in practice offices were confined to members of the ruling church. Sabbath-breakers were still arrested, all but necessary labor being prohibited on Sundays. Heresy laws were enforced, and belief in the cardinal principle of Unitarianism was still a felony except in Rhode Island. Boston would have been somewhat liberal, but the more orthodox small towns ruled the legislature and held tightly to the past. In Massachusetts a priest was legally liable to life imprisonment. Yet in 1789 Boston built a Catholic chapel, to which John Adams, among other leaders, made a contribution. The old laws were losing their teeth through slack enforcement.

Virginia Toleration Act. In 1776 Jefferson, Madison, and Mason, leading the non-Anglicans, carried a bill through the House of Burgesses which freed Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others from paying parish rates and which legalized all forms of worship. In New Jersey, Georgia, and the Carolinas non-Episcopalians were no longer tithed or forced to attend Anglican services, though the Episcopal remained the state-favored church. These, indeed, were steps toward liberalism.

In the meantime hostility to Anglicanism increased, associated as it was with Toryism. This church had long been dying of internal weaknesses. Ministers held unworthy of appointments in England occupied pulpits in the South. The legislature had found it necessary to curtail clerical drunkenness and riotous living. Spiritual duties appealed to many ministers less than fox-hunting. Then, too, as dissenters increased and the Presbyterians grew stronger, a State Church which represented only a minority could hardly stand. Dissenters were patriots, radicals, small farmers, and poor men; Episcopalians were conservative planters of means. Hence sectional and social antagonisms increased the religious opposition. At any rate Jefferson and Mason's famous Act of 1785 was passed with the declaration that any later attempt to repeal it or restrict its scope would be a violation of natural rights.

This act declared that God had created the mind and conscience free and had not sought to propagate religion by coercion, that all human attempts to enforce religious beliefs were tyrannical and sinful, breeding hypocrisy and hurting pure religion, and that a man's religious opinions should have no more to do with his civil rights than his opinions in physics and geometry. The idea of a state-favored or state-supported church was condemned, as well as any religious qualification for officeholding or voting. Truth will prevail without force or aid. The state need not interfere unless there be an overt act against public order. The act then declared that

no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

Shays's Rebellion. In the midst of the Rhode Island troubles and as a result of the legislature's failure to answer their demands for paper or fiat money, the debtors, small farmers, and unpaid veterans broke into rebellion under Captain Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary patriot (1786). Courts were broken up, buildings were burned, and the estates of the rich were plundered. It was a social war, class against class. All western Massachusetts was terrorized by the rebels. Riots occurred at Concord, and at Worcester where 1200 rebels were encamped. The Federal arsenal at Springfield was attacked but not captured. Even then the central government was powerless to interfere, nor did the Massachusetts authorities want outside aid. To many the central government seemed a distant, half-foreign authority. Finally Governor Bowdoin (now known almost solely through Bowdoin College, Maine) was able to raise a large force of militia under General Lincoln, who defeated the rebels with much bloodshed. Shays and several of his men were convicted of treason and sentenced to death, but the newly elected governor,

John Hancock, in recognition of their Revolutionary services, pardoned the condemned men.

Shays's revolt was significant. It showed how easily the states could plunge toward anarchy. It demonstrated the widespread discontent of the masses, for in every state similar rioting was imminent, and it showed the helplessness of the authorities. Above all, it gave force to the words of leaders throughout the land who foretold the disruption of the Confederation if its hands were not strengthened. Propertied men feared that the spirit of revolt would bring disorder and mob rule, unless something could be done to save the situation.

The Annapolis Convention. At Washington's and Madison's suggestion, commissioners from Virginia and Maryland met at Alexandria and at Mount Vernon to consider the improvement of navigation on the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay and to end smuggling on these waterways. Other matters were considered, and it was decided to broaden the original program. Madison and John Tyler (father of the later president) carried a motion through the Virginia legislature to call a meeting at Annapolis and invite general participation. Though the move was frowned upon by Congress, delegates from Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York convened at Annapolis (September, 1786). Maryland failed to appoint representatives. Difficulties of travel prevented the arrival of delegates from Massachusetts and New Hampshire before the convention adjourned. Here were laid the first plans for a stronger Union. Congress, forced to take action, sent out a formal call, in accordance with the Annapolis proposal, for a national convention to meet the following May in Philadelphia.

Growth of Federalist Sentiment. The paper-money craze, Shays's revolt, general disorder, and the discontent of the unrepresented laboring class frightened the ruling groups in the various states. Local antagonisms and state-rights views gave way to a national spirit. The propertied, merchant, professional, and educated classes throughout the country saw that they must unite to form a Federal government which should be strong enough to maintain law and order, to protect and

encourage foreign and domestic commerce, to win the recognition of European powers, to stabilize finances, to settle disputes between states, and to pay the Revolutionary debt. Radicalism of the war era must be stemmed. It was dangerous. If the states were unable to control the masses who were disappointed that the war had not done more to improve their status, a central government capable of so doing must be organized. This was the work of the Constitutional Convention.

References

MAX FARRAND, *Fathers of the Constitution* (Chronicles), pp. 1-107; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 1-176; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*.

Bibliography

FISKE, *Critical Period*, pp. 1-222; CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. III, pp. 375-494, 524-574; J. B. MCMASTER, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 1-415; A. C. McLAUGHLIN, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, pp. 3-184; ALLAN NEVINS, *The American States, 1775-1789*; P. L. HAWORTH, *George Washington, Country Gentleman*; LEILA HERBERT, *The First American, his Homes and Households*; L. B. DUNBAR, *Study of Monarchical Tendencies in the United States*; W. T. THOM, *Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia*; S. E. MORISON, *Sources and Documents of American Revolution, 1764-1788*, pp. 207-362; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 276 ff.; W. P. CUTLER, *Manasseh Cutler*.

2. FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION

The Convention at Philadelphia. The states answered the call and appointed delegates who in most instances were instructed to join in

devising and discussing all such Alterations and farther Provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the Exigencies of the Union and in reporting such an Act for that purpose to the United States in Congress as when agreed to by them and duly confirmed by the several States will effectually provide for the same.

Little was it thought that the Convention which convened in Independence Hall on May 25, 1787, would set aside the Articles and write a new Constitution which would turn the weak Confederation into a stout and permanent federation of states.

Personnel of the Convention. Virginia named a remarkable delegation. Washington, the greatest man in America and one of the wealthiest, brought to the Convention prestige, ripe experience, and sane counsel, as well as patient tact and severe dignity as presiding officer. George Mason, in popular estimation, was second only to Patrick Henry, whose democratic suspicions of the whole project caused his refusal to serve. James Madison was the scholar of the Convention, versed in governmental lore, ancient and modern, and reputed to be the "best-informed man on any point in debate." No man deserved greater credit for framing the Constitution. Regular in attendance, he kept full minutes of the proceedings, which remain our best single source of information. Governor Edmund Randolph was a lawyer of rare distinction, and George Wythe was esteemed as chancellor of the state and the most renowned law-teacher of his generation. The Maryland delegation was far less able. Charles Carroll refused the appointment, and his cousin Daniel Carroll was selected. Dr. James McHenry, an Irish army surgeon and former secretary of Washington, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, a rich planter, and Luther Martin, a politician and successful lawyer, were the only other well-known members. No strong men came from North Carolina, for the leading democratic spirits refused commissions. South Carolina sent able men, though Henry Laurens failed to attend. John Rutledge was an Irishman who was famed as an orator and widely experienced as a holder of various state offices; Charles Pinckney was under thirty years of age but a rich planter; his cousin Charles C. Pinckney, an Oxford graduate, a general in the war, and a lawyer was far abler; and Pierce Butler was a wealthy Irishman, vain of his noble descent and popular because he had sold a British commission and settled in the colonies. From Georgia appeared two delegates of note: Abraham Baldwin, Yale tutor, war chaplain, and founder of the University of Georgia; and William Pierce, who jotted down fascinating notes concerning the proceedings and his fellow members.

The Pennsylvania delegation approximated that of Virginia in worthy character. Franklin, at eighty-one years of age, was

failing, but his honorable career from the days of the Albany Congress was inspiring to the younger members. Robert and Gouverneur Morris were highly rated as financiers, bankers, and business men. James Wilson, a rugged Scot, and Jared Ingersoll were legal lights; and Thomas Fitzsimons was a conspicuous merchant.¹ The chief delegates from New Jersey were William Paterson, an Irish immigrant and merchant; Governor William Livingston, a man of wealth and social connections; and Jonathan Dayton, a Revolutionary officer and an Ohio land speculator. Of Delaware's representatives George Read and Gunning Bedford, Jr., lawyers, and the cautious John Dickinson stood out. Dickinson, author of the conservative *Farmer's Letters*, chairman of the committee which drafted the Articles of Confederation, and president of the executive council of both Delaware and Pennsylvania at different times, had outlived the unpopularity of his refusal to sign the Declaration of Independence. Robert Yates, of the New York supreme court and a framer of the Articles, appeared with John Lansing, a youthful lawyer

¹ Thomas Fitzsimons and Daniel Carroll were the Catholic signers of the Constitution. The surprise is that among the 39 signers there were any Catholics, when it is remembered that less than 1 per cent of the population was of that faith. Of Fitzsimons the following notes may be jotted down: born in Ireland 1741; a partner and brother-in-law of George Meade; member of First Continental Congress and supposedly the first Catholic elected to office from Pennsylvania; captain of a militia company in the Trenton campaign; aided in supplying the patriot army; 1782, elected to Congress; member of Federal Convention, where he voted against universal suffrage; on Ways and Means Committee of the First Congress, where he was among the first to advocate a protective tariff; elected to Second and Third Congresses; his defeat was described by Madison as a "stinging blow to aristocracy"; died, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, in 1811.

Daniel Carroll: born in Maryland in 1733, died in 1829; brother of Bishop Carroll; educated in France; in Congress, 1780-1784; member of Constitutional Convention; stout supporter of ratification. In a pamphlet defending the Constitution he wrote:

"If there are errors it should be remembered that the seeds of reformation are sown in the work itself and the concurrence of two thirds of Congress may at any time introduce alteration and amendments. Regarding it from every point of view, I am bold to assert that it is the best form of government which has ever been offered to the world."

He was a member of the First Congress and was appointed a commissioner of the District of Columbia, which included part of his large landholdings. The Capitol is built on part of his old estate.

and Albany politician, and the intellectual giant Alexander Hamilton. Though only thirty years old, Hamilton was nationally known as a soldier, as a lawyer who had dared to defend the wronged Tories, a member of Congress, and a leader of the Annapolis Convention.

Massachusetts named Francis Dana, who failed to appear; Elbridge Gerry, a signer and rich merchant, keenly interested in commercial affairs; Nathaniel Gorham, a president of Congress; Rufus King, a leader of eloquence; and Caleb Strong, a silent, honest man, typical of the country people whom he represented. Connecticut sent William Samuel Johnson, an honorary doctor of Oxford, a neutral lawyer in the war, and president of Columbia College. Roger Sherman, a shoemaker who had become New Haven's leading citizen, with a reputation for solid sense and political judgment and with a long career in Congress, was second on the list. Oliver Ellsworth, a judge of the state supreme court, was venerated for his integrity and general worth. New Hampshire was slow to act until John Langdon, her leading merchant financier, offered to pay his own expenses. Finally, the state appointed Langdon, Nicholas Gilman, and two others who failed to attend.

The Character of the Convention. Jefferson, who was in Paris, exaggerated when he described the Convention as "an assembly of demigods," but at any rate no abler political gathering has appeared in American history. Of sixty-five men appointed, fifty-five accepted and were present for some of the meetings. The greatest roll call showed fifty-one names, and thirty-nine men signed the finished document. They were comparatively young men, averaging forty-two years, with few above fifty or below thirty-five years of age. Most of them had taken part in the Revolution. Nearly forty of them had served in Congress; at least eight of them had been governors; several were signers; a number had been judges of their state superior courts; a few were recognized financiers and successful merchants; a number were large planters; most of them were wealthy men in the sense of that day and belonged to the ruling class in their individual states; only two or three were of the rank and file of the

people; and several were experienced as framers of state constitutions. Half the members were college-bred at a time when college education was a mark of rare distinction, and of the lawyers several were trained in the English Inns of Court. At least a sixth of the delegates were foreign-born and foreign-trained. Furthermore, most of the framers were destined for distinguished careers under the new government.

Men of such wide interests were apt to be national in view and conservative in tone. They were men of breadth of vision, and were willing to compromise differences. Whatever personal disadvantages a strong central government might bring them, as patriots they were desirous of establishing a government which would best serve the nation as a whole. They were keenly alive to their responsibilities, and, whatever radicals of today may intimate, the framers hardly thought in terms of stabilizing their own holdings in the securities of the Revolutionary government.

Virginia Plan. As soon as the Convention was organized Randolph submitted the Virginia plan, which was largely the work of Madison. It immediately received the support of the large states. The powers of government, following Montesquieu's description of the British system, were to be divided among three independent branches, — executive, legislative, and judicial. Congress was to consist of two houses, the first to be elected by the people of the states and the second nominated by the state legislatures and appointed by the first house. Representation was to be based on population and taxable property. Congress would have power to nullify a state law, which it could not do in the Articles. The executive, ineligible for a second term, was to be elected by Congress. A central judiciary of a supreme court and inferior courts was to be given jurisdiction over maritime questions, cases where foreigners were concerned, and matters involving national peace and harmony. Provision was made for the admission of new states.

New Jersey, or Small States', Plan. Aroused by the debate on the Virginia plan and the proposal for proportional representation in both houses, Paterson submitted a substitute plan which appealed to the small states, bent on maintaining equal repre-

sentation. Indeed, some of the small states had instructed their delegates to remain firm on this point. Connecticut, Delaware, New York (Lansing and Yates versus Hamilton), and Luther Martin of Maryland backed the plan, which offered only a slight revision of the Articles. Congress was given power to levy import duties, stamp taxes, and postal charges; and if necessary, requisitions might be made on the states in proportion to their population, three fifths of the negroes being counted. An executive committee appointed by Congress would administer the laws but, unlike the executive provided in the Virginia plan, would have no veto power on legislation. A supreme court was also suggested. .

The Great Compromise. The two plans could not be reconciled. The debate grew more heated as it dragged on for weeks. It looked as though the deadlock could not be broken. It was well that the meetings were shrouded in well-kept secrecy, for if the country had known of the acrimonious disputes and lack of accord, it is doubtful if the Constitution as finally drafted would have been approved. The large states with two thirds of the population would not adhere to a union which failed to give them representation according to their population. Seven small states, representing only a minority of the nation, would, if united, be in full control, yet they would pay only a third of the national tax or, in case of war, raise only a third of the armed force. The small states were quite as insistent. So convinced were most of the delegates that something had to be done if the nation was to live, that they finally compromised.

At last Ellsworth suggested a compromise Congress of two houses. The upper chamber, or Senate, would represent the states, each state having two senators elected by its legislature and each senator having one vote. The lower house, or House of Representatives, would be based on population, and its members elected directly by the voters of each state. New Jersey, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina voted in favor of the compromise, while Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia were opposed. New York's vote was not included, for Yates and Lansing had left the Con-

vention in disgust. This compromise (sometimes called the Connecticut Compromise) satisfied neither side, but it was accepted for fear the Convention might end in failure.

A Bundle of Compromises. Every clause in the final Constitution was the result of compromise, so much so that an authority has described the Constitution as a "bundle of compromises." There were no party lines in the Convention, but there were plenty of factions whose personnel changed with every issue: men from the large and small states, liberals and conservatives, and the slave, frontier, and commercial interests. Only by compromises and crisscrossing of factional lines could such groups get together and draft a document fairly satisfactory to all.

Gouverneur Morris and Gorham were leaders of a group that was desirous of limiting the Congressional representation of the West, which would ultimately be admitted into the Union as states. Fairer counsel prevailed, and it was agreed that both representation and direct taxation should be based on population. While in the South slaves were regarded as chattels, in this instance Southern delegates would have them counted as men; for that would greatly increase Southern representation in Congress. Some Northerners, hostile to slavery, did not want negroes counted at all. It was finally agreed that in estimating the population of the states three fifths of the slaves were to be counted. This scheme has often been erroneously regarded as a main instead of a minor compromise.

The South, which furnished about two thirds of the exports up to the Civil War, obtained a provision that the Federal government could not levy an export duty. At the desire of the lower South it was agreed that the slave trade should not be prohibited for twenty years and that no prohibitive head tax should be levied. It was provided that fugitives from labor as well as from justice should be returned to the state of their escape.

The Executive. The executive was a stumbling-block. A few delegates would not have opposed direct election, but the majority had an honest fear of the people ("mob rule") and a dread of universal suffrage. Some would have Congress name the executive or appoint him from a list of nominees submitted

by the states. Suggestions were made of a term of four, seven, eight, and even fifteen years, as well as a proposal that the executive should hold office during good behavior. Some favored a seven-year term without reelection. Even the title caused grave debate, but finally high-sounding, foreign titles gave way to the plain "Mr. President."

The election compromise resulted in the novel electoral college — one of the few inventions of the framers and the first institution to break down. There is a slight possibility of an attempted modeling on the college of cardinals and the papal election. At any rate, danger from the people was fully guarded against. Each state appointed (only later were they elected by the voters) electors equal in number to the state's senators and representatives. Meeting in the state capital, they would vote for candidates for the presidency and vice presidency. The returns from all the states would be counted in Congress, and the candidate with the highest majority would be president, and the next, vice president. As there would be a number of candidates, it was hopefully expected that the choice would be left to the House, which, voting by states, would elect the president from the five highest on the list. In the same manner the Senate would elect the vice president. Only the development of the two-party system prevented Congress from frequently selecting the executive.

Enumerated Powers of Congress. The framers sought to draw a firm line between the powers delegated to the central government and the powers retained by the states, which were zealously maintaining their rights. It was implied (definitely stated later, in the Tenth Amendment) that all powers not expressly surrendered were reserved to the states. A number of sections of the document limited the powers of the states, and other sections restricted the powers of the Federal government. A long list of enumerated powers were granted to Congress. Comprehensive as these powers were, the authority of Congress, as time demonstrated, was made far greater than the framers intended by the implied powers in the "necessary and proper" clause and the right "to provide for the general welfare." These

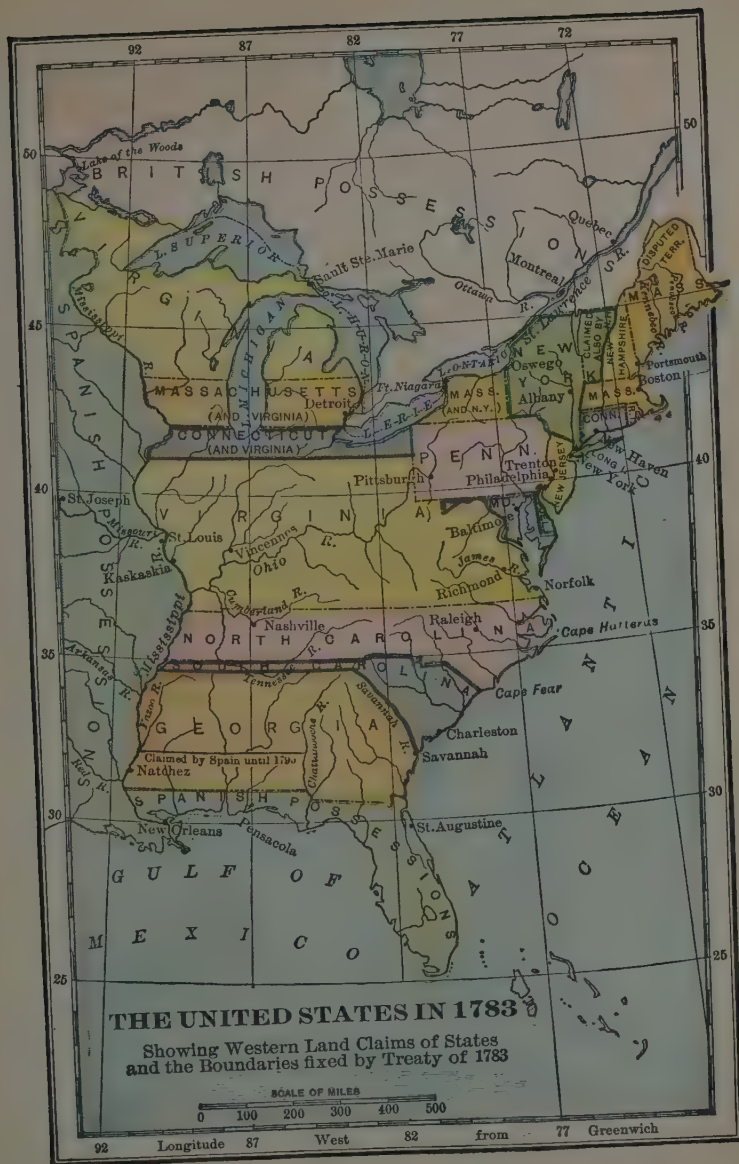
clauses, broadly interpreted by the courts, have enabled the central government to extend vastly its authority.

"Check and Balance" Idea. The framers aimed to protect the nation from radicalism on the one hand and corruption and tyranny on the other by devising a system of checks and balances. The president, through his veto power, could check Congress; yet by a two-thirds vote in both Houses Congress could override his veto. He and other officials were to be subject to control by Congressional impeachment. One House of Congress would serve as a check upon the other. Through the peculiar means of amendment the Constitution could be changed by the states. The Federal courts, serving as interpreters of the Constitution, would serve as a check on the executive and legislative branches as well as upon the states.

The Constitution Completed.¹ A committee of detail headed by Gouverneur Morris polished the rough draft of the Constitution, which was then referred back to the Convention. Thirteen framers had left the meeting; Randolph, Gerry, and Mason refused to sign. This left only thirty-nine members who by their signatures expressed approval of the finished document. It was then referred to the Congress, which was still sitting in New York, and Congress in turn submitted the Constitution to the states for ratification. The presumption on the part of the framers in writing a new Constitution instead of revising the old, was conveniently overlooked. It was the only radical step which had been taken.

The Constitution contained little that was new and untried. As practical men, the framers leaned heavily on English institutions, practices, and precedents, as well as on colonial practices and the experience of the states and the central government under the Articles of Confederation. Their work contained little

¹ Pelatiah Webster, a rich Philadelphia merchant, wrote a pamphlet (1783) based on the Articles of Confederation and amendments which had been suggested. He incorporated some ideas which were embodied in the later Constitution. There is no evidence that his ideas or his pamphlet directly or indirectly affected the work of the Convention. Some extravagant claims have been made for him as "architect of the Constitution" by Hannis Taylor, in his book *The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution*.



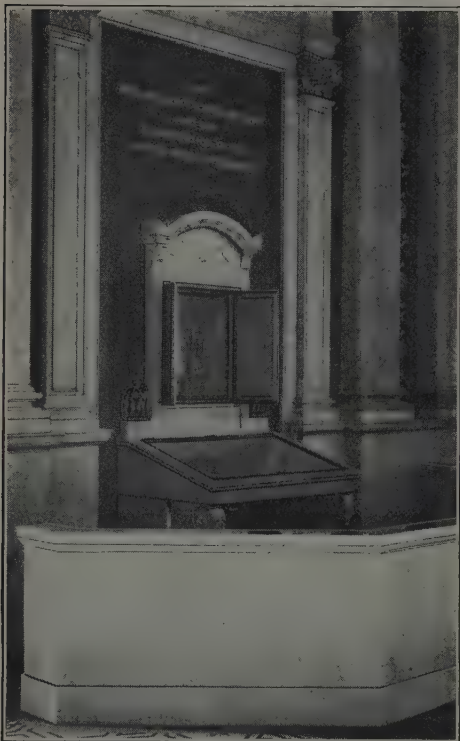
in the way of theory, not even the usual Bill of Rights. The suffrage was left for state determination; voters who were given the privilege of electing members of their lower state legislatures were allowed to vote for representatives to Congress. It was a mere skeleton, which could be clothed by acts of Congress providing the details of administration. Only in brief did it describe the framework of government, the qualifications, duties, and powers of officials. Professor Farrand has written (1913):

Neither a work of divine origin, nor "the greatest work that was ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man" [Gladstone's oft-quoted eulogy], but a practical, workable document is this Constitution of the United States. Planned to meet certain immediate needs and modified to suit the exigencies of the situation, it was floated on a wave of commercial prosperity, and it has been adapted by an ingenious political people to meet the changing requirements of a century and a quarter.

Ratification of the Constitution. The Constitution was submitted by the states to conventions elected for the purpose. In no state was there a popular referendum, or vote. Had the Constitution been submitted directly to the voters, there is little doubt that it would have been defeated in several states. The anti-Federalist faction, as the opponents of the Constitution were known, was strong, not only among the people at large but among the narrower group blessed with the suffrage. Small farmers and shopkeepers, paper-money men, debtors, unpaid veterans of the late war, laborers, and the discontented in general were opposed to the Constitution on grounds of ignorant fear or because of its centralization of power in the hands of the Federal government. Nor were the anti-Federalists without able leaders and popular demagogues who attacked the Constitution on the stump and in print.

The state conventions were far more conservative than the general public. The vote for delegates was light throughout the country, as hardly 5 per cent of the population took part. This was due to apathy as well as to a restricted suffrage. Hence the Federalists, most of whom had the vote, elected a majority

of conservative merchants, property-holders, and lawyers to the various conventions. The Federalist party included, in addition to the wealthy, the educated class (the college-trained, the ministry of the Episcopal and Congregational churches, editors,



THE SHRINE IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
CONTAINING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPEND-
ENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION

professional men), and most of the admired leaders of the Revolution. Yet it was with difficulty that ratification of the Constitution was won, despite an active educational campaign.

The Vote in the Conventions. After four days' deliberation Delaware unanimously approved the Constitution (December 7, 1787). Within a few days New Jersey followed. In the Pennsylvania convention there was some fear of the outcome. The Federalists actually intimidated their opponents in the assembly, who were hopeful that the strong opposition in the state could make itself felt.

The Scotch-Irish were known as bitter anti-Federalists; while the wealthy of Philadelphia, the landed interests of the old counties, Quakers, and former Loyalists were equally ardent Federalists. Finally the Constitution was forced through by a vote of 46 to 23 (December 12), but not without certain amendments which were to

be urged on the new government. With little debate, Georgia ratified (January 2, 1788). In Connecticut the opposition was largely without the suffrage, yet it cast a vote of 40 in the convention to 128 for ratification. So the conservative little state of steady habits "came under the roof," as the acceptance of the new government was described (January 9).

In Massachusetts the contest was spirited. The final vote in the convention was 187 to 168 for ratification (February 7), but not without amendments in the form of a Bill of Rights. Despite the disfranchisement of the poorer classes and the failure of several anti-Federalist towns to send delegates, the opponents of the Constitution came near winning. Hancock was finally won over by the promise of the vice presidency under the new government, and at the last moment Samuel Adams voted with the Federalists. Their right-about face saved the day, for both men were influential with the masses and the anti-Federalists. Massachusetts was a critical state because of its size and dominating importance in New England. In Maryland the anti-Federalists were led by Chase, Mercer, and Martin, while the Federalists followed McHenry and the Carrolls, who represented the rich planters. After a campaign of months and deliberation of weeks the Constitution was approved, with amendments, by a vote of 63 to 11 (April 26). In South Carolina the convention, which was controlled by the big planters, voted for ratification, 149 to 73, after ten days' consideration (May 23). In New Hampshire, Portsmouth and the southern part of the state favored the Constitution, but the democratic pioneers of the north were opposed. In the convention the ablest and most talented men were for ratification; but, realizing that their majority was doubtful, they brought about an adjournment. Charges were made, not of buying delegates, as in Massachusetts, but of enfranchising the late Tories in order to insure Federalist representatives from certain towns. During the adjournment a sharp campaign of education was conducted. The new session saw the Constitution accepted by the close vote of 57 to 47 (June 21). The Massachusetts example had proved a strong argument.

In Virginia the radicals were led by Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee, all ardent patriots and beloved champions of the discontented element. It was a hard combination to beat, though the conservatives had the weight of Washington's opinion and the scholarly arguments of Madison and John Marshall to fall back upon. The convention was almost evenly divided between the two factions, but with the understanding that amendments would be incorporated, the Constitution was finally approved by a vote of 89 to 79 (June 25). As in New Hampshire, a change of six votes would have defeated the Constitution, whereas in Massachusetts the loss of only ten delegates would have been fatal.

New York was the critical state. Without it the new nation would have been cut in two parts. The result was doubtful during the whole campaign. The Tories, while strong Federalists, were without the vote. Outside New York City and the Hudson manors Federalism was weak. Anonymously there appeared in a newspaper a series of splendid, logical explanations of the Constitution. These articles, it was learned later, were from the pens of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay. Collected under the title of *The Federalist*, these essays remain our best exposition of the Constitution, as intended by the framers. While the opposition had a clear majority in the convention, the final vote carried the Constitution through by 30 to 27 (July 26). New York did not want to remain outside the Union, and the necessary nine states had already accepted the new form of government.

North Carolina elected an anti-Federalist convention, which voted 184 to 84 to adjourn without ratification. Rhode Island, in the control of the paper-money men, rejected the Constitution. North Carolina finally entered the Union about six months after Washington's inauguration (November 21, 1789). Driven by the fear that the largest cities, which were Federalist in politics, might possibly secede and that she would be treated as a foreign power, Rhode Island entered the Union, May 29, 1790. At last, the thirteen original states had subscribed to the covenant and formed a permanent, united nation.

The Old Congress Disappears. In September, 1788, Congress officially recognized the acceptance of the Constitution by the states and provided for the election of officers for the new government. Thereafter only a few delegates met long enough to take the roll and adjourn to their favorite taverns for want of a quorum. Finally the old Congress disappeared, several months before the new government was inaugurated.

References

MAX FARRAND, *Fathers of the Constitution*, pp. 107-166; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 177-254; T. D. O'BRIEN, *The Great Experiment*; BRIDGET HAYES, *American Democracy*; R. G. GETTELL, *Constitution of the United States*; RANDOLPH LEIGH, *The Citadel of Freedom*; J. M. BECK, *Constitution of the United States* (school edition).

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. III, pp. 494-524; MAX FARRAND, *The Framing of the Constitution*, (Ed.) *Records of the Federal Convention*; J. M. BECK, *Constitution of the United States*; R. L. SCHUYLER, *Constitution of the United States*; C. M. TANSILL (Ed.), *Formation of the Union* (Congressional Sesquicentennial document); J. A. CHANDLER (Ed.), *Genesis and Birth of the Federal Constitution*; T. J. NORTON, *Constitution of the United States*; FISKE, *Critical Period*, pp. 222-360; McLAUGHLIN, *Confederation and Constitution*, pp. 184-317; McMASTER, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 415-502, also his *Pennsylvania and Federal Constitution*; J. F. BAKER, *Federal Constitution*; C. A. BEARD, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*; BIGELOW, *Writings of Franklin* (10 vols.); NICHOLAS M. BUTLER, *Building the American Nation*, pp. 1-93; EDWARD ELLIOTT, *Biographical Story of the Constitution*; E. S. CORWIN, *The Constitution and its Meaning*; S. G. FISHER, *Evolution of the Constitution of the United States*; *The Federalist* (editions by H. C. Lodge, W. C. Ford, E. G. Bourne); F. G. BATES, *Rhode Island and the Union*; O. G. LIBBY, *Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the States on the Constitution*; B. STEINER, *Connecticut and Ratification of the Constitution*; S. B. HARDING, *Ratification of the Constitution in Massachusetts*.

Among the best general, single-volume studies of the whole field of American government may be listed: F. A. OGG and P. O. RAY, *Introduction to American Government*; C. A. BEARD, *American Government*; W. B. MUNRO, *Government of the United States*; J. T. YOUNG, *New American Government*; C. E. MARTIN and W. H. GEORGE, *American Government and Citizenship*.

3. LAUNCHING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The First Presidential Election. In accordance with the proclamation of the late Congress the presidential electors from ten states met in their respective capitals (January, 1789), each elector, according to his own judgment, casting a secret ballot for two men from different states, whom he judged worthy of the highest office. In six of the states, as a precaution against too



© Leet Brothers, Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON'S LIBRARY, MOUNT VERNON

much democracy, the electors were appointed by the legislature. New York lost its vote, as New Hampshire nearly did, because of the inability of the two houses of the legislature to agree on their choice of electors. When the votes of all the states were counted, it was found that every one of the sixty-nine electors had voted for General Washington, who therefore became president. John Adams, with thirty-four votes, was the next highest on the list in a field of eleven candidates, and hence was declared vice president.

Congress expected to meet on the first Wednesday in March, but not a third of its membership was present in New York. Five weeks elapsed before there was a quorum, owing to lack of interest as well as to the difficulties of travel in early spring. Washington spent two weeks on the road from Mount Vernon, stopping at various places to greet throngs of admiring friends and citizens. On April 30 the inaugural took place on the steps of the Capitol in Wall Street.¹ It was a solemn occasion, and stately was the ceremony.²

Washington's "Court." Washington was criticized by democrats with strong notions of equality for his majestic dignity and style. In opening Congress he was charged with mimicking the regal splendor of the British sovereign when convening Parliament — riding as he did in an imported English coach emblazoned with his arms and drawn by four white horses, whitened and polished even to their hoofs, and accompanied by outriders.

¹ Federal Hall, designed by L'Enfant, was presented to Congress by the city. In 1791 Philadelphia again became the capital.

² On Washington's election, Bishop Carroll, his cousin Charles, his brother Daniel, Fitzsimons, and Dominic Lynch (New York merchant prince, land speculator, and founder of Rome, New York), on behalf of their coreligionists, joined in an address, as did other denominations, felicitating the president and pledging support. To this, Washington replied in his usual spirit of broad toleration, apparently taking the occasion to urge similar views on the part of his fellow countrymen of various creeds:

"The prospect of National prosperity now before us, is truly animating; and ought to excite the exertions, of all good men, to establish and secure the happiness of their Country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of Divine Providence—the protection of a good Government—the cultivation of Manners, Morals, and Piety—cannot fail of attaining an uncommon degree of Eminence. . . .

"As Mankind becomes more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the Community, are equally entitled to the protection of Civil Government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost Nations in examples of Justice and Liberality. And I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their Government—or the important assistance, which they received from a Nation, in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed.

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. . . . And may the Members of your Society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves, as the faithful subjects of our free Government, enjoy every temporal, and spiritual felicity."

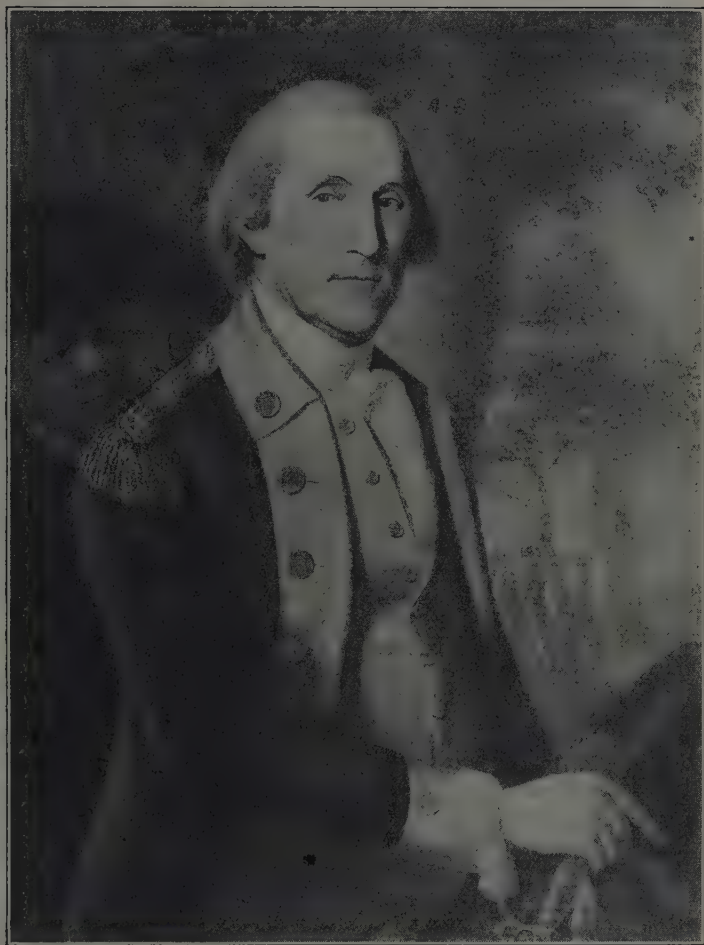
Hardly less formal was his equipage for driving around the city or for going to church with Mrs. Washington. His house near Bowling Green, however, was none too large for his family and three secretaries. During the sessions of Congress Washington held weekly levees over which he presided in black velvet knee breeches, yellow gloves, dress sword in a white scabbard, ruffles, and a powdered wig. To these receptions officials and the



THE INAUGURATION OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON AS THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK, IN 1789

Courtesy of the New York Historical Society

"quality" of New York came. Mrs. Washington held her weekly "drawing-rooms," which were less formal, as the President on these occasions considered himself a private gentleman. Washington invited members of Congress and diplomats to rare, formal dinners with excellent liquors and wines, but established the precedent ordinarily followed by presidents of not accepting invitations himself. He had few friends and no intimate associates. His courtly procedure and rigid etiquette were partly affected to give dignity to his office, though all gentlemen of his



GEORGE WASHINGTON

From a painting in Independence Hall, by James Peale

generation continued to wear wigs, knee breeches, cockades, ruffles, and silver buckles.¹

The First Congress. Weeks were lost in organization, and in idle debate over forms and usages, by those who revered and those who detested English terms. Adams, a strong believer in titles and dignities, hoped thus to secure greater reverence for officials and institutions. Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania, who left a delightful diary descriptive of the First Congress,² was an advocate of democratic usages and heaped ridicule on supporters of monarchical views. Jefferson, in Paris, hoped that even the title of "mister" (master) would disappear. Relative to these discussions, Professor West has urged that we acknowledge our debt to this Congress "for turning the current of American practice from Old World trappings of childish or slavish ceremonial toward manly simplicity and democratic common sense."

Washington appeared in the Senate with the Secretary of War, who read a new Indian treaty with the expectation of receiving the Senate's "advice and consent." On the adoption of Maclay's motion that all the papers and correspondence be submitted, nothing could be done. The President, in dignified anger, finally

¹ Isaac Weld, a Dublin gentleman and a kinsman of Cardinal Weld, in his *Travels through the States of North America, 1795-1797*, has left an excellent description of the President: "Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington, a man so renowned in the present day for his wisdom and moderation, and whose name will be transmitted with such honor to posterity, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe. . . . There is something very austere in his countenance and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. I have heard some officers, that served immediately under his command during the American War, say, that they never saw him smile during all the time that they were with him. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconstrained ties of friendship; and but a few can boast even of having been on an easy and friendly footing with him."

² In the First Congress there were the following Catholics: Senator Charles Carroll, and Representatives Daniel Carroll, Fitzsimons, and Aedanus Burke of South Carolina; and Thomas Lloyd of Philadelphia, reporter. Mathew Carey was most influential in the journalistic circles of Philadelphia and about the largest American publisher of books. Burke was born in Ireland in 1743 and, on leaving the seminary at St. Omer, settled in Charleston on the eve of the war. A relative, Thomas Burke, was governor of North Carolina and served in the Continental Congress. Serving as a major during the war, he became a judge of the state supreme court and later chancellor. He was a radical anti-Federalist, and one of the few Catholics in that party.

left the chamber. He found that the Senate was not merely an advisory council. This proved an important precedent, guaranteeing the Senate's power over treaties and freedom from direct executive influence. Since then, save to read his annual message or a war message, or on invitation, no president has officially attended a session of Congress.

The Cabinet. The Constitution provided that the president "may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices." Otherwise there was no provision for a cabinet. Congress passed laws in 1789 establishing the Departments of State, of the Treasury, and of War, and defining the duties and jurisdiction of each. The head of each department was to be appointed by the president and was responsible to him alone (as English ministers were responsible to the king before the eighteenth-century development of the cabinet as the representative agent of the majority in the Commons). Washington appointed Jefferson Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury, and General Knox, a man of little ability but popular in New England, as Secretary of War. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was named Attorney-General, as a part-time legal adviser. All four men, as well as the Vice President, were invited to advise with the President in cabinet meetings.¹

The Judiciary Act (1789). The Constitution provided for a Supreme Court and such inferior Federal courts as might be necessary, but left the organization of the courts to Congress. The Judiciary Act provided for a chief justice of the United States and five associate justices, comprising the Supreme Court.

¹ In the next administration the vice president ceased to attend the cabinet, as has been the case to the present, save under President Harding. As business grew, Congress created new departments: in 1798, the Navy Department; in 1829 the Post Office was separated from the Treasury Department; in 1849 the Department of the Interior was added; in 1870 the Attorney-General became head of the Department of Justice; in 1889 a Department of Agriculture was created from a former bureau in the Interior; in 1903 the Interior Department threw off the Department of Commerce and Labor, and ten years later this was separated into two departments. Thus by Congressional statute new departments have been provided and their duties determined.

Thirteen District Courts, each with a judge, were established as the lowest Federal courts. Justices of the Supreme Court were to tour each district, associating with a district judge in holding a Circuit Court which would hear appeals from the District Court. According to the Constitution, the Supreme Court had original jurisdiction over all cases affecting ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state was concerned. All other Federal cases might be tried in the District Courts with appeal to the higher courts. It was provided that a case involving Federal law might be appealed from the state to the Federal courts.

On the passage of the Judiciary Act, Washington appointed as judges men who had been framers, or at least champions, of the Constitution. John Jay was made chief justice. In the spring of 1790 the Supreme Court assembled. Its duties were light, only fifty-five cases being tried in ten years. Riding the circuit, however, was trying, for distances were long and traveling both difficult and dangerous, and the court rooms were almost as bad as the inns where the judges stopped. Position on the Supreme Court was not highly considered; both Jay and his successor, Oliver Ellsworth, resigned for diplomatic or state posts. Indeed, men preferred the superior benches of their own states.

The Bill of Rights. The state conventions proposed numerous amendments to the Constitution, which were sifted and introduced in Congress by Madison. Of these, twelve were submitted to the states, which accepted ten — the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which are usually described as the Bill of Rights. In a sense they are a part of the original document, setting forth certain fundamental rights which were implied in the Constitution. It was well to guarantee doubly such important principles as that Congress should not establish a state religion or prohibit the free exercise of religion; deny freedom of speech, of the press, of peaceful assembly, and the right of petition for redress of grievances; deny the right of the people to bear arms or be freed from quartering of soldiers save as legally prescribed; permit illegal search or seizure; hold a person for a capital offense save by grand-jury presentment, or subject a man

a second time to jeopardy of life and limb for the same offense; compel a man to witness against himself in a criminal case; deprive one of life or property without due process of law; deny a speedy, public trial by a jury from the locality of the offense; levy excessive bail and fines; or exact cruel and unusual punishments. The Ninth and Tenth amendments declared that the enumeration of certain rights in the Constitution should not be interpreted to deny others retained by the people, and that powers, not delegated to the United States¹ nor prohibited to the states, should be reserved to the states or their people. With these amendments, the Constitution satisfied the nation.

Separation of Church and State. The Constitution not only did not recognize any church or religious society as such and provided that no religious test should ever be required as a qualification for any office under the United States, but it declared that no law should ever be passed by Congress violating religious freedom or establishing a State Church. This did not affect the existing religious establishments and codes of the individual states, but set a good example which the new states, and finally the old, followed in writing new or revising old constitutions. Separation of Church and State was not an eighteenth-century ideal. It was a compromise.¹⁰ Congregationalists in New England or Episcopalians in the South offered no objection to a State Church when it was their church, nor would Presbyterians or Methodists or Catholics if they had been so favored. No denomination cared to see a rival denomination advanced by the government, hence all sects supported the perpetual divorce of Church and State as far as the Federal government was concerned.

Hamilton's Financial Policy. The Secretary of the Treasury was a financial genius. He not only determined the financial policy of the Washington administration, but left his stamp

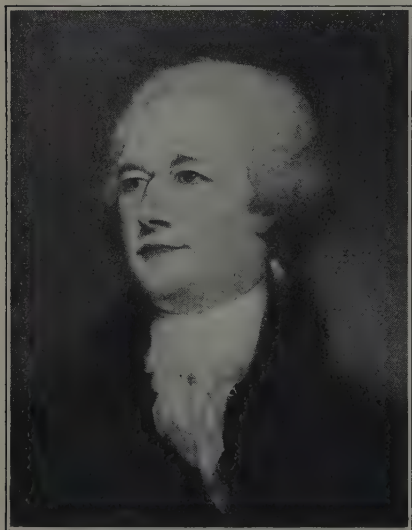
¹ The term "United States" appears as "U. States" frequently after 1776, but rarely as "U. S." In 1776 commissions read from "United States" instead of "United Colonies." "U. S. A." was stamped on approved powder kegs, and also on guns to keep the patriots from retaining them. After 1787 the term "United States," though for a time "united States," became the rule. In the second war with England, "U. S." stamped on the knapsacks was translated by some wit into "Uncle Sam."

permanently on the department which he organized. In this sense no Secretary of the Treasury has done so much, nor has there ever been a greater financier at the head of this department. Hamilton found the country virtually bankrupt, unable to pay running expenses, unable to pay its war debt, without credit or a banking system, with a flood of worthless paper money

and no gold or silver specie, with no definite source of income, and with no monetary standard of value. Out of chaos he brought order.

Funding the National Debt. Hamilton first funded the national debt. The foreign debt with interest amounted to \$11,700,000. No one objected to its payment in full. Common honesty as well as good credit abroad demanded that the money borrowed to win the war be paid to the last cent. The domestic debt, or money borrowed from its own citizens by the central government, amounted

with interest to about \$44,400,000. Should this be paid in full? Men differed. Opponents pointed out that the men who originally loaned the money rarely held the bonds. They had been forced to sell them far below par to speculators and "note shavers." Such bonds were purchasable at the rate of a shilling on the dollar. Should the government pay dollar for dollar to new holders, enriching them at the expense of the original patriotic investors and of the nation itself? Of this, Hamilton was aware; yet he knew that no legal distinction could be drawn between original and current owners. The government must take its loss for the sake of its credit. It



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

must accept the bonds at their stamped value regardless of depreciation. Finally Congress agreed. The total foreign and domestic debt was guaranteed. The old bonds were called in and exchanged, dollar for dollar, for a new issue of long-term bonds at a lower interest rate.

There was much criticism in anti-Federalist circles. Radicals maintained that nothing had been done to protect holders of continental currency because it was held by poor men rather than merchants or speculators. It was also noticed that before the outside world knew that the domestic debt would be paid in full, certain Congressmen and friends of Hamilton, including his father-in-law, General Schuyler, were heavy purchasers of such bonds at a few cents on the dollar. It was charged that these "inside" speculators sent agents into outlying regions where news was belated, and bought up all available bonds from owners ignorant of their rising value. At any rate, fortunes were made. This scandal was unfortunate, but assumption of the whole national debt was the correct step and in the end highly beneficial.

Assumption of State Debts. To the assumption of outstanding debts incurred by the states in waging the war there was a spirited Congressional opposition. Some of the states had paid part of their debt and were opposed to the central government's taking over the \$22,000,000 which other states still owed. Thus they would be compelled to pay their share of this debt, which seemed unfair. Some leaders saw in the assumption a dangerous centralization under the cover of benevolent aid. Then, too, the state certificates of indebtedness were in the hands of speculators. Congress was about to defeat this part of Hamilton's program when a compromise was reached.

In accordance with the Constitution, the site of a new national capital must be selected. The Northern states hoped that the capital would remain in the North, while the South desired a Southern location. A perfect example of "logrolling" resulted. Jefferson, the chief opponent of Hamilton's policy in general, agreed to deliver Southern votes for assumption if Hamilton and his friends would agree to a Southern capital. The assumption bill passed.

The National Debt. The funded, or national, debt amounted to about \$77,000,000. Hamilton and his supporters viewed the national debt as a permanent institution, arguing that the interest should be paid regularly and the principal gradually diminished over a long period of years. They looked on Federal bonds as a safe security for large investors, who, as an interested group, would become the stoutest supporters of the new government. The anti-Hamilton men did not favor this English view of a permanent debt, but believed that the surplus revenue should be applied to paying off the debt, and that the country, like an individual, should exercise rigid economy in order that the annual surplus applied to blotting out the debt might be larger.

The First National Bank. Hamilton advised the establishment of a national bank like that of England, maintaining that a loose interpretation of the "necessary and proper" clause in the Constitution gave Congress this power. Jefferson argued that Congress was not empowered to establish such a bank, and that the Constitution should be interpreted strictly in accordance with the letter. He believed that if the framers intended that Congressional power should be extended by broad interpretations, the document itself would have so provided. In the cabinet, Randolph followed Jefferson, and Knox agreed with Hamilton's reasoning. The President finally supported Hamilton.

The bank, with a capital of \$10,000,000, was chartered to run twenty years. As a holder of \$2,000,000 worth of stock, the government appointed a fifth of the directors, and the stockholders elected the remainder. The bank was located in Philadelphia, with branches in the larger cities. It was the depository of Federal money and the agency through which the government could borrow, or float loans; it could issue bank notes which passed as legal tender because of the recognized credit and strength of the institution. As it was closely associated with the Federal Treasury, its stockholders were among America's leading merchants and politicians. The National Bank was given a monopoly over banking, making existence difficult for state-chartered banks. Despite criticism, it aided materially in stabilizing banking and finances.

The Tariff Policy. A duty of from 5 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was levied on imports. This, it was estimated, would bring a revenue sufficient to pay current governmental expenses (about \$600,000 a year) and leave a surplus to handle the interest on the debt and unforeseen expenditures. Such a tariff was for revenue only, not for the protection of American goods against the competition of cheaper foreign products. To encourage American shipping, a tonnage tax of 50 cents a ton was levied on foreign vessels trading in our ports and only 6 cents a ton on American vessels.

Hamilton submitted an elaborate report on manufactures and the desirability of encouraging them by protective duties. Here, again, he displayed keen foresight, arousing interest as well in the development of manufactures and in the later policy of a protective tariff.

The Excise Tax. When Hamilton's excise duty on spirits was enacted into law, the opposition reached a furor. As a direct tax collected by Federal agents, it was likened to the nefarious Stamp Act. Distilling was general on the plantations, in the back country, and even in New England where whisky was rapidly replacing rum as an ordinary beverage. Frontier farmers, unable to haul their bulky corn crop to distant markets, fed their corn to hogs, which could be driven to market, or turned their corn into whisky, which could be more profitably transported. The legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania condemned the tax. In western Pennsylvania the Scotch-Irish rose in the so-called Whisky Rebellion.

Riots occurred; armed mobs raided revenue offices and tarred collectors. There was real danger that the disturbance (1793-1794) might spread and result in a civil struggle. Governor Mifflin, fearful of losing his popularity, took no action. Washington finally called for 15,000 militia, and by mere display of force quelled the rebels. Two of the leaders were condemned to death, but were pardoned by Washington. Hamilton was highly pleased; his direct tax enabled the Federal government to make its force directly felt by the citizens of a state, and the rebellion gave it an opportunity to enforce its law in strong

fashion. The central government was not some distant power, and, unlike the Confederation in the case of Shays's Rebellion, it could maintain order.

The Election of 1793. Washington again received every electoral vote. Adams, with seventy-seven votes, was reelected, but the opposition faction, or Republican group, showed its strength by casting fifty votes for Governor George Clinton of New York. The opposition won a majority of the seats in the House and elected the Speaker. Washington did not enjoy his office, but continued through a sense of duty. Wearied of public life, he would gladly have retired. His second administration was destined to be the most trying in the entire history of the presidency, save those of Lincoln or of Wilson. Jefferson gave place to Timothy Pickering, a rabid Massachusetts Federalist, and Randolph to Charles Lee of Virginia. Hamilton was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, though he remained a trusted counselor of Washington.

The French Revolution. America as a whole sympathized with the French Revolution and its early constitutional reforms. The French were following our example and throwing off the shackles of a tyrannical monarchy. Americans were ready to accept Bastille Day as another July holiday, even as Washington treasured the key to the destroyed royal dungeons, which was presented by Lafayette. The attack upon the Catholic Church was welcomed by Congregational and evangelical ministers as an indication of the final downfall of Rome, which they had long and eloquently predicted in tedious sermons. Suddenly there came a change in the American attitude.

The Revolution entered upon the Reign of Terror. Its excesses, bloodshed, and seizure of property could not be condoned. The clergy, on seeing the Jacobin attack on Christianity, feared the introduction of French atheism into America and faced right-about. Republicans, with some justification, humorously accused them of praying for the Old Church. American conservatives lost interest in the French experiment when they saw England head an alliance of powers against France and her revolutionizing efforts. Radical doctrines, leveling tendencies,

and mob control aroused fear lest the disease be contagious. All but the most radical Republicans were affected by the reaction, which retarded the growth of reform in America for a number of years, even as it did in England.

The Genêt Mission. In 1792 Genêt, an experienced diplomat of long standing, was appointed minister to the United States by Revolutionary France. As aggressive in his republicanism as our minister Gouverneur Morris (Jefferson's successor at Paris) was in his pro-royalism, he came with the intent of conducting violent French propaganda and stirring our Southwest to wage war on the Spanish colonies. In the latter project he was encouraged by American liberals living in Paris. He had hardly landed in Charleston when he commenced his intrigues in the Southwest. French commissions and funds were given to local leaders who were to raise men for an attack upon New Orleans. The settlers hated Spain, which had closed the Mississippi to their flatboat commerce. Now that France was fighting both England and Spain, Genêt equipped privateers and sent them out from American ports to raid English and Spanish shipping. In his audacity he expected Treasury loans to finance his projects, on the basis of our sense of gratitude.

Genêt banked everything on the old treaty of alliance and American hostility to England. He realized that the Federalists were anxious to avoid war, if not inclined to the English side. He knew that the Republicans to whom he appealed were pro-French. His actions were intended to embroil America in war with France's enemies. In his own good time he presented himself at Philadelphia; his delay in so doing, as well as his nefarious intrigues, was an insult to the President and the nation.

Neutrality Proclamation. Washington conferred with his cabinet and issued a Neutrality Proclamation (1793), declaring that America would maintain a strict and impartial neutrality and in no way aid either belligerent. Federalists and moderate Republicans stood by Washington's peace program. The new nation was unprepared for war. There was no reason why we should aid France of the Revolution; it was France of the Bourbons and of the ancien régime with which we were allied.

With Europe at war, times became prosperous in America. Soon, as the greatest neutral nation, we profited in the carrying trade and in the sale of foodstuffs and supplies to the warring nations.

Neutrality was a matter of wisdom, yet advanced Republicans arraigned the administration most violently. Genêt continued his appeals to the back country, which was slow in accepting Washington's proclamation forbidding all violations of neutrality and projected attacks on Spanish lands. Therewith Washington, patience exhausted, demanded that France recall "Citizen Genêt." This was done. Genêt, fearful that the new faction in power in France would send him to the guillotine, settled down in New York as the son-in-law of Governor George Clinton.

Relations with Spain. This episode taught Spain how vulnerable were her colonies of Louisiana and New Spain. At any rate, in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795 Spain agreed to open the Mississippi to navigation, grant the right of free deposit at New Orleans, and accept the Florida boundary as described in 1783. For the time, this arrangement quieted the population west of the Alleghenies. Our neutrality also prepared the way for a settlement of difficulties with England, which was interested in commercial relations with the United States as a source of supply and also as a market for manufactured goods which could no longer be sold on the Continent.

The Jay Treaty. Relations with England had been growing worse. New questions were arising. France, shut off from the sea, opened her West Indies to American trade. England (according to an international law dating from 1756) held that trade which was closed in time of peace could not be opened in time of war for the convenience of her French enemy. English men-of-war seized American vessels engaged in this trade. The method of British sea captains in stopping and searching ships was high-handed. If British sailors (often deserters who sought better pay) were found on American ships, they were seized for His Majesty's service. Some sailors who were actually American-born or naturalized were seized by mistake or design. Against such impressments and interference with trade on the high seas America protested.

John Jay was sent to negotiate a treaty with England. Unable to follow instructions, he shrewdly obtained the best possible arrangements. He gave up the old claims for some 3000 slaves. The treaty was silent on impressments and on the American contention that free ships meant free goods. It gave us the right to trade in the British East Indies, which was more important than it would seem, for Americans had commenced a lucrative trade with the Far East. England agreed to compensate for recent illegal seizures and to evacuate the Western forts. As to trade with the British West Indies, it was agreed that this could be carried on in coast vessels of not more than seventy tons' burden, provided that America pledged herself not to export molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, or even her home-grown cotton to any port of the world for twelve years.

The anti-Federalists and pro-French groups were very angry. Jay was burned in effigy, Hamilton was stoned, and Washington was bitterly criticized. Jefferson held the treaty to be an execrable thing. Even the Virginia legislature refused to give Washington a vote of confidence. The ratification fight in the Senate was most bitter. Finally, after striking out the West Indian section, the Senate agreed to accept the treaty by a close vote. In the bitterness of the opposition and in partisan hatred of England, all advantages were overlooked. The treaty provided that damage claims and the boundary dispute between New England and Canada should be arbitrated. This was a noteworthy step. The British flag was banished from the frontier. Above all, war with England had been prevented; the new nation was unready to be embroiled in the European death struggle.

The Northwest. After 1790 the Indians became more restless as they saw settlers encroaching on their Ohio lands. English fur agents and even the governor of Canada gave them secret aid. Defeating an army under Governor St. Clair, they endangered the whole frontier. General Wayne was given command, and in 1794 the Indians were crushed in the battle of Fallen Timbers, almost within sight of the British flag which still waved over Detroit. In the Treaty of Greenville the Indians

ceded all claims to the greater part of Ohio, which was then opened for settlement. In 1796 the British, in accordance with the Jay Treaty, evacuated the Great Lakes forts. It was hoped that the fur trade would fall into American hands, but the Indians preferred to deal with the Hudson's Bay Company and turned their trails and canoes laden with furs to the new posts built over the Canadian line.

New States. Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee were admitted into the Union. The new states were far more democratic than the old and wrote a broader toleration and practically universal suffrage into their constitutions. They were national in tone, for, unlike the old states, they did not have a history antedating the Federal government. Their inhabitants were the poor, dissatisfied emigrants from the older settlements. Without riches or social distinction, the pioneers in log cabins were dependent for a living on their rifles and the produce of little clearings in the woods. They were true democrats. In time it was this Western frontier and succeeding frontiers (for the push of population was ever driving the frontier farther westward) which taught the nation the essentials of political democracy.

Beginning of Political Parties. Enough has been said to indicate that political parties were forming. As yet America had known only short-lived factions as opposition parties; Tories disappeared with the achievement of independence, and anti-Federalist activity ended by 1789. The framers feared factions. There is not a word in the Constitution concerning political parties. Men, it was hoped, would be elected or appointed to office as citizens properly equipped, not as members of this or that party. The method of selecting the president would prevent party action. Parties were associated with factious opposition, corruption, and all the evils of the English system. America would have none of them.

Washington was without party affiliations, yet his cabinet, with men so opposite as Jefferson and Hamilton, soon divided on all important questions. As natural, outstanding leaders, they attracted supporters in Congress and followers throughout the states. Jefferson was a natural democrat, a believer in religious

freedom, universal suffrage, and the rights of man, and an opponent of the courtlike character of the administration and aristocracy. He believed that the central government should assume no power not strictly granted by the Constitution. He would guard states' rights. Therefore he opposed the Bank, the assumption of state debts, the excise law, and protective features in the tariff. He saw in agriculture, rather than in commerce and industry, the future prosperity of the nation. Intimately acquainted with France, Jefferson was decidedly pro-French. He was no apologist for revolutionary excesses or militarism; but with philosophical shrewdness he believed that in the end the French people would be greatly benefited and would win their war against the European monarchies.

Hamilton was quite the opposite: a greater lawyer, a man of a constructive rather than of a philosophical mind, practical, conventional, and aristocratic in his leanings. Born in the West Indies of Scottish descent, he regarded the English system of government as the best in existence. Some described him as a monarchist at heart. He believed in the legal protection of wealth rather than of men. He feared the "mob," for he was no democrat. He would strengthen the central government at the expense of the states and of the people, hence he invented the loose construction of the Constitution as a means of reading broader Federal authority into the document. On every issue Hamilton and Jefferson disagreed. Leaving the cabinet, both men organized their followers.

Federalist versus Republican. The group which in general agreed with Hamilton were Federalists, that is, supporters of a strong federal system. While Washington held aloof from such affiliations and regarded himself as the president of all the people and above party lines, his sympathies were with the Federalists. Hamilton was his most trusted counselor. In general his appointments were from this group. The Federalists were in control of the government and of all the states save North Carolina, Virginia, New York, and the West. In general they were men of means, social standing, and education. In a word, they were members of the ruling class.

The Jeffersonians, soon known as Republicans, were an opposition group. Their strength was drawn from the old anti-Federalists, the small-farmer-and-laboring class, frontiersmen, natural radicals and out-and-out democrats, pro-French sympathizers, debtors, Scotch-Irish, opponents of excise laws, and disfranchised citizens in general. Out of this discordant mass Jefferson and his cohorts built a strong party.

The Election of 1796. Washington refused a third term, thus establishing a precedent since followed that no president shall serve more than eight years. He was anxious to retire. The second term had been a drain on his strength, and mean-spirited criticism wounded his sensitive feelings. He was assailed by opponents of the Jay Treaty, as he wrote, "in terms so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." His honor stung, he who was now frequently dubbed "the Stepfather of his country" declared that he would rather be in his grave than in the presidency. With Washington out of the way, the opposition cast aside all restraint.

In the election of 1796 Adams and Thomas Pinckney stood as Federalists, while the Republicans concentrated their strength on Jefferson. The Federalists wasted their votes on a field of thirteen candidates, and a number of New England electors refused to vote for Pinckney lest he tie Adams for the presidency. South Carolina voted for Jefferson and Pinckney, cutting Adams. When the vote was counted, it was found that a divided ticket had been elected: Adams and Jefferson, leaders of opposing parties.

French Relations. James Monroe, whom Washington appointed minister to France, allowed his Republican ardor to carry him too far. Nor was he insistent enough in demanding the surrender of American ships which France had seized in anger at the Jay Treaty, which seemed to violate her commercial treaty. Monroe was recalled, and C. C. Pinckney, an anti-French Federalist, was appointed. The Directory, which ruled France from 1795 to 1799, refused to receive Pinckney (1796), and withdrew their minister, Adet, who had the effrontery to

engage actively in our political campaign of 1796 on behalf of the Republicans. Thus diplomatic relations between the two countries ended. War was imminent; American vessels were captured. Americans found on British ships if captured by the French were liable to treatment as pirates. France, seemingly, was bent on a war of revenge.

The XYZ Affair. Adams, desirous of peace, appointed a special commission — John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry (a Republican), and Pinckney — to arrange matters with the French government (1797). Agents of the wily and corrupt Talleyrand, secretary of foreign affairs for the Directory, demanded as the price of a conference a loan, and a bribe of \$250,000. It was intimated that our republic might be destroyed like that of Venice. Our envoys refused: "Not a sixpence!" This answer, improved in the telling, rang through the country as "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" In Adams's communication to Congress the agents were referred to as Messrs. X, Y, and Z.

Congress gave Adams full support. The Jeffersonians for the moment became a feeble minority. Jefferson urged that France be not held responsible for its corrupt Directors, usurpers who did not represent the nation. Congress voted appropriations to complete the frigates *United States*, *Constitution*, and *Constellation*, which had been held up when the pirates of Algiers had been bought off by the payment of annual tribute.¹ The old treaties of alliance and commerce were made void. A military force was ordered, with Washington as chief. Privateers were authorized. Patriotism ran high. The new national song, "Hail Columbia," resounded through the land. Hostilities virtually commenced, though neither nation formally declared war.

¹ The Algiers pirates captured our ships and held the sailors for ransom. Negotiations were fruitless. Steps were taken to build ships, but there was opposition to a navy on the score that it would draw us into foreign wars. Richard O'Brien, a Philadelphia captain who was held captive for ten years, wrote memorials which were pushed in Congress by Fitzsimons. Finally our agents, through a Jewish broker, obtained the release of our citizens at a cost of about a million dollars and immunity for our vessels by paying an annual tribute of nearly thirty thousand dollars. It was a dishonorable bargain, necessitated by our naval weakness.

Naval War with France (1797-1799). A squadron under Captain John Barry cruised in the West Indies, protecting our ships from French privateers and making many captures. Captain Thomas Truxtun of the *Constellation* captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente* and defeated the *Vengeance*. In two years we captured eighty-five French vessels, losing but a single ship. That our little navy was protecting our commerce was apparent in the almost doubled exports and imports:

Adams, contrary to the wishes of Federalist leaders, who preferred war, named another mission on receiving indirect assurance that it would be received. In the meantime the Directory had given way to the Consulate under Napoleon, who wanted peace with America. A convention, or treaty, was arranged in 1800, and the two nations were again in accord. Republicans rejoiced at peace, but even more at the disruption of the Federalist party over Adams's policy. Adams did well; peace was worth the price of the Federalist party. That he so realized is evident in the writing of his own epitaph: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France."

Intolerable Federalist Measures (1798). In the anti-French furor Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, which were of doubtful constitutionality. The naturalization period was increased from five to fourteen years before an immigrant could become a citizen. Republicans immediately charged Federalists with an intolerant hostility to immigrants and aliens.¹ Another act, enforceable for two years, gave the President power to expel any alien whom he judged to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the nation and, if necessary, to imprison such an alien as long as public safety required it. This was primarily intended to silence French emissaries and unnaturalized sympathizers. The Sedition Law made it a crime, subject to fine and imprisonment,

¹ In a discourse delivered in Boston, May 9, 1798, a day recommended by the President for general prayer and humiliation, Father Thayer pointed out the righteousness of our cause and the absurdity of French Jacobin claims that they fought for freedom. He urged the Irish to avoid the press which vilified the President and those who would prey on their hatred of England to ally them with the pro-French party.

to publish false, scandalous statements about the president or Congress, or to bring them into evil repute. Adams was not so responsible for this program as the radical Federalist majority in Congress. He made no use of the Alien Law, but Federalist judges were active in sedition cases.

Partisanship was bitter. Campaigns knew no niceties. Attacks on officials and candidates were vicious and frequently maliciously untrue. Newspaper notices were unsigned; anonymous writers dodged responsibility for their writings, no matter how false, personal, and cruel. Republican editors, often French or Irish revolutionists, said bitter things about Federalist rule. If they could be silenced, the Federalists would be free from merited criticism as well as unjust attacks. Ten prominent Republican editors out of twenty-four tried were convicted and jailed. They became popular martyrs. The populace thronged about their jails, and they held court from their cells. A grand jury went so far as to indict a man for circulating a petition against these laws. Matthew Lyon, an interesting Irish editor in Vermont, son-in-law of the governor, and a Congressman, was imprisoned and fined for charging Adams with "unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and a selfish avarice." The arrest made Lyon politically; years later the fine was remitted and the Republican hero exonerated.

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798-1799). The Republicans raged against the Alien and Sedition Laws, but were helpless in Congress. Despite penalties, Republican newspapers teemed with abuse of Adams's tyranny and of Federal judges who, in charges to juries, declaimed against Republicanism and French Jacobinism as forces of "atheism, anarchy, bloodshed, and plunder." Mass meetings were held, and finally the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions declaring that the laws were unconstitutional. The resolutions suggested nullification, that is, the right of states to nullify and to refuse to obey such absolutist legislation; but they were not clear as to the procedure. In time it was learned that Jefferson was responsible for the Kentucky Resolutions, and Madison for the more moderate Virginia protest.

Disruption of the Federalist Party. Adams made the mistake of taking over Washington's cabinet. He soon found that its members looked to Washington and Hamilton for guidance and sought to control his administration. Adams was able, but conceited and obstinately frank. He was determined to control, and rightly regarded his advisers as lacking in personal loyalty. The Federalist leaders sought action through Hamilton or members of the cabinet, ignoring Adams as technical head of the party. He was further aroused at their action in forcing the appointment of Hamilton as ranking general under Washington in the proposed army of 1798, over his own choice of General Knox. The army did not materialize, but Adams never forgave. Nor did the Federalist pro-English leaders forgive Adams for the French peace, which they regarded as a Republican policy.

In the spring of 1800 Adams decided to banish Hamilton's "spies" from his cabinet. McHenry, the Secretary of War, was ordered to resign; Pickering was dismissed; Secretary of the Treasury Wolcott, a protégé of Hamilton, dropped out. John Marshall was made Secretary of State. Such a break-up doomed the Federalists in the 1800 election, especially as the death of Washington in 1799 removed his calm, guiding influence and the prestige of his name.¹

The Election of 1800. Hamilton sent to leading Federalists a long paper which outlined his relations with Adams and the

¹ Washington's death in 1799 left the nation in mourning. Men forgot party bitterness. Washington's Farewell Address, in which he counseled loyalty and harmony and warned against factions and entangling alliances, was the last legacy of his official life. In time this document attained almost an inspired character. Ministers everywhere took occasion to laud the dead chieftain and review his times. Bishop Carroll delivered an address at his cathedral (February 22, 1800), for Washington's birthday was already celebrated to some extent. He saw Washington as unrivaled among the heroes of history, as a man who uniformly and publicly acknowledged God's work:

"This became the polar star, by which he was guided in his progress through life, and in all his anxious solicitude for maintaining the liberty, perfecting the policy, preserving the peace, insuring the stability, of his country on the foundations of order and morality, and guarding it against the turbulence of faction, licentiousness, foreign hostility, and artifice."

He continued:

"I need not recapitulate the origin of the discontents between Great Britain and her American dependencies. Suffice it to say, that America viewed the claims

latter's unfitness for office, but urged for the sake of the party and the preservation of the country from Jeffersonian radicalism that all Federalists support Adams and C. C. Pinckney. This secret document was obtained and proved valuable in the Republican campaign. The Federalist breach was too great. Adams would not compromise; he was not a time-serving politician.

The Republicans were united behind Jefferson and Aaron Burr. They had established an effective press. Exiles from France and Irish patriots of 1798 were welcomed as editors. Heretofore they had lacked a press, as the journals of the land were owned and edited by Federalists and in New England by Congregational ministers. The Republicans had an appealing platform. Federalists were described as disguised Englishmen, as opponents of liberalism whether in France, England, or Ireland, and as lovers of monarchy. They were charged with fear of the people, with favoring the Alien and Sedition Laws, with opposition to immigrants, support of state churches, and violations of the Constitution. Burr was a typical politician and a magnetic

of the parent country, as incompatible with her freedom and happiness. The great soul of Washington revolted at the idea of national degradation."

His moderation is emphasized, and how, when Louis of France sent his legions, Washington's conciliating spirit bound them to him as brothers, despite differences in manners, habits, and religion. Carroll, closing with high hopes for the national future, paid a deserved compliment to John Adams:

"His excellent successor inherited, not only the mantle of his office but his wisdom, firmness, and love of peace, subordinate only to a determination of never purchasing it, at the price of national dishonor."

Reverend Mathew O'Brien of Albany in a discourse asked:

"Where is the country . . . where liberty is better defended or the clime more propitious to her progress and luxuriance than this in which we now prosper and find security?"

He then pointed out the good condition of the industrious, that even the indolent knew no wretchedness, that offices rotated, that talent was awarded, rights guaranteed, and immigration encouraged.

Reverend Mathew Carr, founder of the Augustinians in America, struck an excellent note concerning the framing of the Constitution:

"You all remember with how much of prudence, and how much of integrity, they proceeded to discharge themselves of this important trust. They cautiously refrained from annihilating the basis of that system which they were commissioned to revise, for it was a maxim with them . . . to retain nothing on the score of prejudice, to introduce nothing for the sake of innovation."

vote-getter. Around the Tammany Society¹ he built an efficient machine which controlled New York. He inaugurated the stump-speaking campaign. As a good lawyer and a gentleman (grandson of the great Puritan divine Jonathan Edwards and son of a president of Princeton) who advocated the people's cause he was doubly popular.

The Federalists used every weapon. Honestly enough they believed that the nation must be saved from Jeffersonian anarchy and that only godly Federalists could preserve it. In New England the ministers decried Jefferson as an atheist intent on destroying religion. It was said that Bibles and meetinghouses would be doomed and that a French Terror against property-holders and the well-born would be instituted in case of his success. Republicans replied in kind by assaulting the ministry as worldly politicians who taught intolerance and clung to secular power. The campaign was vicious. Neither party displayed any restraining charity. Despite the practice of every political trick known today the Federalists were able to give Adams but sixty-five votes. So close was the election that no Republican elector dared cut Burr. Jefferson and Burr were tied with seventy-three votes.

Jefferson Elected. The Federalists in Congress planned to elect Burr as president, though fully aware that the electors intended Jefferson for the higher office. They no doubt had an understanding with Burr, and their hatred of Jefferson knew no bounds. Hamilton appeared at his best. He thought only of the national welfare. An avowed enemy of Jefferson, he urged Federalists to join Republican members and elect Jefferson rather than Burr, whom he knew to be unmoral and politically

¹ The Tammany Society has a most interesting history. The successor of the Revolutionary "Sons of Liberty," it was reorganized about 1789 as a patriotic, charitable society in protest against the various racial societies of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. David. It was named after a legendary Indian chieftain and took the characteristic terms of wigwam for its headquarters and sachems for its officers. The Clintons were early leaders. Burr turned it into a Republican machine in the election of 1800, and good Federalists withdrew. Thereafter it supported Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. Van Buren, as grand sachem, made it a most efficient machine. About 1840 the Irish entered its portals and since the Civil War have held the controlling power.

corrupt. Not until the thirty-sixth ballot (February 17, 1801) did Jefferson receive the votes of ten of the eighteen states. Burr thereupon became vice president.

It was significant that America could compromise, and that a disputed election meant no civil struggle despite thoughtless threats. To appreciate this one must look to the republics to the south, where disputed elections have occasioned civil upheavals and defeated candidates have headed insurrections. The tied vote resulted in the Twelfth Amendment,¹ which provided that the electors should thereafter specify their choice for president and for vice president.

Judiciary Act (1801). Federalists were in a panic. Having lost the executive and legislative branches of the government, they were determined to retain control of the judiciary. Many of them honestly believed that the nation was in danger and that a conservative judiciary was a necessity. The speedily passed Judiciary Act provided that the membership of the Supreme Court should be reduced by one on the next vacancy; that Circuit Courts should be created with their own special judges; and that District Courts should be increased to twenty-three. As there were few cases on the dockets, it was obvious that the judges were not overworked and that additional courts were not needed. It was the intent to fill the judiciary with good Federalists in order that Jefferson should have no chance to appoint radical judges.

Adams hurriedly appointed as judges and marshals defeated Federalists, — "lame ducks" we now call them, — even getting around a technicality which prevented the appointment of retired Congressmen. A cry went up from Republicans against the act and the "midnight appointments," for some of the judges were not commissioned until the dying hours of Adams's term. Indeed, some of the commissions were not delivered

¹ In *Chisholm vs. Georgia* (1793) a citizen of South Carolina sued Georgia for a debt in connection with a land sale. Georgia maintained that a state could not be sued, a generally accepted idea in 1787, but by a divided vote the Supreme Court assumed jurisdiction. Georgia refused to make appearance as a defendant, and several legislatures passed resolutions in agreement with this stand. In 1798 the difficulty was ended by the adoption of the Eleventh Amendment, providing that the Federal judicial power should not extend to such cases.

before midnight of March 3, and on others the ink was scarcely dry. Randolph described the judiciary as a "hospital for decayed politicians," and Jefferson saw the defeated Federalists retiring to the judiciary as to a citadel.

The Federalist Régime (1789-1801). The Constitution was put into effect. A working government had been established. The Constitution had grown through amendments, statutory legislation passed by Congress establishing the courts and departments of state, and by customs and conventions which created a tradition. Party life, so essential in a republic, where a well-organized opposition serves as a check and prod upon the party in power, was well established. The country had passed safely through an exciting campaign. Not the state but the nation was becoming the important part of the system. Hamilton's policy, the interpretation given the Constitution, and the action of the courts gave notice that growth would be toward centralization. The Federalists made mistakes which were more costly to the party than to the nation. They ruled in a difficult time of foreign complications, but they established a strong government and successfully launched the republic.

The Catholic Church (1789). The loss of Catholics to the faith in colonial times has been most conservatively estimated at about 75,000. Recent researches indicate that there was a larger number of Irish Catholic immigrants than had been previously suspected. The greatest loss occurred among this group, though a few thousand lapses can be ascribed to Acadians, Germans, and the English in Maryland. This was due to persecution, lack of priests, and the isolation of families in hostile neighborhoods without priestly ministrations. Prior to the Revolution the American missions were under the vicar apostolic of London and served by Jesuits. After the suppression of the Jesuits and the war the affairs of the Church were chaotic until John Carroll was given charge in 1784 and appointed first bishop in 1789. Baltimore was his see and the United States his diocese.¹

¹ The Anglicans severed direct relations with England and organized as the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, with Samuel Seabury, a former moderate Tory, as bishop. The Methodists organized nationally under Bishop Asbury.

Carroll's appointment was providential. He was beloved by the Catholic body and popular in the ruling circles.¹ His patriotic Americanism gave a national stamp to the Church. The bishop estimated the Catholic membership as follows: 16,000 in Maryland, including 3000 negroes; 7000 in Pennsylvania; 3000 in Detroit and on the frontier; and 4000 in New York and elsewhere. In all there were 34 priests, chiefly former Jesuits. Outside of Pennsylvania there was no public church in the colonies, though private and Jesuit manorial chapels in Maryland were opened after the Revolution. Foreign envoys' chapels served in New York. Such were the beginnings of the Church, for which Carroll laid solid foundations.



STATUE OF JOHN CARROLL

The Church (1789-1800).

Almost immediately Carroll established Georgetown College (1789), which, on the reestablishment of their Society, was assigned to the Jesuit Fathers. A synod held in 1791 aided in organizing the Church. A coadjutor, Leonard Neale, another Maryland native, was selected, with the right of succeeding the bishop. In 1791 a seminary was established in Baltimore and put under the Sulpicians. The persecution of the Church in France drove a number of zealous French and Belgian priests to America, and the early Church

¹ Custis, Washington's adopted son and heir, wrote: "From his exalted worth as a minister of God, his stainless character as a man, and, above all, his distinguished services as a patriot of the Revolution, Dr. Carroll stood high — very high — in the esteem and affections of the *pater patriae*."

had no greater missionaries and teachers than these. Father John Dubois, later bishop of New York, was sent first to serve in Richmond. A church was established in Norfolk (1799). Services were held in Charleston. Stephen Badin, the apostle of Kentucky, had settled at Bardstown, and Benjamin Flaget, later bishop, served a wide territory from Vincennes. The famous Father Gabriel Richard¹ had commenced his work in the Northwest Territory. And there were others equally important in church work, but not so well known to men and history.

In Boston there was a chapel in 1789 under the Reverend John Thayer, a convert priest, who also served in Hartford and in the South. Under Dr. Matignon, a scholarly Frenchman, a great change was taking place. Carroll noted on his visit :

It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago a popish priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago. The horror which was associated with the idea of a papist is incredible; and the scandalous misrepresentations by their ministers increased the horror every Sunday. If all the Catholics here were united, their number would not be above one hundred and twenty.

Outside of Boston there was less tolerance. In 1791 there was but one priest in New England. Carroll sent a Sulpician to care for 500 converted Maine Indians. President Stiles of Yale wrote of the first Mass said in Rhode Island, December 8, 1789; but he probably overlooked the chaplains of the French fleet. In Connecticut there were no known Catholics; and not until 1822 was there a resident priest in New Hampshire.

¹ Gabriel Richard (1767-1832), an exiled Sulpician, served as a missionary in the Northwest from 1792 until his heroic death while nursing the sick during an epidemic. After 1798 he was stationed at Detroit, where he served the Indians, shared in the foundation of the University of Michigan, taught school, brought the first printing press over the mountains, and edited the first paper in the region and the first Catholic paper in the United States. During the War of 1812 he was held prisoner by the British. In 1823 Richard was elected a delegate from Michigan Territory to Congress (the only priest to sit in Congress), where he advanced territorial interests and internal improvements.

In New York, Mass was celebrated in old St. Peter's (1786) before a congregation of about two hundred. Growth was rapid as immigration increased. In 1797 a church was erected in Albany. In Philadelphia the Germans built a church (1789), and the Augustinians were soon ready to commence their work. Prince Gallitzin (Schmidt), a Russian convert, served as a humble missionary in the frontier section of Pennsylvania. In all, Bishop Carroll was assisted by fifty priests in 1800.

References

H. J. FORD, *Washington and his Colleagues* (Chronicles); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 255-344; SIMONDS, *Social Forces*, pp. 100-118; ANNE WHARTON, *Martha Washington*; WOODROW WILSON, *Life of George Washington*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-210; MCMASTER, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 525-604, and Vol. IV; J. S. BASSETT, *Federalist System*; ALLEN JOHNSON, *Union and Democracy*; McDONALD, *Select Documents, 1776-1861*, pp. 46-160; ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, *American Political History*, Vol. I, pp. 106-252; F. N. WALKER, *Making of the Nation*, pp. 73-167; F. G. FRANKLIN, *Legislative History of Naturalization*; H. V. AMES, *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution*; F. M. ANDERSON, "Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions," *American Historical Review*, Vol. V, pp. 45, 225; for all presidential campaigns and elections, EDWARD STANWOOD, *A History of the Presidency* (to 1916; 2 vols.); S. F. BEMIS, *The Jay Treaty, The Pinckney Treaty*; G. PELLEW, *John Jay*; W. C. FORD (Ed.), *Writings of Washington*; LODGE, *Writings of Hamilton* (9 vols.); C. F. ADAMS, *Writings of John Adams* (10 vols.); PAUL WILSTACH, *Mount Vernon*; J. T. MORSE, *Life of Hamilton, Life of John Adams*; H. B. LEARNED, *The President's Cabinet*; RANDALL, *Jefferson*; C. F. ADAMS, *Life of John Adams*; JAMES SCHOULER, *Thomas Jefferson*; A. C. MORRIS, *Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*; BERNARD STEINER, *Life of James McHenry*; W. J. BROWN, *Oliver Ellsworth*; J. F. McLAUGHLIN, *Matthew Lyon*; W. G. SUMNER, *Alexander Hamilton*; C. R. KING, *Life and Letters of Rufus King*; R. C. PINCKNEY, *Thomas Pinckney*; JANE MESICK, *The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835*; JOHN G. SHEA, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, and *Memorial of First Centenary of Georgetown College*; P. GUILDAY, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, pp. 1-478; THOMAS O'GORMAN, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*; F. E. HUMPHREY, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789*. The Catholic statistics in this text are derived from GERALD SHAUGHNESSY'S *Has the Immigrant kept the Faith?*

CHAPTER VI

THE ERA OF REPUBLICAN RULE

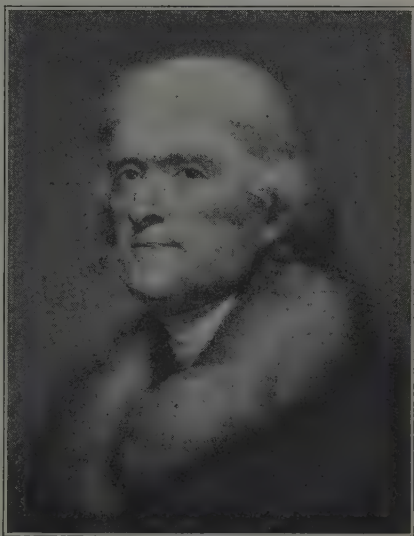
I. JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Jefferson's Inaugural. Simplicity marked the advent of Jefferson. The President rode his horse Wildfire from Conrad's boarding house to the new capitol and took the oath of office at the hands of Marshall. His inaugural address was moderate in tone. He would conciliate the Federalists, dispel their fears, and belie their predictions that the Revolution of 1800 would inaugurate a rule of Republican anarchy fraught with danger to the Constitution and the churches. He pleaded for union in a time of factions, for friendship with all nations and alliances with none, for peace and prosperity, for a well-prepared militia, for education, for economy and the payment of the debt, for religious freedom, for liberty of speech and of the press, for the right of the people to rule, and for restriction of Federal encroachment on the states. There was little to criticize. Jefferson laid down the Republican principles which his party long stressed. Honest Federalists were reassured.

All pomp disappeared, for huge, lanky, lounging Jefferson cared nothing for court life. Washington's levees gave way to public receptions. The President was interested in everything else — in radicals like Priestley and Paine, in French philosophy, in inventions, in architecture, in science, in agricultural improvements, and in music. He was more than a philosopher in his study; he had a genius and a hand for many things — a clever violinist, a skilled architect (as was indicated by his construction of his Monticello home), an engineer of some ability, the owner of the best library in the South, and a deep student of books and the science of his day. Above all, he was a man of the people, and a believer in democracy who tolerated men of all views.

The President's Advisers. The scholarly, sensitive little Madison, whom Jefferson loved, was given charge of the State Department. Albert Gallatin, a Swiss immigrant and financier, was made Secretary of the Treasury, to the disgust of Federalists, who remembered his connection with the Whisky Rebellion. New Englanders were well represented : General Dearborn as Secretary of War, Attorney-General Levi Lincoln, and Postmaster-General Gideon Granger. Finally the inconspicuous Robert Smith accepted the navy post. Few wanted the place, for it was known that Jefferson would like to draw the seven frigates to a Potomac beach, where one set of plunderers could look after them. Good Republicans despised a navy. Dolly Madison might be included among the President's counselors, for Jefferson as a widower depended on Madison's wife to preside over the Southern hospitality of his official home. Jefferson had innumerable intimate friends. His house was open at all times to callers. There was no formality or precedence, but plenty of sparkling champagnes and wines to improve the conversational brilliancy of his guests.

The New Capital. President Washington, as authorized by Congress, had selected a site for the new capital almost across the Potomac from Mount Vernon. Under Washington's direction and with the advice of Jefferson, L'Enfant laid out the city, planning wide avenues, boulevards, and artistic circles in what was then a low-lying, wooded district ten miles



THOMAS JEFFERSON

By Rembrandt Peale. (Courtesy of the New York Historical Society)

square¹. The Capitol building was the work of Thornton, an English architect, and the president's house was erected by an Irish builder, Hoban, whose design, which followed the Duke of Leinster's country home, had won first place in general competition. There were then no American architects of merit. The economic jealousy of Baltimore and Philadelphia delayed the completion of



MONTICELLO, JEFFERSON'S HOME

Washington's public buildings. However, Adams, in the last year of his office, transferred the government to the primitive capital.

The Capitol (the main portion of the present building) was America's show place, but the president's palace aroused criticism as being too grand for the executive residence in a republic.

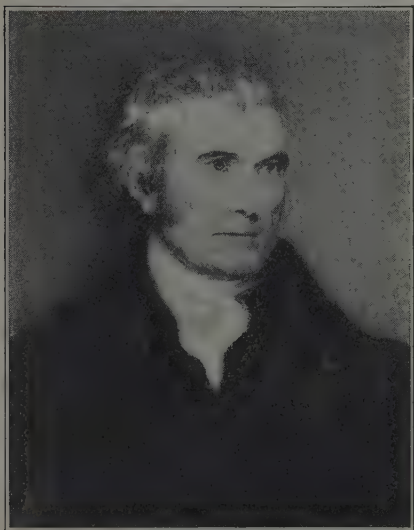
¹ Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant came to America in 1777 and served during the war as a captain of engineers. Then he was employed as an architect and engineer. As the leader in his profession, he was named by Washington to plan the Federal city. In this he was aided by Jefferson, who furnished plans of the most beautiful European cities, including Versailles. That his work was a success is evidenced by the present beauty of Washington, and the return of modern builders of a greater capital to his original plans. Dissatisfied with the compensation offered, L'Enfant long refused payment as well as a later appointment to the faculty of West Point. He lived during his later years as a guest of a Catholic manorial family. On his death (1825) he was buried in a private plot, where a later owner built a small memorial chapel. In 1909 his remains were removed to Arlington National Cemetery, overlooking the Potomac and the modern Washington of his vision.

There were few homes and no official buildings. Pennsylvania Avenue, between the Capitol and the president's house, was a rude lane through the woods, where carriages were mired during the rainy spells. A few houses were scattered about in clearings near the wharves, where speculators like Barry and Robert Morris planned a thriving city before their land gambling brought ruin upon them. Alexandria, across the river, and Georgetown with its college and Catholic church were fair-sized villages within the District. In the latter many members of Congress lived. Half-finished boarding houses near the executive mansion or on Capitol Hill accommodated other officials. If one can trust the descriptions of early visitors, like the poet Thomas Moore, the city gave little promise of becoming one of the world's most beautiful capitals.

The government of the District of Columbia, as provided in the Constitution, was solely in the hands of the president and Congress. As in the case of the Pope as temporal ruler of the papal states, this control over the District would free the central government from outside interference. At present Congress legislates for the District of Columbia, and its affairs are handled by commissioners appointed by the president. The judges of the courts of the District are also appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate. For a time the citizens were allowed to elect a mayor, but for years the inhabitants have been voteless and, though taxed, are unrepresented in local and national affairs.

Gallatin's Financial Policy. Gallatin, like Jefferson, was opposed to a permanent national debt. Expenses were cut by reducing the army and anchoring the frigates in dry-docks. In this way, with an increased revenue from the tariff, about five million dollars a year was applied to the debt, with the hope of paying it in sixteen years. Despite the war against the pirates, the purchase of Louisiana, and the repeal of the excise and stamp duties, the debt was reduced below seventy million dollars by 1807. Then, owing to nonintercourse acts, loss of revenue, and the War of 1812, no further reduction was possible. Gallatin had pointed the way; the debt must in time be blotted out.

Republican Attack on the Judiciary. In 1802 the Republican Congress repealed the Judiciary Act and reorganized the Federal courts on the basis of 1789, though the number of District Courts was increased. As judges held office for life or good behavior and could not be removed, abolishing their courts was a shrewd way of getting rid of some of the late appointees.



© Detroit Publishing Company

JOHN MARSHALL

This was followed by the impeachment of Judge Pickering of the District Court in New Hampshire on charges of drunkenness. With his expulsion, the Republicans were flushed with success. The administration forced proceedings against Justice Samuel Chase of the Supreme Court, who was especially obnoxious because he had presided at several sedition trials and in charges to juries had bitterly attacked Republicanism. The impeachment failed of the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. This failure

to remove a judge on political grounds saved Federalist judges, and especially John Marshall, from partisan attacks.

John Marshall (1755-1835). Marshall, through service in the Revolution, became a strong nationalist rather than merely a Virginian. Studying law under Wythe, he became a leader in his profession with an unheard-of practice of over \$5000 a year. Through his purchase of the huge Fairfax estate he became an associate and adviser of Robert Morris and his coterie of reckless land speculators. A stout Federalist, he was offered but refused the Attorney-Generalship, though later he became a member of the mission to France. In Congress he supported

Adams and denounced the Virginia Resolutions as "calculated to sap the foundations of our Union." He loyally served Adams as a cabinet officer, on Jay's refusal to accept the appointment in the belief that the office had no future, and was named Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (February 4, 1801). Marshall as presiding officer for thirty-four years dominated the court and molded the associate justices to his way of thinking. Keen, logical, and learned in the law, his decisions interpreting the Constitution formed lasting precedents. Under his guidance the Constitution grew, as did the federalizing theory of government. He found the court weak and without prestige; he left it the central institution of our government.¹

Marbury vs. Madison (1803). Among Marshall's far-reaching decisions was that in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. Marbury had been appointed a Federal judge in the last moments of the Adams administration, but his signed judicial commission had not been delivered. Madison refused to complete the appointment. Marbury, following the Act of 1789, sought a writ of mandamus from the Supreme Court, compelling Madison to deliver his commission. Marshall held that the Supreme Court did not have original jurisdiction and that Marbury had no right to bring suit. He took occasion to declare that if Marbury's suit had been properly brought through the lower courts, Madison could be ordered not to withhold the commission. Marshall thus clearly stated that the Supreme Court could nullify an act of Congress. No decision has had greater significance.

Jeffersonian Republicans considered this an unwarranted assumption of power on the part of the Supreme Court. While there were some state precedents for Marshall's decision, there was doubt about the court's right to review Congressional laws.

¹ On the centennial of Marshall's appointment the late Senator Lodge wrote: "John Marshall stands in history as one of the small group of men who have founded States. He was a nation-maker, a state-builder. His monument is the history of the United States and his name is written upon the Constitution of his country."

A less exaggerated appraisal was that of the scholarly jurist Oliver W. Holmes: "I should feel a doubt whether after Hamilton and the Constitution itself, Marshall's work proved more than a strong intellect, a good style, personal ascendancy in his court, courage, justice, and the convictions of his party."

At any rate, the Supreme Court has ever since maintained the right to declare unconstitutional any Congressional or state laws which violate the Constitution or treaties made thereunder. In the states, the state supreme court maintains the same right where acts of the legislature violate the provisions of the state constitution. In no other great nation is this true. Yet, on the whole, the power has not been abused and has often protected minority rights and legitimate business from unfriendly legislative action.

Louisiana Purchase. Spain secretly transferred Louisiana to France (1800), which our government learned when the right of deposit was temporarily denied. Jefferson was keenly disappointed, realizing that the nation which controlled the mouth of the Mississippi was our natural enemy. With the Mississippi in the hands of an aggressive nation like France, we might be compelled to "marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." In the presence of the French minister, Jefferson showed marked courtesies to the English minister as a hint of his changed feelings. Napoleon had visions of reëstablishing a French empire in America, if the rebellion in the negro republic of Santo Domingo could be quelled. For the time this seemed likely when L'Ouverture (the "Black Napoleon" and rebel leader) was captured. The French attempt to restore slavery in the island incited a fresh revolt. Napoleon gave up; Santo Domingo could be subjugated only at tremendous cost because of guerrilla warfare and deadly fever. The European war was about to be renewed, for the peace of Amiens had proved but a truce. Napoleon dreamed no longer of an American empire, but in his need of money was anxious to sell Louisiana. This we did not learn until later, but conditions made our offer opportune and purchase of the vast domain easy.

Jefferson commissioned his minister Livingston to offer Napoleon \$2,000,000 for the island of New Orleans, not dreaming that the whole territory could be purchased. Napoleon's agent, the cunning Talleyrand, intimated that all Louisiana might be sold. As our agent was not authorized to consider such an offer, he awaited Monroe, who was on his way to aid in the negotiations. The latter was empowered to buy New Orleans and West

Florida. Time was pressing; Napoleon's agents were in a hurry. After twenty days of bickering, our envoys wisely accepted the French terms and bought the whole region for 60,000,000 francs (1803). In addition they agreed to pay American claims for French seizures of ships, which amounted to 20,000,000 francs, making a total bill for the United States of about \$15,000,000. The agents acted without authority, as did Jefferson in giving his approval. (See map, p. 576.)

Louisiana Territory. Livingston asked Talleyrand concerning the boundaries of the unknown land and was answered: "You have made a noble bargain . . . and I suppose you will make the most of it." He was half aware that France regarded the Rio Grande as the southwestern limit, even though Spain so considered the Sabine. This boundary dispute was destined to be one of the causes of the later Mexican War. The northern limits too were unsettled, but England and the United States compromised on the Canadian line. The administration held that West Florida was within the new territory. This caused little difficulty, for when Spain's colonies were falling from her grasp and she was ground under the heel of Napoleon, the United States, on the plea of protecting our border, seized West Florida (1810-1812), making the Gulf our southern boundary. This gave us the harbors of Mobile and Pensacola. On no score save that of might and convenience could this seizure be justified.

Organization of Louisiana. Jefferson worried about the constitutionality of the purchase. The Constitution said nothing about the right of the Federal government to buy additional territory. There was no time to pass an amendment. Finally the Republicans fell back on the convenient loose-construction theory of the Constitution, arguing that the acquisition of territory might be interpreted as coming within the war-making power. They were stretching the Constitution, the very thing for which they had condemned the Federalists. The Federalists opposed the purchase as a bad bargain. They described the lands across the Mississippi as a barren country. Indeed, our geographies long afterward labeled part of this region as the Great American Desert. Again, Federalists asked if the 50,000

French-Spanish settlers were to have citizenship rights, and if the territory would be divided into states which ultimately would be admitted into the Union. The guaranties of the legal customs and religious liberty of the inhabitants were criticized but little. Here was an evidence of the growth of toleration since the Quebec Act, when similar but broader guaranties raised a furor.

Between 1803 and 1805 the territory of Orleans, then regarded as the only part of value, and the district of Louisiana were organized in accord with the principles of the Northwest Ordinance. In 1812 the former was admitted as the state of Louisiana. A strong foreign nation had been eliminated from North America, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were under our flag and open to the settlers who were ever pushing westward. Jefferson had made a great bargain — infinitely greater than he and his contemporaries were aware.

Lewis and Clark Expedition. Now that Louisiana was American territory, Jefferson desired to know what he had purchased. He commissioned his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and an army officer, William Clark (younger brother of George Rogers Clark), to explore the region and keep an accurate diary of their journey and observations concerning the land, its resources, and Indian inhabitants. With a party of soldiers, scientists, and guides they left St. Louis (1804), and struck up the Missouri River until winter overtook them in the country of the Mandans near modern Bismarck. The explorers encountered numerous difficulties and dangers and shortage of supplies, but the Indians were friendly. After wintering with the tribesmen, they turned westward through modern Montana under the guidance of a famous squaw "The Bird Woman," carrying her papoose who was destined to be a noted scout and guide. They reached the Columbia River and explored its valley to the coast. There they wintered in a rudely constructed fort, and in the spring returned by a slightly different route to civilization (1806).

The mouth of the river had accidentally been discovered earlier (1792) by Captain Gray of the *Columbia*, a Boston ship in the China trade, which had put into its quiet waters to avoid a sudden storm. These explorations gave the United States a good

claim to the (Oregon region) in the later dispute with England. A diary kept by a soldier of the expedition, Patrick Gass, appeared the following year; and in 1814 Nicholas Biddle edited the Lewis and Clark journals. Interest in the Far West had been aroused, now that the country known only to Indians, trappers, and French missionaries had been traversed by American explorers.

Pike and the Fur Trade. Lieutenant Zebulon Pike explored the Mississippi River to its source and wintered among the Sioux (1806). In 1820 Fort Snelling was erected, the first American post in modern Minnesota. Pike later explored the Arkansas and Red rivers and the Rocky Mountains. He found his way to Santa Fe over the trail which later became an important trade route from the West to Mexico. These explorations awakened an interest in the fur

trade. St. Louis (1764), as the headquarters of Laclède and Chouteau (founder of a family all-powerful in St. Louis history), was already a thriving fur center. John Jacob Astor, a German immigrant and New York merchant, founded the American Fur Company, which sent one party by sea and another over the Indian trail to Oregon, where the fur post of Astoria was



STATUE OF SACAJAWEA IN PORTLAND, OREGON

Erected by the women of America in memory of her heroism. (Photograph by Ewing Galloway)

founded in 1811. This was captured by the British two years later, but was restored in 1815. Thereafter American fur men offered some competition to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Reëlection of Jefferson. A Republican caucus (the senators and representatives of a party assembled for partisan purposes) nominated Jefferson for president and George Clinton for vice president. After election it was found that the Republican candidates had one hundred and sixty-two votes, and that C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, had but fourteen, carrying only Connecticut, Delaware, and part of Maryland. Jefferson had become popular, winning four doubtful New England states by fair margins. Nationally, Federalism was dead. The next year, on the request of several legislatures that he become a candidate for 1808, Jefferson declined. Washington had refused a third nomination largely for personal reasons, but Jefferson did so mainly because of his belief in the democratic principle of rotation in office. At all events, the unwritten law of custom has since limited a president to two terms.

The Treason of Burr. Jefferson was suspicious of Burr, and weakened his political machine in New York by giving Governor Clinton control of Federal appointments. Burr, in 1804, intriguing with the fanatical leaders of New England Federalism, who had vague thoughts of secession if they could gain political control of New York, became the Federalist candidate for governor, but through the efforts of Hamilton was badly defeated. This led to the lamentable duel in which the great financier was killed and Burr was politically ruined. The duel had one good result. It led to a popular aversion for dueling, and to general state legislation abolishing the practice as criminal.

Therewith Burr turned to the West. There is still doubt as to his real plans — whether he intended to erect a new nation in Louisiana or lead a conquering expedition against Mexico. He sought both English and Spanish money and attracted a large following in the Southwest. The treacherous General Wilkinson in command of our forces at New Orleans was in correspondence with Burr but, on seeing the collapse of the latter's machinations, turned against him and officially reported the perfidious

intrigues to the War Department. Burr had collected a military force of a thousand men and supplies at Blennerhasset's Island (owned by a picturesque Irishman, who was innocently ruined by the venture) with the intention of floating down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. His plans miscarried; the President issued a proclamation commanding all men to be done with the conspiracy. Burr was arrested as he sought escape into Florida, and was sent to Richmond to stand trial for treason.

Marshall presided over the court and narrowly defined treason in such a way that Burr was acquitted, on the score that he was not personally present when the treasonable acts were committed. Luther Martin, Burr's counsel and also an enemy of Jefferson, summoned the President as a witness. Jefferson refused to appear just as Washington had in another case, thus establishing the precedent that the president is not liable to be summoned. Even the foreman of the jury, John Randolph, was an opponent of Jefferson. Thus Burr's acquittal was due in large part to the desire of Jefferson's enemies not to give him the satisfaction of a conviction.

Western Movement. New Englanders were crowding into New Hampshire and New York. Western Massachusetts was settled. A new stream of pioneers had turned into northern and western New York. Ohio was a melting pot of races and peoples from New England and the South. A land company had sold nearly a million acres in the region of Cincinnati and Columbus. General Moses Cleaveland had induced thousands of Yankees to settle in his development of the old Connecticut Reserve. The older region about Miami was well populated. Ohio, with a liberal, democratic constitution, was admitted as a state in 1803. As a further aid to its public-school system, an additional section of land in every township was added to that granted under the earlier act of 1785. This precedent was followed in the case of all new states. Five per cent of the proceeds of Federal land sales in the state was donated for road-building. By 1820 Ohio had more than half a million people, with Tennessee almost as populous and Kentucky considerably larger.

Following Gallatin's report, the administration promoted the building of roads and canals. In the older states, especially Pennsylvania, turnpike roads¹ were being built on a large scale both by the states and by private corporations. In 1806 the government surveyed the route of the national road from Cumberland on the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio. In time this became the great thoroughfare into the interior. Jefferson, like Washington, had long been interested in the improvement of internal commerce by connecting the coast states with the trans-Allegheny region by means of roads, canals, and river improvements. As early as 1811 there was a steamboat on the Ohio. The war only temporarily held up the westward movement of population and civilization.

Yazoo Land Frauds. The Southwest too was rapidly being settled. Georgia, claiming all land to the Mississippi, sold large tracts to speculating land companies. In 1795 a corrupt legislature sold to four land companies known as the Yazoo Companies an immense tract at about a cent and a half an acre. An aroused people elected a new legislature, which voided the sale. A compromise was arranged by which Georgia was paid \$1,250,000 and ceded the lands to the United States, which created therefrom Mississippi Territory. The land companies were to be awarded five million acres, but the corruption unearthed by Randolph defeated the bill in Congress (1803), though the Postmaster-General was lobbying for its passage. In 1810, in *Fletcher vs. Peck*, Marshall decided that according to the Constitution the state of Georgia could not set aside a contract drawn by its legislative agents, even though the agents did so corruptly and illegally. Finally Congress, in 1814, appropriated \$8,000,000 to settle the claims of the various land companies. Three years later Mississippi was admitted as a state.

Cheaper Lands. Western settlement was encouraged by a liberal land policy. At first the government sold lands to com-

¹ Plank roads followed turnpikes of crushed stone, and were found cheaper where timber was plentiful. The first was built in Syracuse, New York. Several thousand miles of such road were operated by private toll companies before railroads made them unprofitable.

panies and speculators in huge tracts. They in turn, through advertising and agents, sold small amounts to individual purchasers. In 1800 the government adopted the more democratic scheme of selling to individual buyers as little as 640 acres at \$2 an acre, with a quarter of the amount down and four years in which to pay the remainder. This destroyed the speculator's chances and explained the bankruptcies of land brokers, for people found it cheaper to purchase directly from the government. The mile-square tract could be easily subdivided and sold to friends.

As desirable farm lands in the East sold from \$20 to \$50 an acre, Western, virgin, cheap lands appealed to the landless and to the small farmers of the old states who found the productiveness of their lands lessened by long cultivation. Low-priced land in full ownership drew Eu-

ropean immigrants. No wonder the government averaged in sales a million acres a year and that the West was rapidly being settled.

Some Important Inventions. Eli Whitney, a New Haven man teaching in Georgia, invented a machine for picking the seeds out of cotton (1793). With this cotton gin as much cotton could be cleaned in a day as three hundred negroes had been able to prepare by hand. Within a few years it was perfected and in general use. As the gin could pick the short-fiber cotton which could be grown on the poorer uplands, the possible cotton acreage was greatly increased. With the growth of cotton pro-



ELI WHITNEY

From a painting by S. F. B. Morse, in the possession of Yale University

duction, slavery became more vital to Southern prosperity. Hence it is often said that it was Whitney's gin which made cotton king, caused the extension of slavery, and made most Southerners enthusiasts for slave labor. Certainly the cotton gin made cotton-planting and slave-owning profitable, and thereby added to Southern wealth and encouraged expansion.



THE *CLERMONT* MAKING A LANDING AT CORNWALL-ON-THE-HUDSON, 1810

From a painting by E. L. Henry. (Courtesy of New York Public Library)

Jefferson himself experimented with the plow and improved the centuries-old wooden share. After 1800 a crude cast-iron plow was coming into use. The Du Pont de Nemours family, French exiles and powder chemists, erected a small powder works near Wilmington. Their product came in handy during the war, though as years went by the Du Ponts' heaviest trade was with miners and with farmers who used explosives in clearing their lands of stumps. The Colts were experimenting with firearms in their Hartford factory, and Whitney was turning his genius to the invention and manufacture of rifles.

Robert Fulton continued the experiments of Fitch, Rumsey, and others with steamboats, finally building a successful model. It was a great day for water transportation when his ship, the *Clermont*, passed up the Hudson between the curious and jeering crowds on either bank. It did not blow up and destroy the inventor and his distinguished guests, as was generally predicted. The engine propelled the little side-wheeler the one hundred and fifty miles from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours (1807). It was not long before steamboats were plying the rivers and appearing in the coast trade. The flatboat, poled by hand, could go downstream with its heavy load, but against the current upstream it was helpless. The steamboat made rivers navigable in both directions, besides affording speedier transportation. Yankees were already displaying their genius for the invention of labor-saving and time-saving devices.

War with Tripoli (1801-1805). Although a man of peace, Jefferson was compelled to wage war against the Mediterranean pirates. The United States paid annual tribute to the Barbary powers to secure our merchant ships from attack. In 1801 the chief of Tripoli, angered over his share of the spoil, cut down the American flag before our consul's office as a declaration of war. Jefferson sent squadrons to blockade the ports of Tripoli, but nothing was accomplished. The administration, miserly because of its efforts to pay off the national debt, had left the little naval force ill-prepared. Congress levied an additional 5 per cent tariff (the Mediterranean fund) to carry on the war. Finally Captain Preble bombarded Tripoli, and a strange American adventurer with a few followers commenced a counter-revolution in Tripoli to put a rival chief on the throne. This brought the reigning ruler to time.

The little navy won a fighting tradition. Somers, with a few men in a ketch, was sent to fire the enemy ships drawn up at the wharves. An explosion was heard; the enemy ships were burning but Somers and his heroes had gone down to Davy Jones's locker. Stephen Decatur and a few volunteers burned the *Philadelphia*, a captured American vessel, under the enemy's guns, but luckily returned unhurt. Peace was made in 1805,

America paying an indemnity to the chief. Contrary to the agreement, our vessels were occasionally attacked, until ten years later Decatur, with a stout squadron, dictated terms at the cannon's mouth. Thereafter pirates preyed no more on American commerce. The war with Tripoli was no sooner over, than relations with both England and France were strained.

English Violations of our Rights. With Europe in a death grapple with Napoleon, America, as the chief neutral trading nation, faced even greater difficulties than in the Washington and Adams administrations. England was willing to go to any length to win the war. In order to man her navy, she cruelly impressed the sailors of her port towns. They deserted whenever opportunity presented. American service was attractive to them, for wages were higher and our sailors were not subjected to the lash. In an effort to recapture such deserters, English sea captains in overbearing fashion halted our merchantmen and inspected their crews. An occasional deserter was found, but some of the men seized were naturalized Americans of British birth. Here lay the difficulty. England held that "once an Englishman, always an Englishman," while the United States upheld the more democratic doctrine that a man had the right to change his legal nationality and his allegiance.

It must be added that some men were fraudulently naturalized. Papers could be bought in our ports for a quarter of a dollar. Forged papers were not closely inspected by American merchant captains in their anxiety to hire experienced sailors. On the other hand, many American-born sailors were seized, and by 1806 probably 6000 Americans had been impressed illegally and forced to serve on English ships. England had just destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets. She could write and interpret the law of the sea in her own interest.

Seizure of our Ships. English shippers were worried as they saw their monopoly of the carrying trade slipping from them. American ships were in control of the coast trade. They were carrying the bulk of our exports and imports and a large share of the West Indian and South American trade. They were supreme on the Pacific, and were even trading from one British

port to another. Our coast towns were thriving, for never has our merchant marine been relatively so large and prosperous, not even during the World War. Our shipyards built boats with a total tonnage of 200,000 in 1789; by 1810 they had increased their output sevenfold. England, dependent on the sea for her protection and wealth, feared that the long war would give America a dangerous advantage.

The Rule of 1756 was invoked, and American trade with the West Indies was closely watched. Nominally, our vessels were allowed to reship West Indian products if they had been unloaded in an American port and had paid customs duties. Some of our shippers neglected this formality and shipped direct to Europe. If they were not caught, this was an extremely profitable trade. England claimed the right to interpret contraband of war, and defined it broadly enough to include all products which could be used to supply or feed an army. America confined contraband articles to actual military supplies. England stopped and searched our vessels and seized those carrying goods which her admiralty was pleased to call contraband. American owners appealing to English admiralty courts had little chance of obtaining relief and certainly none of obtaining immediate damages. Thus even innocent owners were long deprived of their ships. Trade with the Low Countries, the Rhine valley, and the northern nations could be conducted only under British permit and inspection. In all, not less than 1000 American vessels were seized (1803-1812). Americans believed that the seizures and the annoyances of search were intended to destroy our lucrative neutral trade far more than to injure the enemy.

/ Searches and Hovering. America recognized the right of a belligerent nation to stop and search neutral ships, but held that British captains, who were a law unto themselves, did this in an autocratic manner, refusing to recognize the honesty of our ship papers, questioning the bills of lading, and conducting their own investigations. Our captains complained of the British method of stopping a vessel — by hardly waiting after signaling before firing over the ship's bows. To make their work easier, British ships hovered about our ports in protected waters around the three-

mile limit, instead of lying in wait outside. Captures were made almost in our own waters. America was helpless in the face of English violations of her commercial and sovereign rights.

Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806, 1807). Not only England but France, as far as a blockaded nation could, assaulted our neutral rights. Napoleon, as supreme in a military way on the Continent as England was at sea, aimed to injure Great Britain by striking neutral commerce. The British Isles were declared blockaded. Such a paper blockade was ridiculous, for hardly a French ship was sailing the sea to enforce the decree. In the ordinary sense, to be legal, a blockade must be effectually enforced. Under the terms of the blockade no neutral ship could carry British goods or enter a British port without being liable to seizure; no ship which touched at a port in Great Britain or her colonies was allowed to trade with France or her conquered lands; and any ship which submitted, willingly or otherwise, to British search was liable to capture by the French if it entered a French port. Neutral ships were practically restricted to trade with Sweden, Russia, and Turkey. Under these high-handed regulations Napoleon seized several hundred American vessels which had innocently docked in ports under his military control.

France was quite willing to destroy our neutral trade and injure us in any way possible if England could be damaged. If anything, Napoleon's methods were more treacherous than England's, for the ships which he seized were enticed into his ports.

Orders in Council. Napoleon's decrees were answered by British orders (by king in council) which closed Europe (from Trieste on the Adriatic to Copenhagen) to neutral commerce, unless a vessel so engaged entered and cleared from a British port. A vessel so doing was liable to be condemned under Napoleon's decrees. With Napoleon in military command of Europe and England in control of the sea, the life of a neutral trader was hard. Yet adventurous Yankees took tremendous chances and, if lucky in landing forbidden cargoes, made unheard-of profits.

Relations with England. In 1807 a British ship, the *Leopard*, hovering outside Norfolk, fired upon the *Chesapeake*, cutting down the colors and killing several sailors. An alleged deserter was taken.

The *Chesapeake* returned to Norfolk. As the news spread, there was a war furor in the states. Jefferson strove to avoid war.

William Pinkney was sent as an aid to Monroe, our minister in London, in the hope that an agreement might be reached with England. The treaty was so unfavorable that Jefferson refused to submit it to the Senate, or to make its contents known lest Monroe's political future be ruined. England sent George Rose over as an agent (1808); but, finding his efforts futile, he retired in three months. Through his friendship with Senator Pickering, the English representative learned that New England was opposed to Jefferson's nonintercourse policy and discontented within the Union.

[Nonintercourse and Embargo Acts.] Jefferson and Madison were determined to keep peace at any price. An act of 1806 provided that certain specified goods which could be produced in the United States or elsewhere should not be imported from England. This was the old pre-Revolutionary strategy of attempting to force England's hand by cutting off her exports to America. It failed as before. The European war was too desperate for Britain to listen to grievances of injured manufacturers or of neutral nations.

This failing, Congress, which Jefferson never drove but always handled with a politician's skill, passed his Embargo Act (December, 1807). According to its provisions no merchant vessel could leave our ports for any foreign point and no foreign vessel could sail homeward unless in ballast. Heavy bonds were laid on American vessels in the coast trade in order that they might not slip out to sea. America actually blockaded her own coast. The embargo was extremely unpopular. The shipping centers preferred to continue their neutral business with its fabulous profits, despite numerous captures.¹ The enforcement of this law ruined

¹ Exports of the United States in millions of dollars: 1790, 20.4; 1791, 19; 1793, 26.1; 1795, 47.9; 1797, 56.8; 1799, 78.6; 1801, 94.1; 1803, 55.8; 1805, 95.5; 1807, 108.3; 1808, 22.4; 1809, 52.2; 1811, 61.3; 1813, 27.8; 1814, 6.9; 1815, 52.5; 1817, 87.6. This table from Clive Day's *History of the Commerce of the United States* shows the fluctuations in our exports due to the European war, the embargo, and War of 1812. The tonnage on foreign trade in 1789 was about 100,000, 500,000 in 1795, and 900,000 in 1810.

commerce: ships were tied to their wharves, grass grew at the docks, seafaring men were reduced to clam and oyster digging, and general unemployment increased. By fall, farmers without foreign markets found that their products brought low prices or that there was no sale for them. All New England, save New Hampshire, went Federalist, and the Republican majority in Congress was endangered. Yet despite the unpopular embargo and its more unfortunate enforcement, Jefferson and his party elected James Madison and George Clinton to head the national government. Madison was almost Jefferson's appointee. There was no break between their administrations, and the sixteen years may be accurately described as the Jeffersonian rule.

Failure of Jefferson's Peace Policy. The embargo proved a costly failure. America could not isolate herself. She could not thrive without European trade. A new Nonintercourse Act (1809) permitted commerce with all nations except England and France, and in the case of either of these nations the President could remove the restriction if either one repealed its own restrictive orders.

Erskine, a new British minister to Washington, in his desire for peace, promised that the Orders in Council should be withdrawn, but the English government haughtily repudiated his agreement. The succeeding minister, Jackson, was so insulting that the Madison administration refused to negotiate with him. On being ordered to depart he discourteously remained for a time, journeying northward as far as Boston and intriguing with dissatisfied Federalists, who showered him with favors. It was this lack of American unity and the apparent strength of pro-English sentiment that encouraged British statesmen in their overbearing attitude toward America. They felt assured that America without a navy would suffer any affront rather than accept war, which, as they saw it, might mean the severance of the republic into two hostile nations. Undoubtedly the disloyal attitude of rabid Federalists encouraged British aggressions and thus indirectly hurried the War of 1812.

In 1810 Congress passed Macon's Bill, No. 2, which, as a weapon and a bait, gave the President power to apply noninter-

course to either nation if the other offending nation agreed to respect American rights on the sea. This, apparently, Napoleon did, and in 1811 Congress applied the nonintercourse rule to English trade. Madison soon learned that he had been tricked by Napoleon, who continued to seize American vessels which took advantage of his apparent guaranties. The Jefferson-Madison peace policy had evidently failed. To bring matters to a crisis, a widespread Indian insurrection broke forth in all its fury.

Tecumseh's Uprising. Incited, it was thought, and certainly armed by British agents and fur-traders, the Indians of the Northwest went on the warpath. They maintained that their hunting grounds on the Wabash had been fraudulently taken from them. They saw the rush of population westward. It was the old story: first the fur man and trapper, then the government agent and his easy purchase of lands from chiefs befuddled with liquor, and then the invasion of hunting preserves by pioneers with their cattle and hogs and their farming. Suddenly the Indians realized that they were being pushed westward and northward toward the Great River. Backed up against the warlike Western tribesmen, they had no alternative. From their point of view, the march of American civilization into the interior was cruelly destructive, and their uprising was justified.

Tecumseh, one of the greatest Indian chieftains, and a heroic figure if the red man's story is written by a sympathetic pen, brought all the tribesmen from Georgia to Michigan into a grand alliance. The whole frontier was in panic as bloody massacres occurred at one point or another. William Henry Harrison, son of a Virginia signer of the Declaration, was governor of Indiana Territory and proved an able Indian-fighter. Tecumseh's forces were badly beaten at Tippecanoe (1811), and Harrison's political future was assured. Hatred of England knew no bounds on the frontier, for her agents were charged with having incited the massacres.

Approaching War. The young Republicans were replacing the older and more conservative leaders who dated from the Revolution. They were proud nationalists and ardent patriots. They had never seen war or personally reckoned its terrible cost.

They were "war hawks," who resented furiously our grievances against England and who longed for the chance to strike again at that enemy nation with the hope of gaining Canada. They were expansionists. They, like most Republicans, favored Napoleon. Henry Clay of Kentucky, recently chosen Speaker of the House, — and one of our three or four greatest Speakers, — was the leader of this group, which included such men as Porter of New York and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

The gentle Madison knew not where to turn. Everything had failed; war seemed inevitable. He yielded to the war leaders, who apparently represented the will of the nation, or at least of his party.

References

ALLEN JOHNSON, *Jefferson and his Colleagues* (Chronicles); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 331-420; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 184-204; GAILLARD HUNT (Ed.), *Forty Years of Washington Society*; DOLLY MADISON, *Memoirs and Letters*; MAUD GOODWIN, *Dolly Madison*; ESTHER SINGLETON, *Story of the White House*; ANNE WHARTON, *Social Life in the Early Republic*; SARAH RANDOLPH, *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*; ALICE SUTCLIFFE, *Robert Fulton*; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*; CLAUDE G. BOWERS, *Jefferson and Hamilton*; J. G. HAMILTON (Ed.), *Best Letters of Jefferson*; R. H. THURSTON, *Robert Fulton*; R. G. THWAITES, *Brief History of Rocky Mountain Exploration*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 245-456, *Jeffersonian System*; McMASTER, Vol. III; HENRY ADAMS, *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (9 vols.), *Life of Gallatin*, and *John Randolph*; R. G. THWAITES, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*; A. JOHNSTON, *American Political History*, Vol. I, pp. 325-392; F. A. WALKER, *The Making of the Nation*, pp. 168-229; W. PLUMER, *Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807*; W. W. JENNINGS, *American Embargo*; O. D. WHEELER, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*; F. A. OGG, *The Opening of the Mississippi*; E. S. BROWN, *Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase*; T. M. MARSHALL, *Western Boundary of Louisiana*; H. E. CHAMBERS, *Mississippi Valley Beginnings*; C. W. ALVORD, *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*; C. GOODWIN, *Trans-Mississippi West*; J. A. ROBERTSON, *Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States*; W. B. BRYAN, *History of the National Capital*; T. N. PAGE, *Washington and its Romance*; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 269 ff.; L. SABINE, *Notes on Duels and Dueling*; PHILIP A. BRUCE, *History of the University of Virginia*, Vol. I; GARDNER W.

ALLEN, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs*; W. F. McCALEB, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*; F. L. DILLON, *Annals of St. Louis*; P. L. FORD, *Writings of Jefferson* (10 vols.); J. T. MORSE, *Jefferson*; A. J. MOCK, *Jefferson*; F. W. HIRST, *Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson*; GAILLARD HUNT, *Writings of Madison* (9 vols.); S. M. HAMILTON, *Writings of Monroe* (7 vols.); J. A. STEVENS, *John Randolph*; W. A. ROBINSON, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England*; ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, *John Marshall* (4 vols.); A. B. MAGRUDER, *Marshall*; ELIZABETH DONNAN, *Papers of James A. Bayard*; W. E. DODD, *Life of Nathaniel Macon*; S. H. GAY, *Madison*.

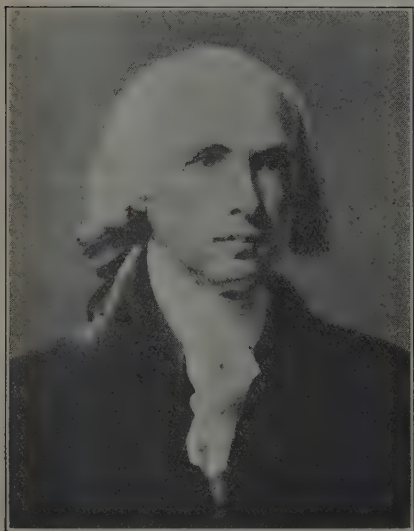
2. THE SECOND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The Declaration of War. On June 18, 1812, after a consideration of Madison's war message citing British violations of American rights and attacks on American honor as a sovereign nation, Congress declared war by a vote of 19 to 13 in the Senate and 79 to 49 in the House. It will be seen that a large minority opposed the war. The bulk of the war votes came from the South and the new West.

England did not want war, but in her mortal combat with Napoleon she was determined to use her power to the last ounce, regardless of the legality of her methods. She knew that France injured America as much as she was able, and suspected that America, between two fires, would keep a dishonorable peace. At the last moment, June 16, the British ministry withdrew the Orders in Council — the real but not the only cause of war. Transatlantic news required almost four weeks for transmission; hence by the time America was aware of this action England had learned of the declaration of war. It is interesting to speculate whether or not war would have been declared if there had been a cable, and news could have been relayed from capital to capital in a few minutes. At any rate, America entered on its "Second War of Independence."

The War Election of 1812. Madison and Elbridge Gerry (George Clinton had died) were elected by 128 electoral votes to 89 cast for De Witt Clinton of New York (a nephew of George Clinton), who was supported by Federalists and anti-war Republicans. The old states were equally divided, but the

West, voting solidly for Madison and his "war hawk" friends, gave victory to the Republicans. The power of the West in national politics was hereafter to be felt. Monroe was appointed Secretary of State, a suggestion that he was the administration's next candidate for the presidency. As Madison was too mild to carry on a war, the burden was borne by the younger Con-



JAMES MADISON

From a painting by Gilbert Stuart. (Courtesy of the Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts)

gressional leaders of the Clay and Calhoun stamp. Federalists ridiculed the government as a despotism controlled by two Virginians and the foreigner Gallatin, and the war as "Mr. Madison's war," forced by Southerners, frontiersmen, Jacobins, and Irishmen on the plea of protecting New England's freedom of the seas.

Financing the War. Gallatin had reduced the national debt to \$34,000,000, and the nation was prosperous; yet it was difficult to finance the war. Republicans had prevented the rechartering of the National

Bank (1811), and now in the critical time there was no well-organized bank capable of floating government bonds and stabilizing monetary conditions. The un-Republican direct taxes suggested by Gallatin were not acceptable to Congress. Tariff duties were doubled; but with an English blockade, there could be little revenue from imports. The eleven-million-dollar bond issue of 1812 was only half subscribed. Republican state banks were weak, and New England banks and Federalist capitalists were unwilling to subscribe to war loans. Bonds sold far below par, though interest rates were as high as 7 and 8 per cent.

Indeed, bonds were actually peddled in New York, and patriotic merchants were compelled to advance money to the government. The blockade brought hard times not only in shipping centers but in the agricultural states — quite in contrast with the flush years from 1789 to 1808.

The National Strength. If America had been united, the war might have been carried to Canada and peace dictated, as Clay hoped, at Quebec or Halifax. Such was not the case; only half the nation supported the war. England, on the other hand, despite the enormous cost in men and money of two decades of war against France and Napoleon, was nerved to the utmost. America had a population of about 8,000,000 to the 20,000,000 in the British Isles, and should have been able to put 700,000 men in the field. Yet, though Congress authorized a regular army of 63,000 men, it hardly attained a strength of 10,000. At no time were the effective militia and volunteers over 65,000, though, counting short enlistments and desertions, several times that number were enrolled. In the end this unpreparedness proved most costly — over \$50,000,000 in pensions alone. The wretchedly trained militia were far from bold in battle. On at least one occasion they refused to cross the Canadian border, and at no time did they make a stand unless supported by trained regulars. The narrowly partisan governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut refused Madison's request for the aid of their militia, on the score that no exigency had arisen and that their respective states faced neither insurrection nor invasion. (A decision of the Supreme Court (1827) declared that the president determines the need.) The major officers were elderly men, some of them hang-overs from the Revolution, who soon demonstrated their incompetency and gave place to trained and younger soldiers. Our little navy, on account of its recent Tripolitan exploits, was better prepared, and made a creditable showing.

The Campaign of 1812. High were American hopes when our little army and inexperienced levies with the poorest of equipment took the field. Clay, Calhoun, and Jefferson believed, like all loyal Americans, that Canada could be conquered in a short

campaign. Indeed, it was believed that Canada must be awaiting a deliverer from British misrule! As Canada's population was hardly a fifth of that of the United States and only half-hearted in the war, these predictions might have come true if the United States had presented a united front and if ample preparations had been made. That preparations were not made seems incredible when for ten years war appeared to be inevitable either with England or France. As it was, the triple invasion of Canada ended in disaster.

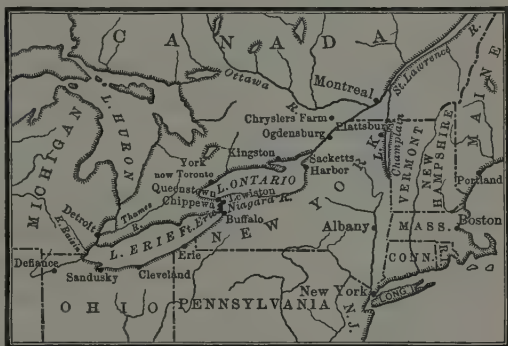
General Hull was not only defeated on crossing into Canada, but without a shot he surrendered Detroit to Sir Isaac Brock, a fine, upstanding soldier. Hull was convicted of cowardice, but pardoned by Madison because of his Revolutionary service. British regulars and Tecumseh's Indians ravaged the Northwest until Harrison took command. At first, Harrison failed to re-occupy southern Michigan, but by holding the forts of Ohio (Fort Meigs and modern Fremont) he saved the frontier from further devastations. General Dearborn, marching from Plattsburg, New York, was unable to invade Canada, for the faint-hearted militia refused to cross the border and fight on foreign soil. It was held that a militia force could be used only to defend the state from foreign aggression.

The Campaign of 1813. The dark situation brightened up a little during the following year. England, with every nerve strained until the Peninsula campaign and the battle of Leipzig (October, 1813) had been won, was unable to reënforce her Canadian army. Whatever Americans may have thought, the war in America as compared with the tremendous European struggle was but an incidental affair to the British. In this, America was fortunate.

Wilkinson, inefficient and untrustworthy, failed to attack Canada from western New York. With a fleet rudely and hurriedly constructed of green timber, Captain Oliver H. Perry won the battle of Lake Erie, and thereby gave America command of the Lakes. This enabled Harrison to take the offensive. Shortly he recaptured Detroit and, crossing the river into Ontario, won the battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh fell. The loss of its

leader broke the Indian alliance, especially as Andrew Jackson, who succeeded Wilkinson in command of the Southwest, crushed the Creek Indians and their allies. Incidentally, crushing the Indian power opened a new West for settlement as soon as the war ended.

The Campaign of 1814. For America the year 1814 was dark. Napoleon had been forced to abdicate and retire to Elba. The European war was apparently over. England was able to send heavy forces to America, which she felt had cruelly stabbed her in the back when she was fighting (as Englishmen maintained) for civilization and liberty against the imperial domination of Napoleon. Regiment after regiment of hardened British regulars kept coming. New England was on the verge of



THE WAR IN THE EAST

revolt. Republicans, and patriots generally, were in a panic. It seemed that the war must end in defeat and loss of territory.

Wilkinson failed in another attack on Canada by way of Lake Champlain. General Jacob Brown fought gallantly on the Niagara border, winning minor victories at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane with the aid of the distinguished under-officer Winfield Scott. Still, he was unable to maintain this hold on Canada. The British leader Sir George Prevost invaded New York, but in turn was forced back when Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough won his stirring victory over a large English squadron on Lake Champlain near Plattsburg. Unable to gain control of the Champlain waterway and protect its line of communications, the invading force was helpless to advance. No British general would fall into another Burgoyne trap.

The Burning of Washington. A British squadron ravaging the coast during the summer finally entered Chesapeake Bay. A land force met slight resistance at Bladensburg, where the panic of the militia was so revolting that the skirmish was termed the "Bladensburg races." There was a race for Washington, with the British regulars at the defenders' heels. Madison and the administration leaders fled from the city on the eve of its capture and took refuge outside. The British burned the Capitol, "a harbor of Yankee democracy," the President's house, and other public buildings (August, 1814). But for a torrential rain, the entire city might have been wiped out. For this conduct there was little justification. Americans, it was pointed out, had burned the village of Newark and the provincial buildings at York (Toronto) in their raids into Canada, but this was done by irresponsible soldiers and repudiated by the commander, whereas in Washington the English general ordered that the torch be applied. American feeling was aroused at this wanton destruction which could serve no military purpose.

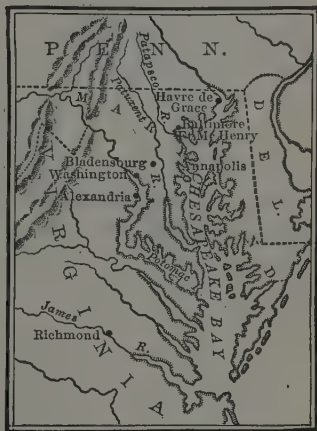
A similar attack on Baltimore was warded off by the defenders. Fort McHenry withstood the fire of Admiral Cockburn's fleet. It was then that Francis Scott Key, a prisoner on an English ship, watched with straining eyes the effects of the cannonading on the fortress, and wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner." Baltimore was saved and the British sailed out to sea, fearing if they delayed that the shallow channels of the bay might be so obstructed as to prevent their escape. A raid so far inland might well have been fatal to the squadron.

Naval Warfare. America could turn with pride to the war on the sea. Her little navy continued to build a reputation for courageous fighting. Perry and Macdonough on inland waters were matched by Rodgers, Decatur, Lawrence, and others on the high seas. The *Constitution* sank the *Java* and captured the *Guerrière*, and the *United States* captured the *Macedonian*,—isolated victories, to be sure; but they gave Americans heart, for England was held unbeatable in a naval fight. Even in the destruction of our unseaworthy *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon* there was a display of American valor and unsurpassed seamanship.

James Lawrence, her captain, died a hero, crying out a command which still lives in the navy: "Don't give up the ship. Blow her up."

Privateers and commerce-destroyers were active. In this lucrative business Yankee merchantmen won renown. The best of Federalists were willing to prey on enemy commerce and reap the large rewards. One Salem privateer earned over a million dollars for her master and crew in about a year. And a Bristol boat captured over five million dollars' worth of British goods, netting a large sum to her owners and mariners. Innumerable privateers damaged English commerce, raised insurance rates, and captured vessels even in the waters of the British Isles if they ventured forth without convoy. Our fast little blockade-runners made life merry for British frigates policing our coasts and actually made the blockade ineffective during the winter months.

New England and the War. Federalist opposition to the national government grew more bitter after 1800, reaching open hostility in the days of the destructive Embargo Act. Federalists in Congress voted to a man against "Mr. Madison's war," even as some of their constituents lowered the flag to half-mast on hearing of its declaration. New England Federalists voted against essential war measures, insulted the Republican minority in the home states, actively hindered enlistments, and refused to subscribe to government loans. They gave solace to the enemy after war had been declared quite as much as before. They rejoiced in allied victories over Napoleon, though America and France were at war with the same enemy. It must be remembered that America was not allied with France in this war. Yet British victories in the campaign against Napoleon made England a more dangerous foe for America. Whatever the merits



THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

of the European war, loyal and patriotic Americans with a grain of common sense could but favor the French side on practical grounds. The war was hardly over when British officers were banqueted in Hartford, to the utter disgust of all honest Republicans.

England recognized the disaffection in New England by leaving the coast north of Narragansett Bay unblockaded. Only in the last year of the war was our whole coast patrolled by hostile men-of-war. During the first two years New England importers waxed fat trading with the enemy. Privateers often captured vessels presumably English but actually ships owned by American capital. Some needed manufactures were obtained by this trick and sold at an enormous profit. While trading with the enemy was not unusual elsewhere,—as in New York or even in the South, which managed to sell some of its tobacco and cotton,—in New England the trade was rather widespread. British licenses permitting trade with Lisbon (and thence, through collusion with British captains, to other ports) were easily obtained. Indeed, they were actually for sale on the Boston and New York exchanges. Considerable trade was conducted with Halifax and Newfoundland, and droves of cattle and hogs and tons of flour were sent to Canada over the borders of New England and New York. The Canadian-British forces, according to official reports, were sustained in large part by American meat and grain.

The Massachusetts Senate (1813) resolved that in a conflict "waged without justifiable cause . . . it is not becoming a moral or religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defense of our seacoast and our soil." In Federalist circles talk of secession was not smothered. Opposition to the war and to the "Virginia dynasty" in Washington was flagrant. Speeches, sermons, resolutions, toasts, and editorials bore a striking likeness to the doctrines of later South Carolinian nullificationists.

Hartford Convention. On the call of the Massachusetts legislature there met in Hartford a secret convention to which Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and several Federalist counties of Vermont and New Hampshire sent their ablest leaders as delegates. For three weeks (December) the

members discussed the political situation and the war. Republican papers charged the assembly with treason, made the more obnoxious by the presence of an English foe on American soil. Stung by the editorial taunts of Mathew Carey, a naturalized Irishman, the *Connecticut Courant* of Hartford explained :

We have no idea of any contest ; we shall not invite it, we deprecate any collision with our sister states, but we are too well acquainted with our resources, our spirit and our rights to be deterred from asserting and maintaining them, because some people choose to ridicule the one and make light of and assail the other."

The convention's resolves displayed a deadly hatred of the administration. The delegates would devise some way of protecting their people against a national draft and some means of obtaining a fair share of the national tax, for maintaining the New England militia. They urged several amendments to the Constitution : that only by a two-thirds vote of Congress should war be declared, new states admitted, and embargoes laid ; that the president be limited to a single term ; that Southern representation be cut by not counting the blacks ; that no foreign-born citizen be eligible to any Federal office ; and that successive presidents come from different states. The convention appointed agents to take its demands to Washington, but, on reaching Baltimore, the emissaries learned of Jackson's victory at New Orleans and the "glorious peace," and wisely lost themselves in the celebrating crowds.

The Hartford Convention sounded the death knell of Federalism. Republicans soon gained political sway over New England. The old Federalist-Congregationalist leaders were politically dead. Republican papers annually printed the names of the delegates in a black-bordered obituary notice. And no amount of apologetic writing on the part of their descendants has been able to clear the New England Federalists of the stain of treasonable hostility to the War of 1812, a jealous dread of the new West, and opposition to immigrants.

Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815). With a large fleet and seven thousand veterans of Wellington's army under the

capable General Pakenham, the British expected little difficulty in capturing New Orleans. They did not count on Andrew Jackson and his four thousand pioneers and sharpshooters from the Southwest. Americans might be derided as "degenerate Englishmen," but there proved to be no weaklings among Jackson's followers. Intrenching themselves behind hastily constructed earthen barricades, the Westerners awaited the charge of the well-ordered British regiments and, as they advanced, every marksman picked his man. Pakenham fell, and his disordered columns, with a loss of two thousand men, retreated under a withering fire. Jackson's casualties numbered but seventy.¹ The West was jubilant. There were no Tories out there. The country rejoiced, and "Old Hickory" Jackson became the outstanding hero of the war.

It was a glorious fight, but a needless one. The terms of the peace treaty had already been settled two weeks before, but of this America was ignorant. The slowness of communication caused the useless destruction of many a brave soldier. Yet from our point of view it was well the battle of New Orleans had been fought. It gave the drab and colorless war an inspiring climax and a decisive victory which revived American spirit.

Treaty of Ghent. War was hardly declared when Madison undertook peace negotiations, but nothing came of them because the British ministry would not give an inch on the subject of impressments. In 1812 the Russian Czar, now an ally of England, offered his good offices to our minister in Russia, John Quincy Adams, with the hope of arranging peace between America and England. Madison accepted this friendly offer, but England refused, as the war situation in Europe had improved. Czar Alexander did not give up hope, but renewed his offer, and Madison sent peace envoys to St. Petersburg. England finally agreed to treat directly with American peace commissioners at Ghent in Belgium, which was then occupied by her forces.

¹ Reverend William du Bourg, administrator and later bishop of New Orleans, ordered prayers throughout the diocese for Jackson's success. After the battle the Ursuline nuns cared for the wounded, and a Mass of thanksgiving was said in the cathedral, which Jackson and many of his soldiers attended.

Madison selected a remarkable group of ministers plenipotentiary: John Q. Adams, Senator James Bayard of Delaware, Speaker Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. Three English delegates of obscure character, headed by Lord Gambier, appeared in August, 1814. At first the English sought the impossible, a cession of our Western territory from which an Indian buffer state under British protection might be created.



THE TREATY OF GHENT

This idea they soon gave up, as did our representatives any thought of obtaining part of Canada. Our agents won a shrewd diplomatic victory because England was anxious for peace. Her people were tired of war and would not have supported a continuation of the struggle for the sake of territorial expansion in the American wilderness. Then, too, the national rivalries at the Congress of Vienna and the unsettled condition of Europe made England more willing to accept peace terms, although no one dreamed that Napoleon was fated to escape from Elba and force the terrific Hundred Days' campaign to Waterloo. Finally a treaty was drafted which left American territory intact, put off

for future adjustment the Canadian boundary disputes, but determined nothing concerning neutral rights, impressments, seizures, searches, and blockades.

As these were the causes of the war, apparently we had fought in vain. Yet the United States rejoiced on hearing that peace had been concluded. The rights at sea seemed an academic question, because now, with the European struggle ended, England had no further reason to challenge our ships, or impress sailors for a navy which was being reduced to a peace footing. Yet the war was not fought in vain.

Results of the War. The actual results of the war were few. As time demonstrated, America had not learned the costly lesson of unpreparedness. The army was reduced to 6000 men, about half the size of the present New York police force. America, afraid of a standing army, was willing to get along with a militia, which failed under fire. The navy, however, was strengthened slightly by new appropriations for frigates. The national debt had been increased by \$80,000,000; but this was, after all, a trivial sum — only \$10 a head, based on the population. The difficulties in financing the war did teach the Republican party that a national banking system was essential. The intangible and indirect results of the war were far more important. The War of 1812 marked the beginning of a new era — in a sense, of a new America.

The New America. The Second War of Independence gave Americans a new sense of patriotism, a new feeling of nationalism. America had fought the strongest power in Europe for the sake of her honor and had not lost. She stood forth as a sovereign nation of the world, ready to maintain by arms her rights of sovereignty. She was no dependent power. There was no future danger that America might not continue as an independent nation. Europe had always doubted the lasting success of the American republic, expecting that it would fall some time as a rich prize in the lap of England or under European control. In 1783 America won independence from England; in 1798 she freed herself from French influence; but in 1812-1815 she gained an assured place among the nations of the world. She

was soon to start on the road to commercial and economic independence. America could stand alone.

Americans rejoiced in new strength. The war had closed with a wave of patriotism. Discordant factions and Tories were left powerless and apologetic. Nationalism came to mean something. Men were less Virginians or Connecticut men, and more national in their loyalty and outlook. State lines were no longer impassable frontiers. Federalism as a sectional force had failed. "Americanism" was the new term for loyalty and patriotism.

New men were in power. The Republican party of Jefferson had become a national party, with new policies far broader than its original program. The generation of the Revolution had passed away. The new generation of leaders did not look backward toward England, the colonies, or the weak Confederation of states, but forward into the future. They were men whose vision and tolerance were enlarged. They believed in American success — in her future greatness, undeveloped resources, manufactures, commerce, new states, and in her immigrants. This their policies and legislation made clear. They would make real the motto on the peace-celebration placards: "Peace — Security — Prosperity."

Old America had turned toward Europe; the new America turned westward and gazed toward the future. The national era had been inaugurated.¹

References

R. D. PAINE, *The Fight for a Free Sea* (Chronicles); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 421-430.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. IV, pp. 456-565; McMASTER, Vol. IV, pp. 1-279; JOHNSTON, *American Political History*, Vol. I, pp. 288-324; WALKER, *Making of the Nation*, pp. 230-273; K. C. BABCOCK, *Rise of American Nationality*; H. ADAMS, *History of the United States*; G. HUNT, *Life in*

¹ The new nationalism expressed itself in such rising authors as Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, James Fenimore Cooper, and Edward Everett, and in historians like Prescott, Ticknor, Bancroft, and Palfrey. Among the ephemeral journals of the time the *North American Review* (1815) won a permanent place. Regardless of her loss of political prestige, Massachusetts retained intellectual supremacy.

America One Hundred Years Ago; F. L. PAXSON, *History of the American Frontier*, pp. 159-190; R. J. PURCELL, *Connecticut in Transition*, pp. 288-298; D. B. READ, *Life of Sir Isaac Brock*; A. T. MAHAN, *Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812*; R. MACDONOUGH, *Life of Commodore Thomas Macdonough*; C. P. LUCAS, *Canadian War of 1812*; S. E. MORISON, *Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis*; H. C. LODGE, *Life and Letters of George Cabot*; C. O. PAULLIN, *Commodore John Rodgers*.

3. THE RISE OF NATIONALISM (1816-1829)

The Election of James Monroe (1816). The Republican caucus named Monroe and Governor Daniel Tompkins of New York for the presidency and vice presidency, and the country gave them 183 electoral votes to the Federalist candidate's 34. With the defeat of its presidential candidate, Rufus King, Federalism died. It could not outlive the war and the Hartford Convention; it could not thrive in the America of the new nationalism. John Quincy Adams, an experienced statesman and diplomat and the only conspicuous Federalist who supported the war, became Secretary of State. William H. Crawford, second choice of the caucus for president and a disciple of Gallatin's, took the Treasury Department. John C. Calhoun made a most efficient Secretary of War. Henry Clay refused a cabinet appointment, as he preferred the Speakership of the House with its growing prestige. Monroe had selected a strong cabinet, which drew general support for his administration.

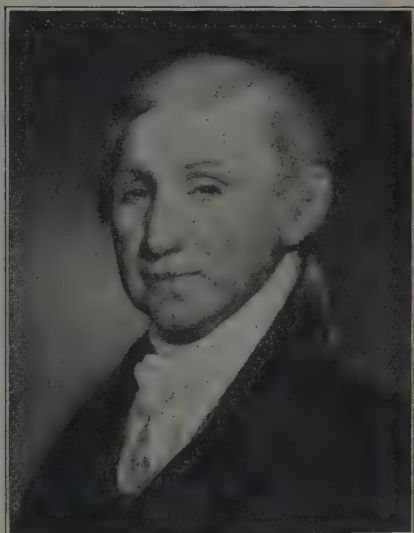
The "Era of Good Feeling." In 1817, on a tour of inspection of the national defenses, Monroe journeyed through the North and into New England. Everywhere he was greeted by the populace and fêted by local leaders. In Boston, where his predecessors were hated, Monroe was welcomed as the representative of an "era of good feeling." Pleased with the flattering descriptive phrase, the President made frequent use of it in addresses as he toured the South in the fall. Monroe did his best to make the expression ring true. That he remained popular was indicated by his reelection in 1820 with all but one of the electoral votes. Some true man, so tradition had it, would not see challenged Washington's unique honor of a unanimous election. Monroe,

alone of all the presidents, gave the country eight years of political peace, almost unmarred by partisan strife.

Party lines were blotted out. There was but one party — the Republican, or, rather, the party in power. Republicans, even Jefferson, had already compromised a good deal with the times. Young Republicans, while retaining the chief democratic virtues, went rather far along Hamiltonian lines. At least forthcoming legislation indicated that they did not fear a loose construction of the Constitution, Marshall's decisions, moderate centralizing tendencies, a national bank, a protective tariff, and Federal aid for internal improvements.

Second National Bank.

Experience of five years without a national bank converted Republicans. Congress, in 1816, forgetting former doubts concerning its constitutionality, chartered for a twenty-year period the second National



JAMES MONROE

Bank with \$35,000,000 capital. As before, the government subscribed for a fifth of the stock and appointed a fifth of the directors. The central bank continued in Philadelphia, still the business capital of the nation, and established branches throughout the country. The Bank paid a bonus of \$1,500,000 into the Treasury for its charter. Again it was freed from taxation and was the repository of government money. Its bank notes passed as legal tender. It was expected to stabilize banking.

In some states there was opposition to its branch banks. In Maryland an attempt was made to tax the Bank. Marshall and the Supreme Court (1819) in *McCulloch vs. Maryland* decided

that the Bank was constitutional and that, as a Federal agent, it could not be taxed by a state. If a state could levy a small tax, it might levy a large one. And Marshall pointed out that "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." Again, in interpreting the Constitution, the Chief Justice had rendered a decision of lasting significance.

The Rise of American Manufactures. English laws prevented the migration of skilled mechanics or the export of newly invented cloth-making machinery, but some artisans found their way to America, of whom the best known was Samuel Slater, a mechanical genius. Associating with Moses Brown of Providence, he built a complete spinning mill at Pawtucket (1790). This mill marked the beginning of our textile industry. In short order jennies and stocking looms were built in Philadelphia, in Rhode Island, in Connecticut, and in Beverly, Massachusetts. American manufacturers were enterprising; Yankee artisans were easily developed; and native inventions soon perfected the machinery and the water wheels which harnessed the streams for factory power.

The cessation of commerce with Europe during the embargo and war proved the necessity which encouraged manufactures. Iron production was aided, as well as the manufacture of fire-arms and powder. Cotton mills sprang up along the New England streams. Cotton was cheap, as its European sale was cut off and as its production had been increased by Whitney's gin. Sheep-raising had become a business. The old scrub sheep were improved by breeding with Spanish merinos imported from the ranches of Spanish grandes and Carthusian monasteries, which sold their flocks rather than allow them to fall into the French conqueror's hands. Better wool was grown and in larger amounts. This not only increased the wealth of northern New England farmers, but furnished raw material for new woolen mills. By 1812 at least one Connecticut mill began to use steam power.

The manufacture of woollens was encouraged as a matter of patriotism. Public leaders and even presidents wore American-made clothes as a good example for their fellow citizens. Supplying army uniforms during the war helped the infant industry.

In 1814 Patrick Tracy Jackson (the largest New England capitalist of his day and father-in-law of John Quincy Adams) and Francis Lowell established the first of their great textile factories at Waltham. Other New England capitalists followed their example. By 1816 a noble beginning had been made.¹

English Competition. Times looked dark for the infant industries when the war was over. Could they meet the competition of English manufacturers with cheaper labor, better mechanical devices, more skilled mechanics, and factory traditions? To destroy American factories, British manufacturers flooded our market with cheap goods which were even sold at auction. They figured that if American factories could be driven out of business, they could then raise prices and regain their temporary losses. American statesmen understood, and Congress passed a tariff in order to preserve American manufactures from this destructive competition. Our industries, it was agreed upon all sides, must be protected if they were to thrive.

Tariff Policy. In 1816 a tariff of 30 per cent was placed on carriages, cordage, hats, firearms, glass, paper, and boots, which were produced in quantities to meet national needs. A 25 per cent duty was levied on cottons, coarse woolens, iron, tin, and brass, which America did not produce in sufficient amount. Three years later iron-smelters were given additional protection against English and Swedish iron. The tariff ranged from 7 to 30 per cent on goods like hardware, cutlery, silks, linens, and carpets, which America did not produce. This distinctly protective tariff was supported by New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the manufacturers of New England, and by Ohio hemp-growers. The shipping interest was opposed, but the South favored the legislation as breeding industrial independence.

¹ The increase in manufactures is suggested by the following table :

	1820	1830	1840
Cotton manufactures	\$4,834,000	\$22,535,000	\$46,350,000
Woolen manufactures	\$4,413,000	\$14,528,000	\$20,700,000
Iron (in tons)	20,000	165,000	287,000

If an article could be produced and shipped to America for \$1, on which the tariff was 30 per cent, this would mean that our manufacturer would not have to meet the price of \$1, but one of \$1.30. The cost to the consumer was thus increased, but by building up American manufactures it was argued that the United States would be made independent of European industry, and that both American capital and labor would benefit by larger returns, greater productivity, and higher wages.



BOOTT COTTON MILLS AT LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS

Hard Times (1818-1819). The Tariff Act was helpful, yet it did not prevent the hard times of 1818-1819. British manufacturers swamped the American market with goods which were sold far below the cost of production. American factories were driven to the wall or forced to suspend operations. Unemployment brought hardship. Revived Europe no longer imported grain and provisions. American agriculture therefore suffered from falling prices and a lessened demand. Land speculators were caught with large holdings which could not be sold. A contraction of the currency by one half made circulating money scarce and caused specie to sell at a premium. Banks in the

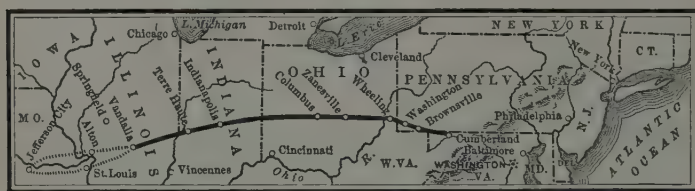
South and West failed or, unable to meet their notes, suspended payment. Wages declined as work became scarce. This was America's first industrial panic—a warning against speculation. Recovery, however, was rapid.

Tariff of 1824. Manufacturers, growing more influential, obtained higher duties on woollens, raw wool, ore, and iron products. Sheep-raising and mining were also aided. Clay and Calhoun were ardent advocates of the tariff on national grounds, while, strangely enough, Daniel Webster, representing Yankee commerce, was opposed to it. The conservative New England business men did not realize that their future wealth would be derived from manufactures rather than from commerce and the fisheries. The support of the West was won by the adoption of the "American" policy, according to which the surplus revenue from the high tariff would be expended for internal improvements, such as roads and canals connecting the West with the Atlantic coast.

Tariff of 1828. Once tasting the advantages of protection, manufacturers demanded higher duties. A congress of protectionists was held in Harrisburg in 1827. Massachusetts finally became aware that her shipping could not compete with the British shippers, who paid low wages and were better situated to obtain cargoes in both directions. Hence she came out for protection, as did her leading representative, Daniel Webster. The act of 1828 proved disappointing. Each section of the country desired protection at the expense of other sections. In an endeavor to satisfy all groups the framers of the law satisfied none. They did, if that was their intention, politically ruin President Adams, who wrongfully was held responsible.

Through the higher rate on molasses (to the detriment of distilling) and on shipbuilding materials, two New England industries were damaged almost as much as was the textile trade from a lower rate on woollens. The South resented higher rates on hardware, farm tools, and slave cloths. It was a desperately significant measure, bringing on the first economic contest between the agricultural South and the manufacturing North.

Westward Rush of Population. The war over and the Indian power crushed, westward migration commenced in earnest. By 1830 it reached immense proportions. It seemed as though the coast states were emptying their population into the lands beyond the Alleghenies. Over the Cumberland Road immigrants came in endless numbers. Men came on foot, and on horse, and in great lumbering ox-drawn wagons, or heavy, covered Conestoga wagons drawn by six-horse teams and piled high with household goods. At Wheeling some journeyed down the Ohio on steamboats, or on flatboats steered by huge hand-rudders.



THE CUMBERLAND, OR NATIONAL, ROAD

Others continued over the national road which led to Zanesville, Columbus, Indianapolis, and finally to Vandalia, Illinois. On the completion of the Erie Canal quite as many immigrants found their way westward by canal boat to Buffalo and then by steamer over the Great Lakes to Cleveland and points west.

In general, they were young men with their families — men tired of the East and anxious to try their fortunes in the open West. The bulk were natives of New England and New York, though there was a heavy sprinkling of foreign immigrants, especially Germans. Many an immigrant worked his way westward as a canal-digger or laborer on boats. So strong was the New England element that one writer has described the movement as the expansion of New England. Certainly the Middle West has ever been stamped with the New England spirit and character, somewhat broadened by toleration. The Easterner migrated that he might start anew, obtain cheap lands, and avoid the competition of foreign-immigrant labor in the East.

Therefore the foreign immigrant forced the migration of Eastern laborers and poor men into the West.¹

Advantages in the West. Fertile virgin lands were sold, after 1820, by the government for \$1.25 an acre in 80-acre plots. Some land sold at auction for a higher price, as did timber and mineral lands, but a man with a hundred dollars could buy a farm in full ownership. Had there ever been such an opportunity? No wonder landless men of the old states and European immigrants turned to this new land of opportunity. No wonder the migration was so large that it was likened to the German folk-wanderings of the late Roman Empire. An 80-acre farm and working for oneself meant independence. Hence, European peasant-laborers on a feudal master's land looked toward America's West as the land of opportunity.

Cheap and more productive land alone did not draw the Easterner. The call of the frontier was the call of greater freedom, of social equality, of full voting rights, and of complete religious freedom. There was no caste system. There were no restricting conventions. Family and past counted for little. It was what a man could do. Settlers in a new region dream of the future rather than ponder over their ancestry. In time the new settler might become wealthy or politically powerful, whereas in the older states the same man would have found it impossible to rise. A new country and new men grow up and prosper together.

New States. Indiana gained sufficient population to be admitted to statehood in 1816. Illinois, established as a territory in 1809, became a state nine years later. Settlers were turning in numbers into Michigan Territory and before long into the unorganized Wisconsin region. In the meantime western New York and Pennsylvania and Ohio had become almost as densely populated as the coast.

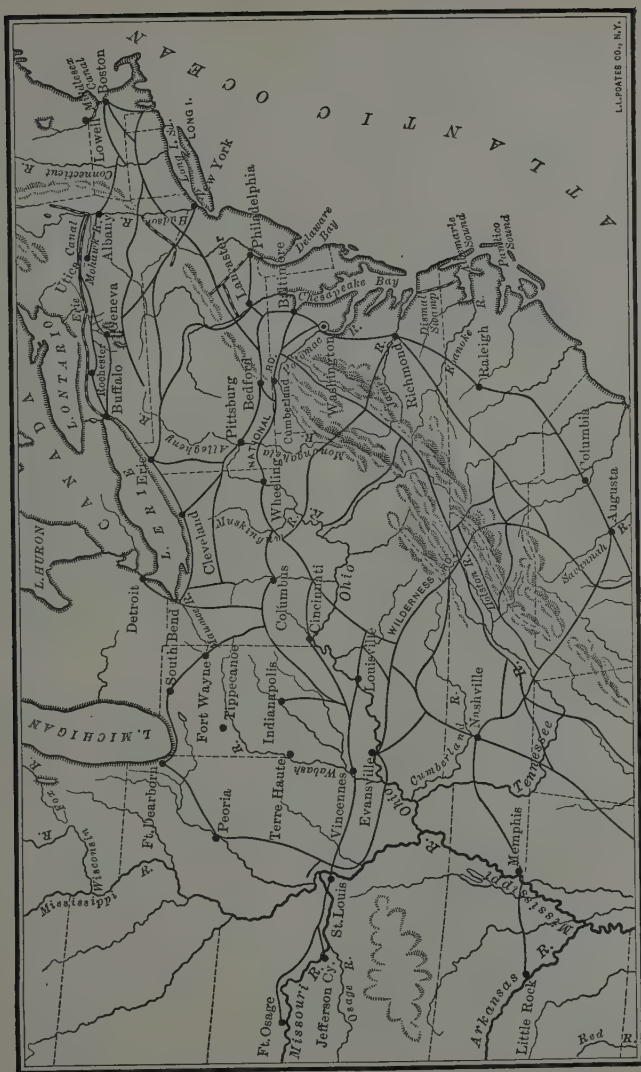
¹ The movement of population westward as compiled by Professor Farrand:

Population of United States . .	7,243,000 (1810)	9,636,000 (1820)	12,861,000 (1830)
West of Alleghenies	1,583,000	3,063,000	4,941,000
	21.8%	31.78%	38.4%
West of Mississippi	—	234,000	386,000
	1.5%	2.5%	3%

The growth of the Southwest was even more remarkable, for few immigrants went south. The expansion was due almost solely to a migration of young planters and small farmers from Virginia and the Carolinas. Tobacco culture had worn out the lands of the Old South. Then, too, cotton was becoming a more profitable crop than tobacco, and for this the new lands of the Southwest were ideal. Mississippi Territory grew from 9000 to 40,000 in the decade after 1800, and in 1817, with a population of about 70,000, was ready for statehood. Alabama, made a territory in 1816, grew into a state three years later with over 100,000 population. Missouri, applying for statehood in 1818, brought the slavery issue to a crisis. Growth was still greater between 1820 and 1830. The Old South of tobacco had built up a New South of cotton, rice, and sugar-planting. And the New South of the Gulf coast was soon to dominate Southern politics and furnish the new leaders. Virginia was fast giving way to South Carolina as the chief state of the Southland.

Acquisition of Florida. Jefferson, Madison, and Secretary Adams had tried in vain to purchase Florida, but pride of empire kept the Spanish Bourbons from selling. In 1818 there broke out a Creek-and-Seminole rebellion. Indians would raid our border and seek refuge in Florida, where Spanish forces were too weak to maintain order. Jackson followed the retreating Indians into Florida, hanged their chiefs and two British traders whom he suspected of inciting the uprising, and contrary to orders seized the forts of St. Marks and Pensacola, shipping the governor and garrison to Cuba. Such high-handed and illegal action, no matter how frontiersmen might approve, was liable to embroil the United States with both England and Spain.

England allowed the affair to pass, as her subjects were apparently in the wrong. Spain rightly demanded that the conquered territory be restored and Jackson disciplined. This the administration did not see fit to do because of the popular approval of Jackson's act. After an investigation in the cabinet and in Congress, pushed by one of Jackson's rivals, the hero of New Orleans was acquitted of violating his instructions and became more than ever the hero of the Southwest. As a result, Spain,



ROUTES TO THE WEST, 1815-1825

seeing the impossibility of long retaining the colony, accepted Monroe's offer to pay the \$5,000,000 in damages owed American citizens by Spain (1819), and ceded the territory to the United States. The purchase treaty defined the Louisiana boundary at the Sabine River instead of the Rio Grande, which the United States had claimed, and ratified the seizure of West Florida.

In 1821 Florida was occupied, and Jackson was rewarded with its governorship. The United States now controlled the Atlantic coast without a break from Maine to Spanish Texas, and another foreign power had been eliminated as a near neighbor.

Internal Improvements. Nationalists became patrons of internal improvements. Despite Madison's veto of the grant of the second National Bank bonus for internal improvements and Monroe's unfriendliness, the national government contributed \$2,000,000 toward the building of roads and canals and took stock in such ventures. In the states there was no hesitancy in giving aid. Private companies, unaided, could not obtain sufficient capital for such large undertakings. States entered the road-and-canal-building era with no misgivings and with bright faith in America's economic future. If internal trade was to prosper, good communications between the coast and the interior must be developed regardless of cost.

The Erie Canal. Business leaders of New York, headed by Governor De Witt Clinton, had long conceived the well-nigh impossible project of connecting the Hudson River with the Great Lakes. Finally, in 1817, the legislature by a narrow majority approved the plan of a canal, and digging commenced with elaborate ceremonies at Rome, New York, on Independence Day. De Witt Clinton turned the first shovelful of earth, and Irish laborers, with pick and shovel and barrow, completed the job. Clinton's Big Ditch, as it was derisively called by opponents, was finished in eight years. It was long one of the world's engineering wonders — this ditch of 363 miles in length, 4 feet deep, and 40 feet broad, with 83 locks to take care of Lake Erie's elevation of 563 feet over the Hudson at Albany. It was a gala day when the worthies of New York journeyed in a string of canal boats drawn by horses running along the towpath, from

Erie to Albany and thence down the Hudson to New York City. Along the way the cannon captured by Perry and MacDonough thundered the progress. And at New York Harbor the ceremonies ended with the wedding of the waters, kegs of Lake Erie water having been carried for this purpose.

Canal boats carrying from 30 to 40 tons were soon bringing the produce of the Lakes region to New York wharves. Cost of transportation was reduced from \$32 to \$1 a ton for 100 miles. In a few years tolls more than paid for the canal (\$7,500,000) and its upkeep. Lands along the canal rose in value; towns like Albany, Schenectady, Rome, Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester became lively centers. The West had an easy outlet to the sea. Great Lakes shipping developed. New York became the American metropolis, the port of entry and export for the hinterland. Philadelphia was soon outdistanced. The rise of New York merchants and the growth of fortunes in the import and export trade were marvelous. Immigration from the East and from Europe found its way up the Hudson and over the canal into the West. Truly the importance of Clinton's Ditch can hardly be exaggerated.

Canal-Building Era. An elaborate system of canals soon connected New York rivers and lakes with the Erie Canal. The immediate success of New York State inaugurated an era of canal-building. The Hudson was connected with the upper waters of the Delaware and thence by a short railroad to the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania built the Union Canal, connecting Philadelphia with the Susquehanna River, in order to prevent the business of a large section of the state from going down the Susquehanna to Baltimore. The Delaware and Raritan Canal linked Philadelphia with New York, and the Chesapeake and Delaware gave a water route to Baltimore. Menaced by the Erie Canal, Pennsylvania spent a huge sum in building a canal and a portage railway (to draw the boats over the mountains) which would join Philadelphia with Pittsburgh and the Ohio River. This strange canal-road was a success until it was superseded twenty years later by the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, connecting Georgetown in the District of Columbia with Harpers Ferry and Cumberland, was built by Maryland with some national and local aid. Virginia completed some of Washington's projects for improving the James River navigation and sought to connect the James



RIVER TRANSPORTATION

From an old engraving

with the Kanawha River and the West. Charleston and New Orleans built local canals; and Kentucky constructed a most important waterway around the Falls of the Ohio.

New England improved its river beds and constructed a number of canals: Boston to Worcester, Providence to Worcester, and New Haven to Springfield. Western states, aided by national grants of land and proceeds from land sales, undertook ambitious projects of canals and turnpikes linking Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois cities with the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. This pioneer region was built in advance of business demands and thus came to grief. Overbuilding of canals and roads and the sinking of \$100,000,000 in their construction brought on the panic of 1837. Then speculative canal-building ceased and the railroad era commenced.

Inland Waterways. Because of the war and the completion of the Erie Canal, Great Lakes shipping increased rapidly. *Walk-in-the-Water* (1818), the first Lakes steamboat, was replaced by a fleet which in 1830 was carrying 30,000 prospective settlers from Buffalo to Western lake ports. Steamboats were plying the Ohio, Mississippi, and even the distant Missouri rivers and their tributaries. River towns like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans were advancing by 1830 to a point which guaranteed their future prosperity. In 1817 it took twenty-five days to go from Louisville to New Orleans, but only eight days in 1827. In 1818 there were twenty steamers on Western rivers, and in 1830 over two hundred, or about a sixth of the number in service by 1850. This will indicate the rapid advance of inland navigation and the resultant prosperity of river towns and the agricultural areas which they tapped.

Immigration to 1820. Much of America's tremendous growth and development was due to European immigration. The number of immigrants between 1790 and 1820 has been estimated at 250,000. Not until the Napoleonic Wars and our War of 1812 were concluded did the annual immigration reach 10,000. While there were some French from France and the West Indies, the bulk of the newcomers were from the British Isles. A considerable number were liberals and radicals, like the scientist Dr. Priestley, or rebels from the North and South of Ireland who had participated in the revolt of the United Irishmen in 1798 or in Robert Emmet's uprising.¹ Times were bad in Great Britain; low wages, unemployment, men replaced by the new machinery, antimachinery riots, enormous prices for grain and bread, and severe repression of disorders increased emigration.² On the other hand America was passing through a boom period.

¹ Among the Irish rebels there were intellectuals, editors, and schoolmasters: W. J. McNevin, graduate of Vienna, physician and chemist, and professor in the College of Physicians; Thomas Addis Emmet, a noted lawyer, as well as other kin of the rebel martyr; Thomas O'Connor, editor of the *Shamrock* (1810-1817) and author of a *History of the War of 1812*, and father of the famous jurist Charles O'Connor; and William O'Brien and Hugh McGinnis, early bankers and contractors.

² Economic and social conditions after the war were even worse in Ireland than in England. Our agent in 1814 wrote from Dublin to Bayard: "The population

Cheap lands, good wages, plenty of labor on turnpikes, canals, and in mines, attracted British workers, sailors, miners, artisans, and agricultural laborers. And it was labor America needed.

The Federalists had little sympathy for European rebels and none for the Irish. They feared immigrants, partly because the newcomers were passing into the Jeffersonian faction. The Republicans had supported the Irish Revolt of 1798, pointing out how similar were its causes to those of our own Revolution. They opposed the Alien and Sedition Laws, and restored the naturalization period to five years. With vision, they appealed to the newcomers. A leading Republican paper, commenting in 1812 on Federalist opposition to the war, declared: "Would to heaven we had 100,000 such Irishmen in exchange for 10,000 American tories: the Irishmen in that case would be under a government they would love and in defence of its principles, they would gallantly conquer or gloriously die, and then might our tories fight and die for their good old king and in defence of their beloved constitution." In 1816 another paper carried a typical item: "The depreciation of labor and the distressing tumults in the interior of Ireland have driven many valuable manufacturers and hundreds of farmers to our shores, which they will enrich and fertilize, whilst they in return receive comfort and protection."

Immigration (1820-1830). America was advertised as a land of opportunity by the War of 1812, a large number of guide books,

appeared to me to be in a state of starving misery. . . . From my own observation I ceased to wonder that such numbers of that people should be so constantly flocking to our happy country." In 1817 the Shamrock Society printed "Hints to Irishmen . . . who intend. . . a Permanent Residence in America," which contained splendid advice. As men of virtue and industry succeed, it warned against liquor: "The pernicious habit is to be guarded against as scrupulously for political as moral considerations. Civil liberty everywhere rests on self respect, while degradation . . . is one of the causes of despotism."

Immigrants were urged to work until they had money to take up land. Aside from tutorships in the South, they were told that there was little opportunity for literary men. Wages were reported good (artisans, \$2 a day, and labor, \$1 to \$1.25) with work plentiful, especially with the Erie Canal digging about to start. Clerks and shopkeepers were not wanted. Naturalization was recommended. Foreigners were said to be well treated. New York was estimated to have 12,000 Irish, and probably other cities had relatively as many. This pamphlet carried signatures which had weight in Ireland, and was widely read.

and European travelers' accounts. Hostility to immigrants grew less. Labor was needed in the newly established factories and on canals and roads. The West cried out for settlers to develop its stretches of wilderness. America offered a refuge for the impoverished masses of Europe. In 1820 the influx was so great that the government ordered that statistics of immigration be kept at our ports of entry. Hence the number of entrants is known with fair accuracy since that date. For the decade 143,000 were counted, of whom about 7000 were Germans, 8500 French, 25,000 English, Welsh, and Scottish, and about 50,000 Irish.

Immigration thereafter becomes a tremendous factor in our national progress. The immigrant of mature years for the most part has been raised at the expense of his native land and comes to America ready to work. If the cost of raising a child is estimated at \$5000, it can be seen what a huge sum the millions of immigrants have contributed to America in the way of brain-and-brawn capital. The United States offered the immigrant a home and freedom and opportunity, and the immigrant in turn gave his labor and his life and aided in developing the unsurpassed natural resources of the United States.

Latin-American Revolutions. The Spanish colonies were virtually independent from 1808 to 1814, but all save Buenos Aires returned to their Spanish allegiance when Napoleon was driven from Spain and Ferdinand was restored to the kingship. The taste of independence and free trade made the Spanish yoke irksome. With British aid (for England was anxious to retain the trade which she had established with the Spanish lands), a general revolt occurred. The example of America's success was ever in the mind of Latin-American leaders. Argentina, Chile, and Colombia won their independence (1816-1824), and republics were formed under the famous patriots San Martín and Bolívar. Mexico became an independent empire under Iturbide, and Brazil an empire under her Portuguese prince (1822). Considerable trade had been developed between the United States and these new nations. American merchants like Stephen Girard of Philadelphia (our largest capitalist) made fortunes in Latin-American commerce.

American Attitude toward Latin States. Ardent American nationalists, headed by Clay, preached immediate recognition of the rebel states, though their governments were still unsettled. They would have the United States play the part France had done in our Revolution. Monroe was more cautious. He would do nothing to antagonize Spain while negotiations for the purchase of Florida were in progress, for Spain, proud as she was weak, might refuse our offers. Finally (1822) the President recognized Buenos Aires, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, and Guatemala, and Congress appropriated money to maintain diplomatic missions in their capitals.

Possible European Intervention. The quadruple alliance of Austria, Prussia, France, and Russia, from which England had withdrawn, was ruling Europe with an iron hand, stamping out with military force liberal movements in Portugal, Naples, Piedmont, and Spain. The alliance was agreed that no further revolutions of the French order should be permitted in Europe. Spain urged that the powers intervene in America and aid in the recovery of her provinces. France was already hoping for a grant of Mexico or Cuba, as was Russia for California. American relations with Russia were not cordial, for the Czar had recently proclaimed his ownership of the Pacific coast as far south as 50° latitude, several degrees below our northern claims. American statesmen saw the danger of such intervention, after the United States had recognized the South American nations. They realized that such neighbors would make necessary a large standing army, a navy, and costly fortifications. Rivalries and boundary disputes would breed wars in the New World much as they had in the Old World.

George Canning, English secretary for foreign affairs, was opposed to Spain and intervention. He wished to protect the British trade with Latin America, which had become one of England's best markets for manufactured goods. He was no friend of republics and certainly in 1812 had been one of America's bitterest opponents, but he wished to prevent empire-building by any European nation, lest it upset the balance of power in Europe. He agreed that Spain, which had never recognized

their independence, had a right to reconquer her rebel colonies. Canning urged our minister to ask America to join with England in a protest against intervention by the quadruple alliance. This brought matters to a crisis.

✓ Monroe's Message. Such joint protest appealed in a general way to Jefferson and Madison, with whom Monroe conferred. In case the European powers persisted, a general war might result, and it would be advantageous for the Americas to have the support of England's fleet. It was Adams who feared England and Canning, and suspected England's desire for Latin-American territory. Adams warned that America must not come in "as a cockboat in the wake of the British man-of-war." Calhoun and Crawford were in doubt when the matter was discussed in the cabinet. The message to Congress in 1823 which contained the Monroe Doctrine was the joint work of the President and his Secretary of State, the latter dictating the principles and the former tempering them into more cautious and diplomatic language, to the following effect: We have not interfered in European affairs; the American continents are not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by European powers; ^{us} any attempt to extend their system to the Americas would be dangerous to our peace and safety; with existing colonies we have not interfered and will not interfere; any attempt to repress the nations that have won independence and which we have recognized would be considered an unfriendly act; and we could not view with indifference an attempt of the allied powers to enforce their political system on any portion of the American continents.

R. Imp.
✓ Reception of Monroe Doctrine. Americans read the message with a thrill of pride and righteous strength. Canning was aggrieved that his offer had not been accepted, but three years later in Parliament boastfully claimed credit: "If France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." Bolivar and the Latin leaders were pleased, but gave England too much credit. The French foreign minister believed that the bold pronouncement should be resisted. At any rate all thoughts of

intervention ended. Russia ceded to the United States her doubtful claims south of the present Alaskan boundary.

The Panama Congress. In 1826 President Adams and Secretary Clay favored the appointment of representatives to a general congress of American nations at Panama. They saw possibilities of improving our relations, but the opposition, for political reasons, fought the proposal. Southern Congressmen did not favor a convention in which representatives of the negro republic of Haiti would be accredited. The administration won by a close margin and envoys were appointed, but nothing came of the convention nor did our delegates arrive before its conclusion. Yet, in the light of today, this first step toward improved relations with the neighboring republics was significant.

The Breaking Forth of the Slavery Question. Slavery as such is not mentioned in the Constitution; yet the institution is obviously referred to three times. Southern property rights in slaves were in effect guaranteed, though regulation of slavery was apparently left to the states. In 1793 Congress passed a fugitive-slave law which made it easy for a planter to regain an escaped negro, but which gave little justice to a negro suspected of being a fugitive. Congress passed an act against the further importation of slaves, the year after England had abolished the slave trade (1807). There was little opposition on the part of the South, for the cotton gin and the increased demand for cotton had not as yet made slavery profitable. As the law was not strictly enforced, slaves were still smuggled into the country, though an act of 1820 made slave-running, like piracy, punishable by death.

Slavery had become sectional in that it was practically confined to states south of Pennsylvania and south of the Ohio River. As slavery had been abolished by the Northern states and as immigration furnished a plentiful and superior labor supply, New Englanders developed a moral hatred of the system. Quakers and reformers from time to time petitioned Congress for its abolition, but such petitions were quietly pigeonholed without discussion. In 1816 a Colonization Society was founded to send freed negroes, if they could be induced to go, and some

slaves who were purchased from their masters, to Liberia in Africa, which had been made a negro republic. This society had a long existence and a splendid membership, but accomplished relatively little. Planters freed fewer slaves as the price of negroes rose; and as slavery became essential to the economic life of the South, her Congressmen watched slave-owning interests more closely.

The Admission of Missouri. Missouri Territory, with over 60,000 population, petitioned for statehood in 1818, but action was postponed. This aroused suspicion. Missouri had been settled by Southerners who brought their slaves with them. The French settlers owned slaves, and as their property rights had been guaranteed, proslavery men urged that slavery had a legal existence in the trans-Mississippi region. Nor would they admit the Northern contention, that Congress had the right to require the abolition of slavery before a territory could enter the Union. In the admission of other states nothing had been said concerning slavery, for the states were clearly in the North or in the South. Here it was a critical issue; for if Missouri was admitted as a slave state, all states carved out of the Louisiana Purchase might justly claim this privilege. The South was aroused.

In 1819 there were eleven free and eleven slave states. This gave the South an equal voice with the North and West in the Senate. She was about to lose her hold on the presidency as she had lost control of the House. Because of immigration, the North had grown more rapidly, and hence her representation in the House of Representatives had become larger. The South was no longer the ruling section. Yet if half the seats in the Senate could be retained, the South, voting as a unit and with some Northern support, could prevent any unfavorable legislation or even interference with the expansion of slavery. In 1819 Massachusetts granted separation to Maine if within a certain time she could gain admission as a state. This would break the even balance in the Senate. The debates were heated. Men on either side lost their tempers and became unreasonable. Muttered threats of Southern secession became open. The debate was carried to the country, where it raged even more fiercely in

newspapers and in mass meetings. Jefferson, worried, said that it all came as suddenly as a fire bell at night.

✓ **The Missouri Compromise (1820).** Sectionalism had broken out. Again the unity of the nation was threatened. The "era of good feeling" seemed doomed. The disturbance had come like a bolt from the sky, it seemed; but in reality the North and South had grown far apart in their views of slavery. It was a festering sore, a slumbering volcano. Could it again be put to rest?

A compromise was brought about. Maine was admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. At the southern boundary of Missouri ($36^{\circ} 30'$) a line was drawn across the Louisiana Purchase, with the stipulation that future states north of this line should be free. Thus the line between slavery and freedom had been drawn from the coast to the peaks of the Rocky Mountains. While not the framer of the bill, Clay won attention by steering it through Congress. Moderate men saved the day. New Englanders, by their opposition, incurred Southern hatred. The slave men of Missouri stirred up further trouble by drafting a constitution which forbade the immigration of free negroes, who would breed dissatisfaction among slaves. Northern Congressmen held up this constitution, until Clay (the "Pacifictor") and others patched up a "Second Missouri Compromise," as it is sometimes called, by which it was agreed that Missouri should never interpret the clause to lessen the rights of citizens of other states. Therewith the issue closed, and moderate men and ambitious politicians hoped that the slavery question would rise no more.

Election of 1824. When Monroe's retirement became imminent the "era of good feeling" gave way to a bitter factional struggle between candidates for the presidency. Who should succeed Monroe? The Republican caucus with hardly a third of its membership present named Monroe's favorite, Crawford. The caucus was severely criticized as an undemocratic method of nomination by an administration clique. King Caucus was doomed. Never again did it name a presidential candidate; soon it was to be supplanted by the party convention. Calhoun too had presidential hopes, which he set aside for an assured

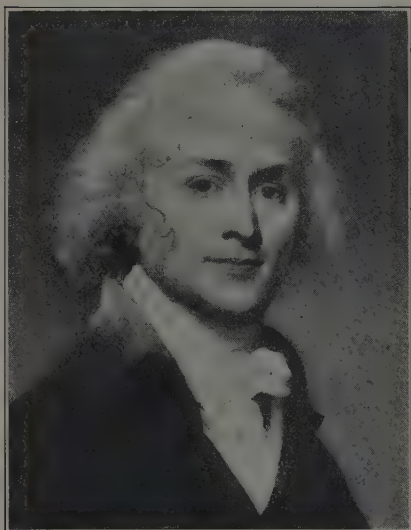
second place on the ticket. Adams was placed before the country by New England journals and legislatures. In much the same way the West in legislatures and at barbecues named as candidates Jackson and Clay.

No man had an organization behind him. Only Adams had a united section. As all the men were of the same political camp, none of them had a program. It was a heated campaign of factions, of personalities, and of charges. In eighteen states where the people voted for electors, the vote was light, but Jackson obtained the highest total. Crawford, who had suffered a stroke of paralysis, was dishonestly reported at death's door and hence ran a poor third. In the six states where the legislatures appointed the electors there was cunning campaigning by the friends of the candidates and plenty of bargaining in an effort to obtain favorable electors.

Congress elects Adams. The vote, counted in joint session of the two Houses of Congress, gave Jackson 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. No one had the necessary majority. Calhoun, with over two thirds of the electoral vote, was vice president. The House proceeded to elect a president from the three highest on the list, according to the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. If Clay had obtained third place, he might have been named, because of his power over the House. As it was, both Adams and Jackson men sought his support. When he came out for the New Englander instead of Jackson, his fellow Westerner and rival, there were charges that he had been bought by the promise of a cabinet seat. Jackson's supporters always believed there was no end of corrupt trading of votes to count out the "people's candidate and friend." When the first vote was taken by states Adams had the required majority.

The Adams Administration. Adams had hardly been inaugurated in his suit of homespun when a united opposition of Jackson, Crawford, Calhoun, and Van Buren men viciously assaulted his administration. His message urging protection of American manufactures, internal improvements, a national university, and observatories, was denounced as a program of dangerous centralization. Yet his very opponents had voted

for the tariff of 1824 and appropriations for canals. His election was described as a "steal," brought about by corrupt means to set aside the will of the people. In Antimasonry¹ centers Adams was called a Mason, and forged proof of his membership appeared. Yet Adams was actively opposed to the order. Opposition papers stopped at nothing to insult the President.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

In Congress the opposition sought his ruin by fighting every measure, good or bad, which he favored, by holding up appointments to the Panama Congress, and by forcing through the ruinous tariff of 1828.

Adams did little to protect himself. Dealing with shrewd politicians, he was helpless. Van Buren turned New York to Jackson. Calhoun, a member of his own official family, proved untrue. His Postmaster-General used the patronage to injure rather than strengthen the presidential machine. Like his father, Adams made

few friends, for he was cold, distant, and scholarly. He was a statesman, not a politician. He was an honest man with all the unlovable virtues of New England; he was not a demagogue, but democratic enough in his way. He would not pool the offices

¹ Antimasonry flourished (1827-1835) in western Pennsylvania, upper New York, New England, and certain parts of the West where Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists were numerous. Masonry as a secret society was denounced as a political menace, and Antimasons pledged themselves not to vote for candidates who were Masons. The party gained strength but never became a national force. It probably prevented Masonry from becoming a controlling political factor in American life. Strangely enough, in some sections the Antimasons were anti-Catholic in tone, partly because they associated Irish Catholics with Jacksonian democracy and Jackson was a strong Mason.

of state to win powerful political supporters. He would not use the patronage within his gift to promote his own interests and his election for a second term. He aroused the suspicion of Southerners and Westerners because he was a New Englander and a moderate Puritan, and challenged the doubts of Republicans who considered him a "convert Federalist." Adams was destined to fail of reelection in 1828.

Jackson and the People Win. The three-year campaign opened when Jackson resigned from the Senate and permitted the Tennessee legislature to nominate him for 1828. Other legislatures followed. Van Buren electioneered the country. The vice president in Adams's administration became Jackson's running mate. The canvass was made on the "wrong of 1825" and the magnetic character of General Jackson, who was heralded as a frontiersman, an anti-English spokesman, the hero of New Orleans, an Indian-fighter, the winner of Florida, a hardy democrat without much education, a stanch Mason, a duelist, and a loyal friend. No man could be more decidedly Adams's opposite. Jackson was of the people, trained in camp and on the frontier, and typical of the Irish pioneer of the Tennessee region. Adams was of the best blood of Massachusetts, trained at Harvard, in the courts, and in diplomacy, and representative of the Boston intellectuals. Jackson was self-made; Adams was well-born. Jackson was an improvident planter, while Adams drew heavy dividends from his investments.

The people decided. In all but Delaware and South Carolina they voted directly for the electors, giving Jackson a good majority. In the electoral college Adams received only 83 votes to 178 for Jackson. New England, New Jersey, and Delaware were solidly behind Adams, who also obtained a fair share of the vote of New York and Maryland. Pennsylvania and the South and the West were just as solidly Jacksonian. A new sectionalism had appeared.

The Catholic Church in 1815. Archbishop Carroll, on his death in 1815, left a well-organized, thriving Church. A stanch nationalist, he had preserved the Church from foreign influences, whether French or Irish. In 1808 the dioceses of New York, Phil-

adelphia, Boston, and Bardstown were created. At the request of Pope Pius VII the Sulpicians agreed to continue the seminary in Baltimore, which they have done to this day with noble results. St. Mary's College had been established close by for boys (1805), and Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, had been founded by a scholarly French exile, Father John Dubois. Mother Seton, a distinguished convert and Sister of Charity, erected a school for girls, St. Joseph's Academy near Emmitsburg. Georgetown and the Visitation Academy were doing good work.

Catholic Growth from 1815 to 1830. A Catholic population of about 200,000 in 1820 increased to 300,000 in 1830. New dioceses were created at Charleston (Bishop John England), Cincinnati (1821, Bishop Edward Fenwick, a Dominican), Mobile (1829, Bishop Portier), and St. Louis (1826, Bishop Joseph Rosati). Archbishops Neale, Marechal, and Whitfield were worthy successors of Carroll, administering the affairs of the Church with skillful ability. The last-named called together the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829. The cathedral, then the show church of the United States, was dedicated in 1821. Financial aid for the Western missions was contributed by the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the German Leopoldine Society.

In New England growth was slow, but when saintly Bishop Cheverus was called to higher honors in France, there were over 2000 Catholics in Boston and vicinity and friends in all creeds who petitioned against his departure. No man did more in early New England to make the Church respected. By 1828 Bishop Benedict Fenwick, S.J., had over 14,000 souls in his New England diocese, of whom half were in Boston. In 1827 small churches were built in Portland, Hartford, and Providence. In New York progress was more rapid. In 1810 St. Peter's Church, with 14,000 communicants, was relieved by the erection of old St. Patrick's, Mott Street, then quite out in the fields. The court of review presided over by De Witt Clinton decided in favor of the secrecy of the confessional — a most important decision. In 1823 a little chapel was opened in Brooklyn. Three years later Bishop Dubois counted 125,000 in his diocese, of whom 25,000

were in New York City. Immigration had its effects. Wherever canals were built, there grew up Catholic churches paid for by Irish laborers from their hard-earned pittance of from fifty to seventy-five cents a day. And yet they eked out a scant living and sent money home to bring out their families. It is well that the present generation should ponder upon these facts. In 1815 there



THE OLD ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL ON MOTT STREET, NEW YORK

were but a few hundred Catholics in Kentucky, Tennessee, and in the Old Northwest, outside of Detroit, which had a congregation of 2000. By 1830 numbers were increased by German settlers on the land and Irish workers engaged in road and canal construction. The future of the Church appeared brighter as the various states granted religious toleration as far as the law was concerned.¹

¹ The American historian George Ticknor wrote of a papal audience (1818): "The Pope talked a good deal about our universal toleration, and praised it as much as if it were a doctrine of his own religion, adding that he thanked God continually for having at last driven all thoughts of persecution from the world, since persuasion was the only possible means of promoting piety, though violence might promote hypocrisy." — *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, p. 173

References

A. B. HULBERT, *Paths of Inland Commerce* (Chronicles); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 434-524; EDWARD CHANNING and M. LANSING, *The Story of the Great Lakes*; O. P. AUSTIN, *Steps in the Expansion of our Territory*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, Vol. IV; MCMASTER, Vol. V, pp. 1-488; K. C. BABCOCK, *Rise of American Nationality*; CARL SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*; R. C. H. CATTERALL, *Second Bank of the United States*; A. B. HART, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*; D. Y. THOMAS and R. G. CLELAND both have books on *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*; SEYMOUR DUNBAR, *History of Travel in America* (4 vols.); R. L. RUSK, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*; H. B. FULLER, *Purchase of Florida*; R. C. MCGRANE, *Panic of 1837*; LOGAN ESAREY, *History of Indiana*; SOLON BUCK, *Illinois in 1818*; MCMASTER, *Stephen Girard*; AXEL LARSON, *British Colonial Policy and the Monroe Doctrine*; WILLIAM COBBETT, *A Year's Residence in the United States*; PAUL WILSTACH, *Correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, 1812-1826*; J. T. MORSE, JR., and BROOKS ADAMS have written lives of John Quincy Adams; D. C. GILMAN, *James Monroe*; MADAME DE BARBEREY, *Mother Elizabeth Seton*; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 38 ff., 52 ff., 141 ff., 277 ff., 415 ff., and Vol. V, pp. 301 ff.; J. H. LAMOTT, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati*; W. H. BENNETT, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York*; C. G. HERBERMANN, *Sulpicians in the United States*; SISTER COLUMBIA FOX, *Bishop John M. David*; P. GUILDAY, *History of the Catholic Church in Virginia, 1815-1822 and Life of Bishop England*; J. G. SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States (1815-1843)*; VICTOR O'DANIEL, O. P., *Bishop Fenwick*; G. SHAUGHNESSY, *Has the Immigrant kept the Faith?*

CHAPTER VII

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY TO LINCOLN

I. THE REIGN OF ANDREW JACKSON

The Rule of the People. Jackson's inauguration suggested, more than Democratic campaign cries had done, that the people were in the saddle. In a crush of humanity — high and low, statesmen and office-seekers, servants, negroes, and plain voters — Jackson made his way to the east steps of the Capitol to take the oath of office from Chief Justice Marshall. In the meantime Adams had vacated the White House. He was cut to the heart that Jackson should believe him capable of the acts charged to him, which formed the basis of the malicious personal attacks which characterized the campaign. Jackson and his party were jostled on their way to the White House. Once there, the people took charge. It was a happy drinking mob, upsetting and ruining the furniture, as men with dirty boots stood on chairs to gain a better view of the political celebrities. Finally the crowd adjourned to the lawn, when wise servants carried out the refreshments and dispensed them to hungry and thirsty Democrats.

To Federalists' this was democracy run wild. Bitterly did conservatives assail the rule of the mob. It was a strange beginning, but soon the personally democratic Jackson appeared as a domineering character. Then the same critics were to describe his rule as the "reign of King Andrew I."

The "Kitchen Cabinet." Jackson was not the man to take much advice, but his chief counselor was his Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, especially after he had broken with Calhoun.

It was to his "kitchen cabinet" — as the group of young friends and journalists was dubbed by critics — that Jackson turned. The shrewd observer Major William Lewis, who lived at the White House, was his political mentor. To Alexander Hamilton's

son he appealed for advice—ironically enough, on the Bank question. It was an interesting group, not unlike the younger men with whom Roosevelt played tennis and exercised and talked politics and sports and literature.

The Spoils System. A hungry horde of office-seekers pressed for places on the Federal pay roll. Loyal to his friends seeking office for themselves or their retainers, Jackson faced a



© Detroit Publishing Company

ANDREW JACKSON

difficult problem. No matter how many Adams men might be dropped from post offices, collectorships, consular service, and clerkships, the Democratic aspirants for places could not be satisfied, because there were ten candidates for every vacancy. Van Buren, who had seen the offices and public contracts in New York go to the victorious party, advised Jackson to take care of his friends. A later New York politician, William Marcy, cryptically expressed the policy: "To the victors belong the spoils."

In the first year there were two thousand removals. In all about 10 per cent of the office-holders were dismissed for political reasons, fully ten times as many as had been removed by all preceding presidents. Some of Jackson's appointees in customs offices and in the land department proved dishonest rascals who cheated the government. Thereafter on a change of party or even on a change of administration within the same party the spoils system became the rule, with a general turnout of officers, no matter how efficient, even to clerks and scrubwomen. This meant an inefficient and often corrupt civil service of partisan favorites.

Jackson and the Bank. Jackson displayed opposition to the National Bank, declaring in his message of 1829 that many men doubted the constitutionality and desirability of the Bank. The Bank, under its shrewd, domineering president, Nicholas Biddle, entered politics in earnest. Jackson was aware that the Bank had fought his election. Now Biddle and his branch presidents, all political powers in their localities, commenced to lobby for renewal of the charter, which would expire in 1836. Loans were made on easy terms and Bank stock sold below par to win Congressmen and powerful politicians. An active lobby was maintained in Washington and some of the state capitals. The Bank endowed political writers and financed newspapers. Biddle was in close correspondence with members of the cabinet.

Against Biddle's judgment, Clay sought the recharter in 1832. The bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by Jackson on the score that the Bank was unconstitutional and a menace to democracy and pure politics. It was thought that the President would not risk his reelection by a high-handed veto, which would weaken his chances in the Eastern states, but he actually declared the Bank unconstitutional in the face of a Supreme Court decision to the contrary. Biddle printed 30,000 copies of the veto message and distributed them as an anti-Jackson campaign document; but voters, on reading the message, became the more attached to their democratic President.

Jackson versus the Bank. Jackson took the issue to the people. The old Jeffersonian Republican party accepted the once opprobrious term of its enemies—the "Democratic party." The opposition, which was made up of followers of Adams, Clay, and Calhoun, the descendants of Federalists, and all anti-Jackson Republicans, took the name "Whig." The Whig party in England, as a liberal organization, had opposed royal pretensions, and the American Whigs pictured themselves fighting for liberty and the Constitution against "King" Andrew Jackson's usurpation of autocratic power. Henry Clay bore their standard, and the Bank financed the campaign.

It was Jackson versus the Bank—the monopolistic "monster," as Democrats portrayed the institution. It was the people

against the moneyed power. And the Bank showed its power. Never has a small group of capitalists exercised more control over national finances. By calling in bank notes they could reduce the money in circulation by a third, thus making loans difficult to obtain and raising interest to prohibitive rates of from 8 to 15 and even 24 per cent. This was done on the eve of the election, when both the West and South needed easy loans to move the cotton and grain crops. The Bank caused a financial panic in order to teach voters that they must not support Jackson. But Democrats stood solid, and Jacksonian leaders used the artificially created shortage of money as the best argument of the "monster's" menace to popular government.

The Bank, or Clay, drew a heavy popular vote, but carried only six states (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky) with 49 electoral votes, to Jackson's 219. The people won. The laboring, immigrant, and small-farmer classes of the East were in alliance with the West and South. Jacksonian democracy swept the country.

Removal of Deposits. The people had spoken, and Jackson was ready to enforce their mandate. The "monster" must be crushed. He determined to remove the government funds from the Bank's vaults. To do this, a Secretary of the Treasury favorable to the project must be found. Livingston was sent from the State Department to the court of France, McLane was advanced from the Treasury to the State Department, and William Duane, son of the famous Jeffersonian editor of the Pennsylvania *Aurora*, was appointed to the Treasury. Duane was a sore disappointment. Coming under Biddle's influence, he refused to do Jackson's bidding. He was therewith removed, and Roger B. Taney,¹ an anti-Bank man, was appointed to the vacancy.

¹ Roger Brooke Taney (1777-1864), of an old Maryland Catholic family, graduated from Dickinson College and read law with an Annapolis judge. He married a sister of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner." He was elected to the Maryland legislature as a Federalist; and later, as a Democrat, he was Baltimore's leading lawyer and an attorney-general of the state. Jackson gave him the Attorney-Generalship, later naming him Secretary of the Treasury as a recess appointee. The Senate refused to concur, as it did by postponement when he was named a justice of the Supreme Court. Jackson persisted and named

Taney gradually withdrew the funds from the Bank as they were needed to pay Federal expenditures, and deposited incoming moneys in selected "pet" banks of the South and West. This gradual removal prevented a panic, though Biddle endeavored to force hard times as the first step in another campaign for a recharter.

When Congress met, Clay prevented the Senate's approval of Taney's appointment. Jackson thereafter appointed Taney to succeed Chief Justice Marshall. Clay's resolution censuring Jackson for his removal of Duane was carried in the Senate. Jackson denounced the action, maintaining that he had a right to remove a cabinet officer without the consent of the Senate and that Congress had the power of impeachment but not of censure. Both Jackson and the Whig leaders well knew that no Congress would commence impeachment proceedings. In 1837 Senator Benton of Missouri obtained the erasure of the censure from the Senate journals. In the meantime Biddle obtained a Pennsylvania charter for his bank, which still flourishes in Philadelphia. His branch banks in turn obtained charters from their respective states.

force act, gave power
Increased Power of the Presidency. Under Jackson the powers of the presidency increased. He regarded himself as the representative of the whole people and thought of senators as representatives of single states, and representatives as delegates from local districts. Justly interpreting his victory, he became president in a more powerful sense than any of his predecessors. This was seen in his veto of the Bank bill, and in that of the Maysville road bill on the score that this Kentucky internal improvement was favored only by land speculators and contractors

Taney Chief Justice, and the Senate, despite the opposition of Clay and Webster, ratified his appointment (1836). A good jurist with strong Southern views, he was much denounced by Northerners for his Dred Scott decision, the outstanding case of his career. He himself was not a slaveholder, having freed his slaves early in life and provided monthly pensions for the aged negroes who were unable to look after themselves. There are memorials in Baltimore and Annapolis and the customary bust among those of deceased Chief Justices in the Supreme Court-chamber. Taney was the first Catholic to attain a cabinet position and also the first on the Supreme Court. (See B. C. Steiner's *Life of Taney*.)

and should not be aided by the national government. It took courage to oppose Federal aid on the old doctrine of strict construction. In his second administration Jackson was even less sparing of the veto power.

His predecessors had used the veto but nine times, while Jackson vetoed twelve important bills. His vetoes were final, for Congress was unable to command a two-thirds vote to override them. He was the first president to use the pocket veto; that is, failure to sign a bill passed late in the session. If Congress adjourned within ten days of sending a bill to the president for signature, his failure to sign it was equivalent to a veto. Thereafter presidents displayed less hesitation about using the veto power. Jackson's power was also seen in his vigorous attitude toward the nullification movements of South Carolina and Georgia.

Calhoun's "Exposition" (1828). The tariff of 1828 was violently opposed by the South, which realized that Southern manufactures could not be developed with slave labor. This being the case, the tariff proved ruinous, for it raised prices of all imports. The South, as an importer of manufactured articles, was injured, while the tariff enriched the manufacturing North. The Southern view was ably advanced in the "Exposition," later known to be Calhoun's work. The "Exposition" declared that the tariff was unconstitutional because it taxed one section for the benefit of another section. It also maintained that any state had a constitutional right to nullify the act within its borders, until the law was sustained by the approval of three fourths of the states. Jackson, as somewhat of a state-rights man and no strong tariff advocate, was supposed to be friendly to this theory.

The Webster-Hayne Debate. South Carolina had succeeded to Virginia's old position of Southern leadership, for cotton rather than tobacco had become the barometer of prosperity. Economically, Virginia had gone backward — her prosperity had vanished, her lands brought poor prices, her sons had gone into the Southwest to start anew. South Carolina's leaders were Calhoun and the scarcely less able Senator Hayne. On the other hand, Massachusetts represented the industrial North, and her spokesman was Daniel Webster. Calhoun had turned

away from the tariff, even as Webster had turned toward protection as his section became industrial. Both men had changed their views, as good politicians, in order to represent the economic needs and advantages of their sections. The debate broke forth in the Senate, and a nation rapidly separating into a North and a South listened intently to its rival oratorical champions.

Hayne, as the spokesman of state rights, denounced the tariff and the East while appealing to the West for support. He



BIRTHPLACE OF DANIEL WEBSTER, SALISBURY, NEW HAMPSHIRE

followed the "Exposition" in his interpretation of the Constitution. He looked backward. His view of the Constitution may have been nearer to those of the framers, but the Constitution had grown since that time. The national theory had advanced, especially after 1815, because of Marshall's accepted interpretation of the Constitution and the growth of Federal power. The whole trend had been away from state rights. The new states and the new immigrants thought of America in national terms. Business was becoming national in scope and required Federal protection as much as foreign trade. The national domain, internal improvements, internal commerce, all suggested the growth of the national idea, and all these came under Federal, not state, laws. Much water had flowed under the bridge since

1789, since the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, and even since the Hartford Convention when the rulers of New England thought in terms of their states and secession.

Webster had become an ardent nationalist. He looked toward the future, and his brilliant oration expressed the national exposition of the Constitution. He denounced state action as set forth in the "Exposition," and pointed to the Supreme Court as the arbiter under the Constitution. The debate decided nothing. It made clear how wide was the division between North and South on the tariff issue, and in the far more important matter of the position of the Federal government in the American system. Would the North and South continue advancing in opposite directions?

Jackson and Calhoun Break. Rarely has a break between two politicians had greater significance than that between Jackson and the Vice President. At the Jefferson's Day banquet (April 13, 1830), which was well attended by party leaders, Jackson, glaring at Calhoun, gave the toast, "Our Federal Union — it must and shall be preserved!" Taken aback, Calhoun slowly but bitterly answered: "The Union — next to our liberty, most dear! May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and by distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union."

Jackson's hostility to Calhoun increased. He learned that it was Calhoun, not Crawford, in Monroe's cabinet who would have censured him for invading Florida. Soon he was to see the Vice President's casting vote in the Senate defeat Van Buren's appointment as minister to England. It was this which made Democrats nominate and elect Van Buren vice president. Jackson's hatred of Calhoun helped to explain his vigorous action in nipping South Carolina nullification at its birth, while he openly sympathized with Georgia in its conflict with the Supreme Court.

Nullification in South Carolina. In his "Address to the People of South Carolina" (1831) Calhoun explained the "nullification" idea of the "Exposition." Congress made matters worse by passing the tariff of 1832, which would go into effect the

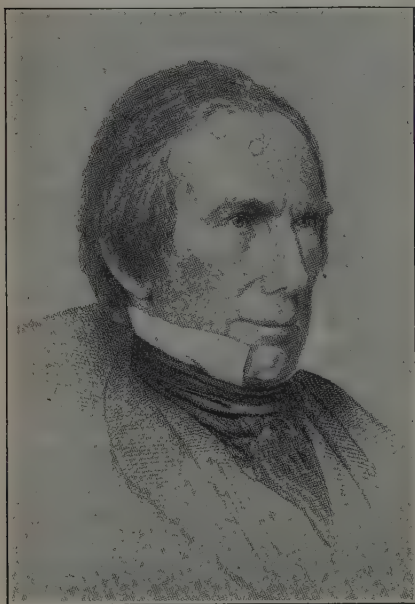
following year. Duties were raised to an average of about 40 per cent. This brought matters to a crisis. To the injurious tariff of 1828 was added this insult of higher protection. South Carolina congressmen appealed to their constituents, "whether the rights and liberties which you received as a precious inheritance from an illustrious ancestry shall be surrendered tamely — or transmitted undiminished to your posterity."

Following the advice of its leaders, the state legislature voted to call a convention to consider the state of affairs. After five days' deliberation the convention, by a vote of 136 to 26, passed the Ordinance of Nullification, declaring the tariff unconstitutional, and null and void within the state of South Carolina. As the ordinance became effective February 1, 1833, the legislature took steps to enforce it by authorizing the governor to call the militia to prevent the collection of duties, and to guarantee double damages to citizens whose goods might be seized by Federal authorities for nonpayment of tariff charges.

Jackson's Stand. Jackson's attitude was not left in doubt. In a slashing proclamation he warned all men that he would enforce the law and called on the people of South Carolina to obey. He sent threatening word to Calhoun and South Carolina congressmen that if they went too far he would hang them as he had hanged English subjects in Florida.

Nullification was a dangerous doctrine. If South Carolina could refuse obedience to an unpopular law, other states from time to time might do the same. Few laws would please all sections. It would mean disunion and the breaking down of the nation. Carried to a logical conclusion, it would mean that a county in South Carolina might refuse obedience to an unpopular state law. Thus nullification would result in the disintegration of the nation and possibly of individual states. What would the South do? Would other states support South Carolina? Had Jackson hesitated, nullification might not have been confined to a single state. Jackson, as commander in chief of the army and navy, prepared to enforce the law. Ships were sent to Charleston Harbor, Fort Moultrie was strengthened, and the number of customs officers was increased.

The Tariff Compromise of 1833. Clay's opportunity was at hand. He came forth with another compromise, which moderate men supported in the interest of peace. Before the tariff of 1832 went into effect a new act was passed, providing for a gradual reduction of rates until by 1842 a 20 per cent level would be



HENRY CLAY

reached — approximately that of 1824. South Carolina had apparently won. At any rate Southerners so claimed. A "Force Act" was also passed which increased the president's power in enforcing Federal laws. This act, which was assaulted as an invasion of state rights, is still on the statute books. It was under this act that Lincoln took the first steps to put down rebellion in 1861 and that later presidents have used Federal troops to quell industrial conflicts and unrest in various states.

South Carolina reassembled its convention and rescinded the Ordinance of

Nullification. It was unfortunate that the dispute could not be definitely decided. It only postponed the eventual struggle.

Georgia and the Cherokee Indians. The Federal government had agreed to remove the Indians from Georgia, but had never done so. As the lands in the Cherokee section were fertile, planters wanted the strip for cotton. The Cherokees refused to sell, and President Adams failed to remove them to a Western reservation. Georgia therewith opened their lands to settlement and extended the state laws over the tribesmen. The Indians appealed to the Supreme Court, which decided (Cherokee Nation

vs. Georgia) that an Indian tribe was not an independent nation but a state under the protection of Congress. It was held that Georgia's attempt to enforce her laws over the Indians was illegal, because they were protected by a treaty agreement which was part of the supreme law of the land (*Worcester vs. Georgia*). Hence a state law in violation of the treaty would be unconstitutional. These decisions established the legal status of an Indian tribe.

Jackson favored Georgia, as he hated Indians. He allowed Georgia to understand that he expected her aid in the coming conflict with South Carolina. Jackson refused to enforce the Supreme Court's decision, and Marshall had no power of enforcement. The Indians were illegally forced out and later accepted lands on an Indian reservation west of the Mississippi.

Removal of the Indians ~~Force. Policy.~~ In the early thirties the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws of the Southwest were removed by the Federal government to reservations in the Arkansas River valley. Under the leadership of Black Hawk the Indians of the Northwest fought in vain to protect their lands from illegal seizures by white squatters. They were decisively defeated at the mouth of the Bad Axe River in Wisconsin and forced to go beyond the Mississippi. It was as a volunteer in the Black Hawk War that Lincoln's public career commenced. The Seminoles of Florida, at first under Osceola, fought valiantly (1835-1842) to retain their hunting lands. In the end they were defeated by Zachary Taylor and placed in the Indian Territory. As many escaped slaves were in the Seminole ranks, antislavery men criticized this long, expensive war as a slaveholders' fight for fugitive negroes. Cruel as the Indian campaigns were, Jackson's removal policy endeared him to the Western expansionists and frontiersmen. And both Taylor and Lincoln were to find their part in the fight an asset when campaigning for the presidency.

America becomes a Democracy. America became a democracy in the Jacksonian era. To some extent this was due to Jackson and his party, but it was really the end of a long, slow movement toward democracy. In a democracy there should be equal opportunity for all citizens to vote, to hold office, to

obtain a common-school education, to learn a trade, to make a living, to gain position or wealth, to worship God in their own manner, and to serve their country or community to the best of their ability. Equality of opportunity should be social, political, economic, and religious, as far as humanly possible.

Political Equality. When Jefferson was elected only Kentucky, Vermont, Ohio, and Tennessee had universal manhood suffrage. By 1824 fifteen states had manhood suffrage without any restriction save residence or a nominal militia service. The extension was fought by Federalists and opposed to the very end by such national leaders as John Adams, Madison, Marshall, Randolph, and Chancellor Kent. In Maryland manhood suffrage was won in 1810, in Connecticut in 1818, in Massachusetts in 1821, and in New York in 1826. The new states granted full suffrage as a matter of course, and the old states were forced to do likewise. To retain native laborers for the factories and to attract immigrants, the East was compelled to grant greater political privileges in competition with the frontier.

The aristocratic character of later Jeffersonianism gave way under Jackson to popular rule. Interest in elections increased, for men felt that they had an actual voice in selecting their representatives. A public official was coming to be considered as a servant of the people. In 1800 there was but one vote cast for every twenty or thirty of the population; but by 1840 there was one for every six or eight. Leaving out women, children, dependents, and unnaturalized foreigners, an electorate of a sixth of the population would indicate not only manhood suffrage but a rather full exercise of the voting right. With universal suffrage there was a gradual disappearance of property tests for officeholding.

Dorr's Rebellion. In Rhode Island alone did the ruling class cling to power until the people rose in revolt. Voting was limited to owners of a certain amount of real estate. Small towns had the same representation in the legislature as Providence, which held almost half the state's population. Through the small towns the old aristocratic element retained power. The "People's party" illegally called a convention which drafted a

constitution granting manhood suffrage. This the people ratified, selecting Thomas Dorr as governor. Thus there were two sets of officials. President Tyler supported the governor elected in the regular way. Dorr was imprisoned for treason, and hundreds of democrats were jailed. A compromise was brought about. The constitution of 1842 gave virtually universal manhood suffrage to natives, but provided for no redistribution of seats in the legislature on the basis of population. For forty years there was a property test for naturalized citizens. At any rate, Rhode Island was at last rid of its ancient royal charter.

The Decline of Aristocracy. With rule by the people there was a general breaking down in the North of the old aristocracy, which had long retained its control. The breaking of Federalism, the weakening of the Congregational Church, the rise of factories and of new industrial figures, and the weight of immigration had broken the hold of the old families in New England. They retained only social and financial superiority and intellectual leadership. In New York new men were rising as merchant princes and outdistancing the older element in the accumulation of wealth. The antirent agitation and riots ended the feudal privileges of the patroons. A laboring class with the right to vote brought popular rule through the Democratic party. Only in the South was the ruling class able to retain its power until the Civil War and the aftermath of Reconstruction.

The Convention System. Another step in the growth of democracy was the new way of nominating candidates for office. In most of the states, conventions representative of the party's voters selected party candidates for local and state office. Then the voters decided between the candidates of rival parties in the general election. From the states the convention system was taken over by the national parties to select presidential candidates. The national caucus had disappeared in 1824. Various schemes were then tried. In the thirties the national convention appeared. By 1840 it was the regular method, and the machinery as then developed has changed little.

Each party has a permanent national committee (one representative from every state and territory, named by the state or

territorial conventions), headed by a national chairman and secretary. This committee meets several months before election, discusses political issues, selects a convention city, and appoints the time of the National Convention. Potential candidates attempt to build up political organizations which urge their respective merits. Each party's National Convention meets in June. It is made up of delegates from every state and territory, named by local and state conventions in one way or another. This convention, through a powerful platform committee, drafts the party planks, setting forth the party's principles and policies on all issues before the country. Platforms are often vague, written as an appeal for votes rather than as a frank statement of principles which the party binds itself to follow if placed in power. The convention then nominates candidates for the presidency and vice presidency from a list of names presented by delegates. In the Democratic convention, states usually vote as a unit (a majority of its delegates determines the choice of the state, though now a delegation may decide to vote individually) and a two-thirds vote of the delegates is necessary for nomination. In other conventions the delegates vote as individuals, and only a majority vote is required. The candidates of the different parties, thus selected, appear on the general ticket at the fall election. The voter in each state actually votes for the presidential electors of the party which he prefers. In practice he knows that in voting for a particular set of electors he is voting for his favorite presidential candidate, for whom the electors are morally bound, if elected, to cast the state's vote. Hence, in spite of the framers of the Constitution and the cumbrous Electoral College, we vote "directly" for the presidential ticket. Not only political parties but these democratic methods of nomination and election have grown up outside the Constitution and as a supplement to the written document.

Direct Elections. Not only were voters given greater voice in the nomination of party candidates but they were empowered to elect a far wider range of officials. By Jackson's time the voters elected presidential electors in every state except South Carolina. Indirect elections were disappearing; that is,

the popular elections of men who in turn named officials. Governors, other state officers, mayors of cities, sheriffs, and so forth, were in general chosen by the voters. In Western states judges were elected by the people, often on the score of political popularity rather than for legal knowledge and judicial integrity. In this respect liberal-minded men felt that democracy had been carried too far, and often to the people's own disadvantage. As administrative and executive officials were made dependent on the people for election, the old suspicion disappeared and they were given larger powers.

Reform Movements. The growth of liberalism brought social reform. The Congregational Church, divorced from the town schools, established Sunday schools, as did other churches, to give religious instruction to the young. Protestant churches interested themselves in domestic and foreign missionary movements. As the number of the unchurched grew, rationalism, deism, and even atheism became more prevalent. Many sects sprang up, as Mormonism in western New York. Advanced thinkers and liberals visioned utopian schemes. Brook Farm as a community center (1841) appealed for a time to men like Hawthorne and Bronson Alcott. Robert Owen established New Harmony in far-away Indiana. Numerous communities thrived for a time as experiments in socialistic living, only to die in the practical world about them. Temperance societies appeared in the thirties as a protest against drunkenness, which flourished quite as much in high political and social ranks as among the poor and the immigrants.

Antimasonry had hardly disappeared when antislavery societies began to spring up. Reformers were already looking toward political action as the speediest means of carrying out social reform and regeneration. Trade-unionism was developed by skilled workmen in the larger cities as a means of improving working conditions, lessening the hours of labor, and increasing wages. Following the English statute of 1825, combinations of workers were legally permitted — though as yet their activities were sharply checked by law and custom. The agitation for a shorter day instead of the dawn-to-dark day bore fruit in Van

Buren's order for a ten-hour day in all government work. This was at least a beginning. There soon appeared reformers who advocated shorter hours and less arduous work for the women and children who labored in factories. While conditions were not criminally harsh as in English mines and factories, there was dire need of improvement.

New York and New England led the way in prison reform. Soon the different states abolished imprisonment for debt. Prisons were transformed from the disease-laden, dark dungeons of the past into houses of correction. Greater attention was paid to the care of dependents—the poor, the aged, and the afflicted. This Jacksonian era inaugurated many social reforms which bore fruit in later decades. The American soul and idealism had been quickened.

Religious Freedom. Religious toleration had become an accepted legal principle. Complete religious freedom was slowly gaining ground in the older states. A free church in a free state was virtually the rule in 1840. In New England, Congregationalism as the favored state and town religion died hard. In Vermont, Church and State were separated in 1807. In Connecticut, a coalition of Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Republicans defeated the Congregational-Federalists and forced through a liberal constitution in 1818. Thereafter, the Congregational Church was no longer a town church. Every creed could support its own religious organization, and no man was compelled to pay taxes, directly or indirectly, for the support of the Congregational minister and meetinghouse. Universalists were given full rights, and belief in Unitarian doctrines was no longer an offense against the law. Socially Congregationalism continued the leading sect, and Yale College remained Calvinist in tone and administration for three generations. In New Hampshire a similar struggle resulted in the separation of Church and State (1819). The attempt of the Republicans and non-Congregationalists to gain control of Dartmouth College failed. New Hampshire's organic law made Catholics ineligible for the governorship or the legislature. The last vestiges of sectarianism in the state's legal code, indeed, were not removed

until the Declaration of Independence was about a century old. In Massachusetts the religious-political fight against the favored Church was not fully successful until 1833.

The success of the tolerationists came at the polls. Non-Congregationalists worked through the Democratic-Republican party. The fall of Federalism and the Unitarian schism broke the Congregational political and religious ranks. Harsh Calvinism had driven intellectual leaders to accept the more humane creed preached by William Ellery Channing and Harvard's religious liberals. Universalism gained hold, as did the transcendental philosophy of the next generation of ministers and intellectuals. The ministry was fast losing its influence. No longer was scholarship and hence leadership confined to churchmen. Politicians and magistrates were freeing themselves from clerical guidance. The age of the layman had appeared, in letters, journalism, law, medicine, and education. The finest minds no longer sought the Calvinist pulpit as the largest medium of expression and public service. Business and industry drew men of ability. Here was the new future. And industry wanted peace and toleration, if these would bring immigrants or prevent native workers from migrating westward. Primarily it wanted plenty of labor at low rates. All these factors liberalized New England.

Secularizing the Schools. The colleges, other than the University of Pennsylvania, continued strongly sectarian. Harvard grew more liberal as Unitarians gained control. In Virginia, Jefferson in his last years founded the University of Virginia, as a nonsectarian college, in opposition to the narrowly Episcopalian College of William and Mary. The new university featured the elements of science and law, subjects of doubtful repute in the old colleges. In selecting the faculty Jefferson did not consider creed, or lack of belief, or nationality. The school grew to be the leading and the largest college in the Southland.

Owing to the reforms of educators like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the elementary schools were being placed on a nonsectarian if somewhat Protestant basis. The town schools of New England were freed from Congregational domination and

ministerial supervision, and schools in New York and elsewhere were divorced from Episcopalian influence. Free public schools gained in popularity. Attendance lost the stigma of pauperism. The private schools were not injured, but continued to serve the higher social classes. Private female academies (as they were called) were established to care for the higher training of girls. But it was left to Oberlin College in Ohio to establish coeducation and admit women on the same terms as men and, in theory at least, black students on the same basis as white scholars (1833).

Material Advance. The country was passing through a boom period. New England shipping was improving. England opened the West Indies to our commerce, to the satisfaction of New England, New York, and Philadelphia merchants. A new generation of shippers and brokers grew rich in this commerce and in the sugar trade. Factories were thriving. Native labor was giving way to Irish hands, whereas at first factory service as skilled work was confined to native workers and even engaged in by the daughters of ministers and gentlemen of straitened circumstances. Cheap labor, as well as tariff protection, gave manufacturing an impetus. New inventions gave rise to new industries.

Outstanding Inventions. Cyrus McCormick of Virginia invented, and later perfected, a reaper (1834). In a few years he moved his headquarters to Chicago, which as the destined center of the agricultural West would be a better point of distribution. Other inventors entered the field, and cheap implements made farming easier and more productive. Less labor was required to cultivate a greatly increased acreage. In the next generation farm machinery accomplished for the grain farmer what the Whitney gin had done for the cotton planter. Colt revolvers, planing and sawing mills, friction matches, and iron stoves were introduced. The experiments of Dr. Crawford Long of Georgia led to the discovery of anæsthetics (1842). Samuel F. B. Morse invented the magnetic telegraph (1832-1844), thus shortening distances and incidentally binding the nation more closely together. By 1846 Elias Howe had perfected

his sewing machine. From the first this was a boon to the housewife and soon, in its adaptations, the Howe machine was the basis of the ready-made clothing and shoe industries. Incidentally, life was made easier as well as more pleasant.

Beginning of Railroads. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was commenced with great éclat, July 4, 1828. In the presence of a notable gathering, Charles Carroll, ninety years of age and



© Clyde O. De Land

THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE IN AMERICA

Trial trip of the *Stourbridge Lion* at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, August 9, 1829
(From a painting by Clyde O. De Land)

the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, turned the first spade of earth. It was a dramatic moment. The aged patriot apparently foresaw the new era and the future of railroad transportation, for he is reported to have said: "I consider this among the most important acts of my life and second only to my signing the Declaration of Independence, if even to be second to that." By 1830 the road extended from Baltimore to Ellicott's Mills, a distance of fifteen miles, and its engine, *Tom Thumb*, built by our famous inventor Peter Cooper, made the

trip in the astounding time of one hour. In five years the road entered Washington. In the meantime over a hundred miles of track were laid on the Charleston Railroad, the Baltimore road reached Harpers Ferry, and a road connected the Lackawanna mines of Pennsylvania with the Hudson Canal. Rail connections were made between Albany and Schenectady and to Saratoga (the great watering place of the time), thus laying (1831) the foundation of the present New York Central Railroad system.

The first roads were built to connect towns with canals or to supplement canals. There was little expectation that railroads would ultimately drive canal and even river transportation to the wall. They were primitive affairs: rails of iron strips on timber stringers, two-ton to four-ton freight carriages, and horses as often as locomotives. Cautious men feared the terrific speed of twelve miles an hour and preferred the more comfortable, leisurely travel of canal boats. Legislative bodies debated the danger of fires and explosions. The Germantown railroad was careful of its \$4000 engine, *Old Ironsides*, advertising (1832): "The locomotive built by Mr. M. W. Baldwin [founder of the huge Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia] of this city will depart daily when the weather is fair with a train of passenger cars. On rainy days, horses will be attached in the place of the locomotive."

Railroads a Success. Before the decade ended, America was building in a number of shops as good locomotives as Stephenson in England. Tracks were improved; the capacity of cars was doubled as well as the speed of trains; horses were being replaced by locomotives; engines were able to take curves; and friction, it was learned, prevented the expected slipping of wheels on smooth rails. No longer were horses beating locomotives in races. The Mohawk and Hudson Railroad soon ceased to issue this apology: "Passengers are carried upon this road in coaches drawn by horses, and by locomotive engines, whose powers are not yet conclusively tried."

By 1842 the Boston and Albany Railroad connected Boston with the Erie Canal and the West; two years later New Haven and Hartford were linked with Springfield on the main line.

Soon one could travel from Boston to Washington by rail, though frequent stop-overs were necessary, for every short stretch of road was operated by a different company. With rail, canal, and river and lake boats the traveler found journeys in this vast land considerably shortened by 1840.

The Conestoga wagon's "twenty days from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh" was cut to four by use of rail and canal. The fare was twelve dollars. As this was twenty days' pay, laboring men generally walked. *The Democratic Review* commented on the astounding speed of the mail made possible by rail and water — New York to New Orleans in fourteen days.¹ Slow and costly as such transportation was, Americans were soon reckoning distances in hours rather than in miles. Railroads had passed the experimental stage, with 3000 miles of track laid.

Growth of the West. Westward immigration reached tremendous figures, causing the West to grow twice as rapidly as the rest of the country. Arkansas (1836) and Michigan (1837) were made states, and Wisconsin was given a territorial form of government. Ohio, with 900,000 people in 1830, had 1,500,000 in 1840. Illinois had tripled its population; Indiana, Alabama, and Mississippi had doubled; and Michigan had increased by six times. Cities had grown correspondingly: Pittsburgh had become a thriving river center of over 12,000, with a suggestion of its later wealth in the iron, coal, and glass industries; St. Louis was the Western outpost, growing rich in river commerce, furs, and Indian trade; Chicago, a hamlet of a few houses in 1830, was a small town in 1840 with a thriving lake commerce; and Cincinnati, the "Queen City of the West," developed the packing industry and a heavy trade in grain and provisions with the lower South.

The West's demand for the free distribution of land to settlers remained unanswered. The East was jealous of the rising power

¹ Distances in time from New York (1839): to Washington, one day and eight hours; to Richmond, two days and thirteen hours; to Columbia, South Carolina, six days and thirteen hours; to Mobile, twelve days and eight hours; and to St. Louis, thirteen days and ten hours. From New Orleans it required thirteen days to go to Louisville, and sixteen and a half to Columbus. Compare with the present time of mails between the same cities.

of the West, and the South feared the rapid growth of the new section which was strengthening the antislavery power in Congress. A preëmption law was passed in 1841, which gave the new states for a limited time a heavy share of the proceeds from their land sales for internal improvements, and guaranteed squatters on public lands the first right of purchase at the minimum figure of a dollar and a quarter an acre. Settlers had been in the habit of illegally taking up unsurveyed lands and



© Chicago Historical Society

REPLICA OF THE INTERIOR OF A PIONEER LOG CABIN

making improvements only to find that, when the lands were opened for sale, purchasers would bid them in at higher auction prices, so that they would lose not only the land but also their improvements. The preëmption clause saved squatters, giving a legal character to their holdings and incidentally encouraging settlement within the forbidden Indian country.

Van Buren's Election. The popularity of Jackson and the satisfaction with the boom years of his administration carried his candidate Martin Van Buren to easy victory, especially as the Whig strength was split among three aspirants. As no candidate for the vice presidency received a majority, R. M. Johnson of Kentucky was chosen by the Senate — the only time a vice

president had been so named. Van Buren faced a crisis, for prosperity had carried the nation too far on the road of speculation and overdevelopment. *yo much money invested in railroads.*

The Panic of 1837. The causes of the panic were numerous. The failure to recharter the National Bank removed a stabilizing force. Unregulated state banks sprang up overnight. The banks of the West and South were well described as wildcat banks, issuing a large volume of paper money with no thought of its security. On their issue of paper they naturally drew a heavy rate of interest. Such paper soon depreciated and was not acceptable outside the locality. Gold and silver money was scarce because it alone was accepted by Europe in payment for imports. Between 1830 and 1837, our imports exceeded our exports by \$140,000,000. Hence approximately that amount of hard money was shipped abroad. In England there was a financial crisis in 1836. English holders of American securities and mortgages were forced to sell, thus bearing down the price of bonds and stocks on the New York and Philadelphia exchanges.

Western crops were poor for two reasons. Land speculation was suddenly ended by the Specie Circular of 1836, which called for cash payment in gold or silver for public lands.¹ Speculators went into bankruptcy. Farms were sold for mortgages. Small investors were left with unsalable lands on their hands. States, counties, and companies had overdeveloped canals, roads, and railroads. With the slump in trade such ventures faced bankruptcy, paying no dividends to investors. These assets were tied up, and the bonds of indebtedness could not be sold even at a heavy loss.

New Orleans banks with heavy loans on cotton failed when the price of cotton broke. The cotton kingdom was tottering, as

¹ Land sales from 1830 to 1832 averaged over \$2,000,000; by 1835 they jumped to almost \$25,000,000. Speculators with little money bought land on time payments, even borrowing the initial payment from a wildcat bank. The land would be subdivided, possibly into town lots, and given a fictitious value, and on this valuation more money would be borrowed and additional land bought. Thousands of "paper towns" were laid out in the Northwest and sites sold to "cautious" Eastern investors, who lost their savings. The Specie Circular ended this land-jobbing. Land sales dropped to \$1,000,000. Banks clogged with worthless security faced failure.

planters faced ruin and their banks failed or suspended payment. The textile mills of the North soon closed their doors. Thousands of operatives were out of employment. Specie money disappeared; paper passed at a ridiculously low rate. Everywhere banks, business houses, merchants, and contractors failed; building of canals and railroads ceased, throwing thousands of laborers out of work. The homeless immigrant was indeed helpless. As the revenue from tariff duties fell with the fall of imports, the government's income was far less than its expenditures. The national government, with the debt paid (1835), had a surplus exceeding \$32,000,000. Under a Distribution Act, sponsored by Clay, this was to be distributed among the states in proportion to their population. More than three fourths of the surplus was so "loaned." It was actually a gift; but as there was doubt as to its constitutionality, "loan" seemed the better term. Speculators owing the government went into bankruptcy. The deposits in "pet" banks were lost. The United States was forced to sell ten million dollars in certificates of indebtedness to tide over the evil year. America had never seen a time of such depression, with its urban population in actual want.

Result of the Panic. Business expansion and speculation were halted for a few years. Immigration dropped off. European investors hesitated about risking money in the States. In a sense this was well, for it allowed the nation to catch up with itself and with the overdeveloped internal improvements and agricultural areas. It gave a breathing spell to assimilate the immigrant population.

The Western states, some of which went into bankruptcy and repudiated part of their debts, amended their constitutions so as to limit the indebtedness which the state could incur. This rule is now quite general in states and cities, where it offers protection against the lack of business foresight on the part of officials. Led by New York and Massachusetts, the states passed banking acts which laid down strict requirements for obtaining a banking charter, provided official supervision, and guarded the funds of depositors. No longer were bank charters obtained from legislatures through political influence. The national and state

governments ceased to take stock in private corporations or to engage in construction projects which, after all, might better be left to private endeavor.

Independent Treasury. Van Buren faced the panic with courage, though it was evident that hard times and political unrest would prevent his reelection. He refused to withdraw the Specie Circular and permit the sale of Federal lands for paper money of doubtful value. On the third attempt his bill establishing an independent Treasury was passed (1840). Repealed the following year, it was reenacted by the Democrats under Polk and remained unmodified until the Civil War. Federal funds, until drawn by order of the Treasurer in accordance with congressional appropriations, henceforth were deposited in the Treasury Building in Washington and in subtreasuries established from time to time in metropolitan business centers.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." The panic made 1840 a bad year for Democrats. The campaign was quite modern. Both parties held nominating conventions and issued platforms outlining their views on the main issues (planks) in an appeal to the voters. Clay was the leading Whig, but the convention turned from him. He was unavailable. He had been defeated twice for the presidency. As an ardent Mason, he was not liked by the dying Antimasonry element, and he was opposed by the antislavery people. The convention named William Henry Harrison, Indian-fighter, hero of the War of 1812, long governor of Indiana Territory, congressman, son-in-law of John Cleves Symmes (an Ohio land speculator and colonizer), and a rugged and popular leader of the frontier. As his running mate, John Tyler was selected. Tyler was a good choice, for he was a Virginia Democrat but an opponent of Van Buren and a disciple of Clay. Such a candidate would break the Democratic hold on the South.

Van Buren controlled the Democratic convention and was easily nominated. But he had become unpopular, for hard times were laid at his door. The West did not like the new policy of cash payments for land. Since his power was broken in the South and had never been strong in New England, Van Buren's chances were poor.

The "Hurrah" campaign was most exciting. Appeals were made to the hearts of the voters rather than to their minds. In honor of their democratic, grizzled frontiersman, the Whigs held barbecues, where the voters listened to bombastic oratory and feasted on roast ox and barrels of cider; built log cabins as headquarters in all cities; and held monster torchlight parades with marchers in Western habiliment and coonskin hats. Placards inscribed "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" were carried, as the excited followers sang:

Farewell, dear Van,
You're not our man;
To guide the ship
We'll try old Tip.

Van Buren's career did not lend itself to dramatic presentation. The wonder was that he obtained nearly half the popular vote, though he carried only seven states with 60 electoral votes to Harrison's 234. The West was indeed coming into its own, with over a third of the electoral vote, Ohio the third state in population, and its second war hero in the White House.

References

The following Chronicles of America: E. E. SLOSSON, *American Spirit in Education*, pp. 78-167; F. A. OGG, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*; and H. THOMPSON, *The Age of Invention*. J. R. MOORE, *Industrial History of the American People*; A. M. SIMONS, *Social Forces in American History*, pp. 170-215; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. III, pp. 531-646; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 61-89, 204-377; C. G. BOWERS, *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*.

Bibliography

F. J. TURNER, *Rise of the New West*; W. MACDONALD, *Jacksonian Democracy*; CHANNING, VOL. V; MCMASTER, VOL. V; JOHNSTON (and WOODBURN), *American Political History*, VOL. I, pp. 393-436; C. R. FISH, *Civil Service and Patronage*; E. G. BOURNE, *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*; D. F. HOUSTON, *Study of Nullification in South Carolina*; C. BOUCHER, *Nullification in South Carolina*; W. P. SCHAPER, *Sectionalism in South Carolina*; R. C. H. CATTERALL, *Second Bank of the U. S.*; E. M. CARROLL, *Origins of the Whig Party*; H. O. MUELLER, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania*; M. M. QUAAFFE, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*; E. O. WOOD, *Historic Mackinac*; S. R. GAMMON, *The Presidential Campaign of 1832*; M. CHEVALIER, *Society*,

Manners, and Politics in the United States; ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*; F. M. TROLLOPE, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*; HARRIET MARTINEAU, *Society in America*; lives of Andrew Jackson by J. S. BASSETT, W. G. SUMNER, JAMES PARTON, W. G. BROWN; lives of Daniel Webster by H. C. LODGE, C. VAN TYNE, J. B. MCMASTER, and F. A. OGG; of Calhoun by W. M. MEIGS, H. VON HOLST, and GAILLARD HUNT; T. D. JERVEY, *Robert Y. Hayne and his Times*; F. N. THORPE, *Statesmanship of Andrew Jackson*; R. H. CRALLE (Ed.), *Works of John C. Calhoun*; CARL SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*; CALVIN COLTON (Ed.), *Works of Henry Clay*; R. C. MCGRANE, *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle*; W. W. STORY, *Life of Joseph Story*; J. M. ROGERS, *The Real Henry Clay*; E. M. SHEPARD, *Martin Van Buren*; THURLOW WEED, *Autobiography*; J. C. FITZPATRICK (Ed.), *Van Buren's Autobiography*; C. F. ADAMS, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*; AMOS KENDALL, *Autobiography*; C. H. HUNT, *Life of Edward Livingston*; T. H. BENTON, *Thirty Years' View*; E. P. OBERHOLTZER, ROOSEVELT, and J. M. ROGERS have written lives of Benton.

2. EXPANSION AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO

Tyler succeeds to Presidency. Harrison succumbed about a month after inauguration to an attack of pneumonia and the plague of office-seekers. The succession of Tyler, actually a Democrat, ruined Whig hopes. Senator Clay's assumption of the headship of the party annoyed the stubborn and somewhat incapable Tyler. The presidential veto of the charter for a new National Bank and of two high-tariff acts completed the breach with Clay and his friends, who had four seats in the cabinet. Finally the President accepted the act of 1842, increasing duties to the 1832 level, on the plea that the Treasury faced a deficit. Tyler, read out of the Whig party, thereafter depended for congressional support on moderate men and Democrats. The whole cabinet resigned save Webster, who continued until the completion of the northern-boundary negotiations with England.

Canadian Relations: Maine Boundary. Americans generally sympathized with the French-Canadian revolt of 1837, being largely anti-British and hopeful that Canada might enter the Union. The revolt was put down, and the British took steps to pacify the French and ultimately to give the Canadian provinces local self-government (also the Dominion of Canada, 1867).

Shortly after, the so-called "Aroostook War" commenced. The northern third of Maine was claimed by Canada. Maine occupied the region by force. Finally the boundary so vaguely described in 1783 was settled by compromise in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, negotiated with the friendly British minister (1842). In general the American contention was upheld. Canadians charged that for the sake of peace with the States England sacrificed their interests. The treaty also provided for the mutual extradition, or return, of Canadian and American fugitives from justice (not political offenders) who might seek refuge over the border. No longer could American citizens avoid punishment for serious crimes by going to Canada, or vice versa. England and America also agreed to a joint suppression of slave-trading.

The "Roaring Forties." America had assumed a bold front with England. National pride was never higher. The panic was over; the West was expanding; immigration was reaching a tremendous figure; and business was prosperous, as there was great activity in factories and in railroad construction. Americanism was carried to an extreme. Patriotism was becoming a religious creed. America was the greatest of nations, with the best government. Americans were supermen. America must expand. She must include Texas; she must build to the Pacific. Only oceans should be her boundaries. Thus thought all good Americans of the "Roaring Forties." And Texas was the first step.

Texan Revolution. When Mexico gained her independence, her northeastern state of Texas was uninhabited save by Indians and a couple of old missions. Settlers from our Southwest soon found their way into Texas. Contractors (*empresarios*), of whom Moses Austin and his son Stephen are the best known, were given liberal land grants on condition that they bring colonists who must be Catholics. This, however, was not enforced. A number of Germans and some Irish settlers were attracted by cheap lands. The Mexican decree abolishing slavery (1829) was not enforced in Texas, thus encouraging Southerners to bring their negroes. Soon the population increased to 50,000. The Americans, discontented with the weak, unstable Mexican government, sought annexation to the United States.

In 1836 the Texans declared their independence and established a republic on the American order. General Santa Anna of Mexico with 3000 soldiers crushed the patriots, who held the Alamo, a famous mission of San Antonio, as a fortress. Of a hundred and eighty-three defenders, including Davy Crockett, a picturesque figure of the Southwest, not one survived. At Goliad Texan prisoners were massacred. The rebellion seemed crushed,



THE ALAMO MISSION, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

when Sam Houston took charge. Houston, a former member of Congress and a governor of Tennessee, had started life anew in Texas. At the battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836) Houston led his numerically inferior force to victory with the cry "Remember the Alamo!" Santa Anna, a prisoner, agreed to peace terms that recognized the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas. When freed and again in power, he repudiated the agreement.

Annexation of Texas. Texans were anxious for annexation. As Mexico had not recognized their independence, it was necessary to stand guard. Great Britain and France as well as the

United States recognized Texan independence. But in the North the Whigs opposed annexation, as Texas might be subdivided into several states, thus increasing the slave power. Northern Democrats and the South favored annexation, which would increase Southern influence in national affairs, strengthen the Democratic party, and provide an enormous new territory for cotton-planting. The annexationists feared with good reason that England and France were ready to guarantee Texas against Mexican subjugation in order that she might raise cotton for their mills, for English manufacturers were desirous of breaking the South's monopoly of raw cotton. Tyler and Secretary Calhoun, who were strong annexationists, negotiated a treaty with President Houston (April, 1844), which the Senate failed to ratify. The anti-Tyler Whigs were too strong.

Election of 1844. Opposition to annexation cost Van Buren the Democratic nomination. Even the aged Jackson hung back on the Texas issue. The convention, in a deadlock between Van Buren and Lewis Cass of Michigan, turned to former Governor James K. Polk of Tennessee, the first "dark horse"¹ candidate. Tyler, the choice of a convention packed with Federal office-holders, withdrew when the Democrats came out with a platform calling for the "reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon." Out-and-out expansionists, they fairly shouted "Fifty-four forty or fight." Orthodox Democrats intimated that Texas had been a part of the Louisiana Purchase, only to be sacrificed by the negotiators of the Florida Purchase. They also maintained that all of Oregon to Alaska belonged to the United States and that joint occupation with England was a treacherous compromise by timid men. This bold pronouncement pleased Southern expansionists, the West, and the anti-British, whose number was greatly increased by Irish immigration.

Senator Clay was again named by the Whigs, but his stand against annexation ruined his chance of carrying the Far South. Antislavery men, annoyed by Clay's shifting attitude on slavery,

¹ This is the political term for a compromise candidate whose political views and career are so little known that he is unopposed by any strong element in his party.

refused support and named James G. Birney as their standard-bearer. In Pennsylvania, Clay was known for his low tariff of 1833; whereas, while Polk appealed to the South as a low-tariff man, his running mate, George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was able to carry his own protectionist state for the ticket. Birney drew enough votes from Clay in New York to give Polk the state by a narrow margin, and the Empire State decided the close election.

Polk won with 170 electoral votes, to 105 for Clay. The Pacificator had compromised and shifted too often. For twenty years he had sought the presidency. Aiming to satisfy all men and all sections, he had antagonized too many powerful politicians. Yet his supporters explained that it was the immigrant vote which elected Polk. Later this became a charge of the antiforeign, nativist parties in their effort to disfranchise recent immigrants. In reality "Fifty-four forty" and Texas won the day, not the obscure and now forgotten Mr. Polk.

Texas becomes a State. The people had spoken. Tyler desired credit for annexation, as his administration had little enough glory. In February, 1845, on Tyler's recommendation, Congress by a joint resolution of both Houses agreed to annexation. Such a resolution needed only a majority vote, while a treaty, which required a two-thirds vote in the Senate, would be doomed to defeat regardless of the popular will. The republic of Texas, under the leadership of President Anson Jones, ratified on July 4, and entered the American commonwealth in December. It was agreed that this huge empire, larger than France, should never be divided into more than five states. Texas assumed her own debt, but the United States guaranteed to settle her Mexican boundary dispute. Antislavery men could only grieve at the extension of the slave power, for the Texas constitution guaranteed property in negroes; but expansionists rejoiced in a greater America and a broader cotton kingdom.

American Claims to Oregon. The West, which aided the South in obtaining Texas, was determined to acquire all Oregon, the region north of California as far as the present southern boundary of Alaska. This country was claimed by the United

States because of an American's discovery of the Columbia River and the establishment of Astoria by the American Fur Company. Some maintained that part of Oregon was included in Louisiana. In 1819 Spain ceded her claims to the coast north of California to the United States, as did Russia five years later in the case of her claims south of Alaska. After 1815, American fur interests built new trading posts. Captain Bonneville, soldier and fur man, journeyed over the Oregon Trail to the coast in 1831. Protestant missionaries like Whitman¹ and Spalding, leading small parties, entered Oregon in the middle of the thirties. John C. Frémont, son-in-law of Benton, Missouri's greatest senator and apostle of westward expansion, inspected for the government the long trail of 2000 miles (1842) and recommended that forts be built.² America had well-founded claims, but the West minimized British rights in the region, based on the French-Canadian explorations of early fur men and missionaries, the well-organized factories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the established Catholic missions serving Indians, half-breeds, and agents.

¹ About 1860, good Methodists circulated the story that Daniel Webster was about to give up our Oregon claims for Newfoundland fishing rights. Whitman, at great sacrifice, it was said, rushed from his labors in Oregon to appeal to the administration in Washington to save Oregon. Whitman, who was later killed in an Indian massacre, was described as a martyr to Methodism and Americanism, cut down by Indian assassins inspired by Canadian fur interests and Catholic missionaries. The story was widely credited and accepted by historical writers. Professor E. G. Bourne of Yale faced hostile criticism when he exploded the whole story in his "Legend of Marcus Whitman" (*Essays in Historical Criticism*). At greater length the story, with its exploitation and refutation, is found in W. I. Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon and Long-Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman*. Whitman himself was a good missionary and performed valiant service for his sect, and had nothing to do with the fable told and retold long after his unfortunate death. This was part of a propaganda to reflect on Catholic missionaries and gain for Methodism the credit of saving Oregon for America.

² The main trail led along the North Platte River, and was marked by Forts Kearney, McPherson, Mitchell, Laramie, Fetterman, Casper, Bridger, Hall, Boise, all named after army officers and famous scouts, and now thriving towns. The famous Jesuit missionary of the mountains, De Smet, pronounced the trail one of the finest highways of the world. It was well marked by the footprints of Indians and trappers, by the Conestoga wagons of pioneers, Mormons going to Deseret, "Forty-niners" rushing to the California gold mines, the marching soldiers, the heavy freighting of the overland stages, and the broncho's hoof of the pony express mail-carriers. In time this Medicine Trail of the Whites, as the Indians called it, was a line of singing telegraph wires and of a transcontinental railroad.

The Joint Occupation of Oregon. America and Canada have settled all boundary disputes by negotiation and peaceful compromise. In 1818 it had been agreed that Oregon should be held jointly for ten years by England and the United States. At the expiration of that time joint occupation was continued, either power having the right to end the arrangement by giving a year's notice. Neither nation had any immediate concern in the distant land, whose value then was merely in its wealth of furs.

Thereafter, though there were only a few hundred American settlers, Western interest was growing. The United States had offered to accept a continuation of the compromise line of 49° latitude from the Great Lakes over the Rockies to the Pacific, thus dividing Oregon about equally between the claimants. This England had refused. As an indication of Eastern opposition to further westward expansion, one may quote the following from Daniel Webster's speech in Congress :

What do we want with that vast, worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of desert, of shifting sands and whirlwinds, of dust, of cactus, and of prairie dogs? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it now is. [1843]

Webster and the East might so feel, but the men of the West thought otherwise. Senator Lewis Linn of Missouri introduced a bill which passed the Senate, giving a section of land to each immigrant over eighteen years of age settling in Oregon. Such a law would have violated our agreement with England, and luckily it was defeated in the House (1843). However, many immigrants, more than a thousand that summer, believed that the bill had become law, and followed the trail on horse and in prairie schooners to Oregon. Western congressmen agreed with Southern representatives to support their pet project of Texas annexation in return for aid in the Oregon matter.

The Oregon Compromise. Democrats linked Oregon and Texas in their appealing platform of 1844. Probably few men would willingly have waged war with England to obtain the northern limit of 54° 40'. There was a good deal of bluff in the

Some of it they get.
 "Fifty-four forty" campaign cry, appealing, as it did, to red-blooded Americans of the "Roaring Forties." Without apology Polk offered to compromise, but again Great Britain refused. Polk then carried out his bluff, asking Congress to end the joint occupation, erect forts, and extend our laws over the region. Such rough shirt-sleeve diplomacy fooled English statesmen of an older and more refined school. England retreated.

In 1846 the matter was compromised and the forty-ninth degree of latitude was accepted. Only the Northwest was dissatisfied. The South, now possessed of Texas, showed less desire to increase the potential area of hostile free states. However, the compromise was just; for north of the line British claims were better founded than our own. Compromise was a matter of wisdom, with a Mexican war threatening. The United States could hardly fight Mexico and England, on both northern and southern boundaries, in the interest of enlarged territory. Two years later, despite proslavery opposition in Congress, Oregon was made a territory, so rapid had been its growth and so persistent were its settlers in petitioning for a settled government.

The Mormons settle Utah. Over the Oregon Trail (1847) the Mormons traveled to settle the region about Salt Lake. Their founder, Joseph Smith, had left western New York and established a community of his followers in Missouri. Driven out by a mob, they sought a new location at Nauvoo, Illinois. Again their communistic life, strange doctrines, and practice of polygamy aroused the people against these so-called Latter-Day Saints. Joseph was murdered, and Brigham Young became leader. Having learned of the Great West, he led his people to Utah, then Mexican territory. Newcomers and converts joined the settlement. The church and community were one, and Young was in control of both. In 1848 Utah, to the grief of Mormons, became part of the United States, but for nearly twenty years they were left to themselves.

Immigrants to California and Oregon stopped at Salt Lake City en route, incidentally enriching the Mormons, who sold them supplies and refitted their wagons and teams at an exorbitant profit. The Mormons, forbidden by Young to engage in

its against a law of nature

mining, confined themselves to agriculture. The desert region became a garden, for irrigation was successfully applied. Salt Lake City developed into a beautiful capital with a tremendous temple built by the tithes of the faithful. The church elders proved excellent business men, and the community grew rapidly in wealth and population.

Southwestern Expansion. Not to be outdone by Tyler, Polk sent Slidell to Mexico in an effort to obtain the Rio Grande as a boundary, and with offers of \$25,000,000 for California and \$5,000,000 for New Mexico. Mexico refused to treat, having broken diplomatic relations with the United States in anger over Texan annexation. Unable to buy Mexican territory, the administration was not adverse to strong measures. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Walker of Mississippi, Marcy of New York, Mason of Virginia, and even the historian Bancroft of Massachusetts were cabinet members who were willing to see expansion at the expense of a weak nation.

Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her frontier instead of the Nueces River, which Mexico regarded as the boundary. The small area in dispute was not inhabited nor valuable. One would expect an easy compromise, but Polk showed no desire to negotiate. The administration apparently preferred a war of aggression against the disordered southern republic.

injust **Declaration of War against Mexico.** Polk, as commander in chief of the army, ordered General Zachary Taylor with about 2000 men to hold the disputed region. A Mexican force, crossing the Rio Grande, killed nine members of an American reconnoitering party, capturing the remainder. Polk, by sending troops into the danger zone, created a situation which made war inevitable. The President held the convenient view that the Mexicans had invaded our border and slaughtered our soldiers on American soil. He called upon Congress to declare war to avenge our national honor, announcing: "War exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." And Congress answered with a war declaration, May 13, 1846, and the passage of bills providing for a volunteer force and large appropriations.

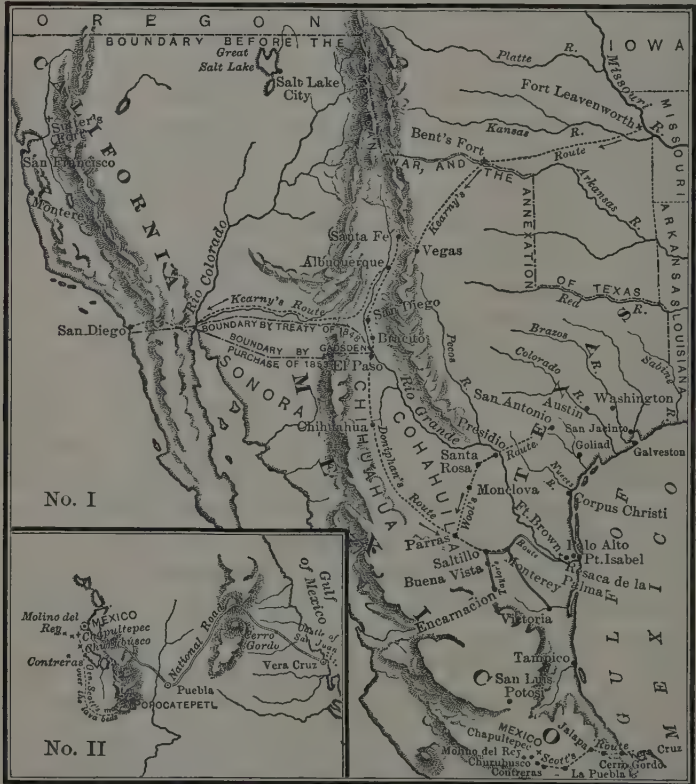
*because motive was to
secure land.*

Opposition to the War. Outside of New England the war was popular enough. Whigs viewed it as a Democratic and Southern project but, remembering the fate of the anti-war Federalists, would not risk their political future by spirited condemnation. Honest men of independent mind were critical, but many of these felt that patriotism demanded loyal support of the war, whether or not it was righteous.

In December, Abraham Lincoln, an unknown representative from Illinois, introduced his "spot" resolutions, inquiring just where that spot was where Polk said Americans were killed, and whether that spot was in Texas or in Mexico. Impugning the honesty of the President's message, he asked if General Taylor had not counseled against such a disposition of the troops. In January, 1847, Lincoln voted with the major part of the House (85 to 81) that the war had been "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President of the United States." The Massachusetts legislature passed similar resolves. General Taylor disliked Polk as heartily as he did General Winfield Scott, and the latter had only a forced respect for the President. The campaign cry "Who is Polk?" still rang in Whig ears. They could hardly realize that Polk was now president. Both generals fought valiantly rather than enthusiastically. McClellan and Grant, young lieutenants, later in life maintained that the war was unnecessary, much as does the usual historian of the period.

Invasion of Mexico. General Taylor, with a force of 10,000 regulars and volunteers, invaded Mexico, winning the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Matamoros before the war was a week old. Indeed, our army was fighting before war was officially declared. After a three-day siege the fortress of Monterey was taken (September 24), and an armistice of eight weeks signed. Polk set this aside as a scrap of paper, and the campaign continued. By the end of the year Taylor occupied Saltillo and Victoria. Much to his disgust, he was ordered to send half his force to join General Scott at Vera Cruz. Whigs believed that the administration feared the growing popularity of the Whig general. Polk, they held, feared that Taylor as a war hero might become a dangerously strong candidate for the presidency.

Santa Anna, seeing Taylor's force weakened, attacked at Buena Vista with an army of 20,000. American valor and the skill of Taylor and younger West Point officers, like Bragg and Jefferson Davis, won the day against heavy odds (February 23,



NO. I, THE MEXICAN WAR; NO. II, SCOTT'S MARCH TO THE CITY OF MEXICO

1847). Leaving garrisons, Taylor was forced to withdraw to the Rio Grande, for his force was too small to maintain a line of communications of two hundred miles.

Polk now ordered Scott to invade Mexico by way of Vera Cruz and to capture Mexico City, the stoutly fortified and inaccessible capital. Landing near Vera Cruz with 12,000 men

(March 9, 1847), Scott captured the city twenty days later. In April he commenced to cut his tortuous way of two hundred and fifty miles, over rough mountainous trails defended by forts and large forces of Mexicans, to the impregnable fortress of Chapultepec. This the enemy surrendered, September 13, and on the following day the Americans entered Mexico City.

In the meantime an attack on New Mexico and California was ordered. Colonel Stephen Kearny, with 1800 soldiers, left Fort Leavenworth, marching over the long trail to Santa Fe. Garrisoning the ancient fort, he followed the Gila River Trail to San Diego, California. There he found California in American hands. Frémont had established a provisional government, and Commodore Stockton and his little squadron had taken Monterey and San Francisco. In a conflict with Kearny over the control of California, Frémont was court-martialed and expelled from the army, but Polk remitted the sentence.

The American Army. At no time were there over twenty-two thousand soldiers campaigning, though later pension rolls listed about a hundred thousand names. American courage and good leadership as well as better equipment explains our easy victories over enemy forces four or five times as large. The Mexicans were brave enough, but their officers were unskilled. The poor peons were wretchedly armed, with old-fashioned muskets and even farming implements. They were half-starved, and racked with disease due to hardship. The Mexican army, without modern artillery, was dependent on old Spanish cannon. Our volunteers suffered heavily from disease and hardship as compared with the disciplined regulars, who knew how to care for themselves in camp or on the march. The American loss of 12,000 men was chiefly among the raw volunteers, who fell an easy prey to disease, for our battle casualties were small.

Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Nicholas Trist, ^{secretary of legation} chief clerk of the State Department, accompanied Scott's army as a personal representative of the President, with authority to negotiate peace on Polk's terms whenever the Mexicans were willing. This idea of "conquering a peace" was indeed strange. Whigs considered Trist an administration spy on a Whig general, and

Scott at first resented this invasion of his authority, but before long he and Trist were on friendly terms. President Polk regarded the scheme as a humanitarian way of ending war and bloodshed as soon as he gained the territory for which the war was obviously fought.

On the capture of Mexico City, Trist, despite his recall, signed a treaty with the enemy in accordance with earlier instructions. In the cabinet there was a desire for all Mexico. Buchanan, the Secretary of State, who was not without political ambitions, declared publicly, "Destiny beckons us to hold and civilize Mexico." Polk submitted Trist's treaty to the Senate, which gladly ratified.

Mexico accepted the Rio Grande as the northern boundary and ceded the provinces of Upper California and New Mexico, which included the modern states of California, Nevada, and Utah, most of Arizona, and parts of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. Mexico lost two fifths of her territory and in return was paid \$15,000,000 in cash. The United States settled claims of American citizens against Mexico for \$3,250,000 more. In addition the war costs mounted to \$100,000,000, without including the heavy burden of soldiers' pensions, but the United States gained a land broader than the late Austrian and German empires and pushed her western boundary to the Pacific Ocean.

Hunger for Territory. The huge Mexican cession did not satisfy the craving for territory. In 1848 Polk's message to Congress intimated that it might be well to annex Yucatan, a rebellious Mexican state, and thus forestall Great Britain. Later he offered Spain \$100,000,000 for Cuba, but Spain haughtily refused. Other attempts to buy Cuba were made in later Democratic administrations, which even threatened seizure if Spain sold the island to any other power. Not content with offers of purchase by the government, filibustering expeditions made piratical raids against Cuba and Central America. The raids proved fruitless, but the filibusters were regarded as heroes by expansionists, who visioned American control of the whole Gulf of Mexico. Six years after the war (1853) our agent, Gadsden, purchased about 50,000 square

miles of disputed territory south of the Gila River in modern Arizona for \$10,000,000. This straightened our southern boundary and gave a more desirable all-American route to the coast for a projected southern railway.

Thinking men noted how differently we proceeded in solving northern boundary tangles, where Canada, backed by the British Empire, was concerned. Small wonder that Canada was made more loyal to the Empire through her fear of the United States, and that all the Latin nations to the south were made hostile by the Mexican War. They feared that the United States was overcome by a land hunger which might threaten their existence. Indeed "roaring Americans" spoke of our national destiny to absorb the Western Hemisphere and give the benefit of our government, laws, and culture to all its inhabitants. The popular mind visioned an enlarged republic carrying out its "manifest destiny." The nation was a long time in living down this reputation for aggressive expansion.

Mexican Cession and the Slavery Issue. Antislavery people injected their pet issue — no extension of slavery — into the discussion of war appropriations and land cessions. In 1846 David Wilmot of Pennsylvania offered an amendment to an appropriation bill, providing that none of the territory to be acquired from Mexico should be opened to slavery. Even moderate antislavery men agreed that it would be immoral to force slavery in a region where it had been prohibited by backward Mexico. The Wilmot Proviso, as this amendment was called, passed the House, but was defeated in the Senate. The same was true the following year.

The South was aroused at this apparent conspiracy of Northern Whigs and abolitionists to exclude it from the benefits of the war. The slavery question had been reopened. Thereafter it could not be pushed into the background, but became the vital issue of the day, inextricably bound up in all current questions: in expansion, the formation of new territories, the admission of new states, free land, immigration, Western development, transcontinental railroads, and even in the discipline of the various churches.

The Election of Taylor and Fillmore. Politically the war made General Taylor. The Whigs nominated him for the presidency, with charges that his career had been blighted by Polk's jealousy. Clay and Webster had no chance against the military hero. It is strange that such a number of war heroes have been nominated and elected to public office in this nonmilitaristic country. Taylor, as a Southern slaveholder, was expected to strengthen the Whig party in the South. Millard Fillmore, a New York politician who had opposed the Wilmot Proviso, was named for the vice presidency. The Democrats overlooked Polk and turned to the popular Governor Cass of Michigan, who had displayed strength in their last convention. Democracy was badly split. An antislavery faction in New York named Van Buren for president. There was organized a Free Soil party, with the doctrines of free land, free men, free speech, and free labor. This group also drafted Van Buren and attracted moderate antislavery men. The Free-Soilers won only nine popular votes in all Virginia and not a recorded popular vote elsewhere in the South, out of a total canvass of about 300,000. The antislavery group was obviously weak, with less than an eighth of the total vote and no electoral votes, but Free Soil adherents were to increase rapidly in the next twelve years. Already they were strong enough to defeat Cass by throwing New York to Taylor. Taylor lived only a little over a year after his inauguration, leaving the White House in charge of the obscure Fillmore.

California of the Padres. To avoid Russian seizure, Spain had occupied Upper California in 1769, establishing forts and mission centers at San Diego, Monterey, San Blas, Sacramento, San Francisco (1776), Los Angeles (1781), and Santa Barbara (1786). Missions were established among the Yuma Indians of Arizona. Under the leadership of the saintly Junipero Serra, Franciscan friars accomplished wonders—building missions, converting and civilizing the Indians, establishing schools, and teaching the natives to farm and cultivate the grape. For over fifty years the padres labored with astonishing success. Then there broke over them Mexican revolutions, cruel restrictive laws, confiscation of the Pious Fund (money left by the faithful for religious

and charitable purposes), and the secularization of the missions. Only of recent years has their work been truly appraised, with the rebuilding of the ruined missions undertaken by proud Californians of all creeds. The golden age had already passed when the land of the mission towns, their names suggesting the litany of the saints, came into American possession.

The Gold Strike. California had hardly a provisional government when gold was found at Sutter's mill near Sacramento. The news spread; never had there been a richer strike. The



MISSION DOLORES

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

boom attracted gold-seekers and adventurers of all races. The coast settlements were deserted, as whites and Indians prospected for gold in the hills. Oriental labor was imported, for white men charged fifteen to twenty dollars a day. From the South men came over the Santa Fe and Gila trails; from the North they were arriving over the Oregon Trail, by way of Salt Lake City to Sacramento; and from the East, by boat to Nicaragua and Panama and overland to Pacific boats plying to the California coast. This last was a long, dangerous journey, even worse than the long land trail over the deserts marked by the blanched bones of men and horses and the wreckage of equipment. In a few years gold worth over \$500,000,000 was dug. Some men made marvelous strikes and fabulous fortunes, but the great run

of miners and prospectors failed in the search for wealth, or lost their stakes of yellow dust and nuggets in the bars and gambling halls of the wild, disorderly mining camps; or they were waylaid by murderous road agents who robbed them of a season's labor in the diggings. Gunmen, too, "jumped" rich claims after killing the prospectors and rightful owners. California of the gold days was a land of desperate men, until the vigilantes (armed citizens) enforced law and order by frequent lynchings.



SUTTER'S FORT, NEAR SACRAMENTO

From an old engraving

California grew overnight. San Francisco had a population of about 50,000. Would the settlers demand statehood with a free constitution? The slavery issue was again to the fore. The California craze hurried the settlement of the Pacific coast. It aroused men like Asa Whitney to plan a transcontinental railroad. It caused Eastern capital to build the Panama Railroad. It brought wealth to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and entranced farsighted men with projects of closer commercial relations with the Orient and the digging of an interoceanic canal at Panama or Nicaragua.

Immigration (1831-1850). Territorial expansion was only an item in the growth of the United States. Immigration jumped

all bounds. Critics described the foreign rush to our shores as the "Irish Invasion and the Teutonic Tide." Conditions in Europe were bad: repression of liberalism, political disturbances in 1830, a wave of revolutions in 1848, famine years in the German states, and the starving years of 1845-1848 in Ireland caused by the potato blight and a ruinous absentee-landlord system.¹ Toward America the oppressed and impoverished peoples turned: about 600,000 from 1831 to 1840, and about 1,713,000 in the following decade. The rush swamped the Atlantic passenger lines, which added steamers and sailing boats of every character, even ships that were unseaworthy. Immigrants furnished their own bedding and rations. Loss of life was terrible, owing to overcrowding, lack of sanitation, shortage of victuals, disease, and shipwreck. Finally the United States passed laws protecting immigrants on boat and on shore from misuse and fraud.

From 1831 to 1840 the Irish again headed the list with over 200,000 men, women, and children; followed by the Germans with 152,000; the English, Welsh, and Scots with 75,000; and the French with 45,000. All these peoples increased their quotas during 1841-1850 — to 781,000, 435,000, 266,000, and 77,000, respectively. Other nations sent their thousands, and no record was kept of those who came by way of Canada. Could the United States assimilate this host, especially the non-English-speaking groups? Would her expanding industries provide labor?

Localization of Immigrants. The British, including the Irish, for the most part remained in the cities of the Atlantic coast region. Hardly a fourth of them crossed the Alleghenies. The Irish found work in the factories (where they drove out native

¹ The Irish famine, with nearly a million deaths, showed America's soul to the world. Relief committees in every city from Boston to New Orleans collected money and provisions for the sufferers. Congress was deterred by war expenses from contributing a heavy appropriation. Daniel Webster addressed a meeting in Washington, presided over by Vice President Dallas. Relief ships almost in fleets sailed from our ports with provisions and clothing. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were collected, and the poor Irish immigrants gave their share, sending hundreds of thousands more which they had saved from their wages. Unhappy Ireland, with 8,000,000 people before the famine, lost 2,000,000 in a few years through death and emigration.

labor), on construction jobs, and in the mines. They preferred city life, and their natural leaders, fearing the loss of their faith in unsettled regions where priests were scarce, discouraged settlement in the agricultural West. It was unfortunate advice, for in the industrial cities they faced harsh competition and were a long time in obtaining a firm foothold. Despondent men, with dependent families here or back in Ireland, walked for days seeking the hardest manual labor at fifty to seventy-five cents a day of twelve hours. Those who went West found life easier, with less racial and religious hostility, and greater opportunities.

The Germans, largely peasants about equally divided between Protestants and Catholics, crossed the mountains and settled in the newer states. The bulk of them turned to farming, first as hired laborers, then as renters, and finally as owners. Unlike the Irish, who came as individuals or families, the Germans usually migrated in groups and settled together. This meant that they were slower to Americanize, retaining their language and customs well into the second generation. Their lives centered about their farms and churches. As a class, they soon became prosperous in a small way through thrift and diligence. Not all the Germans settled on the lands; for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the Mid-Western cities had large unassimilated groups.

To immigration was due the expansion of the North, the rise of cities, the growth of industries, the rapid development of natural resources, the speedy cultivation of tractless areas of timber and prairie lands, and no doubt a considerable increase in political corruption, pauperism, and labor disputes. Native political leaders and bosses played on the feelings and prejudices of immigrants to win their votes. Hostility to the immigrant became marked, not of employers, but of native laborers, who felt their keen competition through loss of employment and lower wages. Opposition to foreigners who were also Catholics became doubly marked.

The Nativist Movement. This antforeign and anti-Catholic spirit was part of the Anglo-Saxon, Puritan heritage, traceable to

the Reformation. It was seen in colonial times, in the days of the Quebec Act, in the Federalist party, and in the state struggles against democracy and toleration. At times there were outbreaks of a local character between natives and foreigners in the cities. In 1829 the British Parliament granted Catholic emancipation. This was followed by an anti-Catholic wave in England, which affected the America of the thirties.

Pamphlets attacking convents, and confessions of "ex-priests" became popular. It was easy to accept as true charges that were half suspected. The awful disclosures of Maria Monk, who pretended to be an escaped nun from Montreal, were widely circulated and frequently reprinted despite their refutation by Protestant authorities. In Charlestown, Massachusetts, a mob fired a convent and the ringleaders were acquitted, though the solid citizens of Boston held a meeting in Faneuil Hall, condemning the mob and denying the false rumors of imprisoned nuns. Three years later nativists assaulted and sacked the Irish quarters of Boston. In 1831 a Catholic church in New York was fired; some years later one in Burlington, Vermont. These were isolated affairs which were possible because American cities were without ample police protection. Riots of one kind or another were not unusual at the time. Nativist parties appeared in local elections in an effort to defeat candidates who were friendly to the Catholic citizenry. Catholic candidates for even the most obscure offices were unknown.

Nativism was not all due to religious and racial opposition to foreigners. As the immigrants lived in the poorest section of the town and worked together, they were charged with being clanish. They lived more cheaply, reduced wages, and replaced natives in factories and shops. Immigrants were said to vote as a group at the dictates of ward "heelers." They were ordinarily Democrats. They were charged with filling the jails and asylums. They were described as addicted to drinking and revelry. In short, their opponents traced all ills to the immigrant, and made much of his vices and nothing of his virtues.

Political Nativism/ In the forties nativism appeared as a political force. In Philadelphia the Star-Spangled Banner party

was strong. It would restrict immigration, increase the naturalization period, eliminate foreigners from elective and appointive offices, and guard the Protestantism of the public schools. Catholics, under the leadership of Bishops Kenrick of Philadelphia, Hughes of New York, and Fenwick of Boston, demanded that Catholic children should not be compelled to read the Protestant version of the Bible expounded by Protestant teachers or to study textbooks with insulting references to their faith. There was also a desire to overthrow the New York Public School Society, a private organization, and place the schools under state control. This was done. It was hoped by some that New York would return to the older system and give each church its share of the school funds for parochial or sectarian schools. This was not done, though Governor Seward favored such a policy. Catholic bishops established parochial schools wherever possible. Nativists described this as a foreign Catholic assault on the public schools, on Protestantism, and on the Bible. Any candidate for office who favored the Catholic view was charged with seeking the "Roman vote." Immigrants were described as tools of corrupt politicians and designing priests. Catholicism, despite history, was made an immigrants' faith. Evangelical churches were centers of nativism. Many nativists were honest men, misled and ignorant; others utilized the movement for political ends; but all were somewhat fanatical. The real cause of the outburst was the marvelous growth of the Church.

In 1844 there were riots in Philadelphia in which nativists burned immigrants' homes, sacked a convent, and fired St. Augustine's and St. Michael's churches. Meanwhile the militia and authorities stood idly by. The grand jury brought no bills against rioters. Bishop Kenrick placed church property in the hands of city authorities, thus adding to their legal responsibility to protect such property. Services were discontinued for a few days. Finally the terror ended, partly because the Irish showed a ready disposition to defend their churches and humble homes. In Boston and in New York, mob attacks on churches were abandoned when the bishops warned that, if the authorities were unable or unwilling to maintain order, they themselves

would undertake the defense of their property and their flocks. The furor soon ceased. War and slavery held men's minds. Nativism, however, was not dead, but fated to break forth in the Know-Nothingism of the next decade.

Growth of the Catholic Church (1830-1852).¹ The Catholic population more than doubled in the decade after 1830, having about 700,000 members in 1840. By 1850 a conservative estimate gave a Catholic population of about 1,600,000, served by 1800 priests. When the first Plenary Council met in Baltimore (1852), there were five archbishops and twenty-four bishops. As a result of its recommendations another arch-diocese and ten dioceses were created. The sudden growth of the Church was due in part to natural increase, conversions, and the accession of Mexican territory, but primarily to immigration. It was a great strain, but the Church met and solved the problem. Race antagonisms were composed; nativism was met with moderation and tact; new priests of their own race were provided for the immigrant peoples; colleges, seminaries, and schools were built. The Americanization of immigrants was carried out in a broad way.

¹ Looking backward, it is hard to realize that in 1835 there were less than 30,000 Catholics in Massachusetts, about 3000 in Maine, less than 6000 in Vermont, only 387 in New Hampshire, 1230 in Rhode Island, and 720 in Connecticut. Only in the onrush of immigrants and in the feverish development of factories, cities, canals, and railroads can the rise of the Church in New England be understood.

Through the self-sacrifice of regular and secular priests and of nuns, and the contributions of laboring immigrants, there were built cathedrals, churches, hospitals, homes for the aged, seminaries, convents, colleges, and schools in all sections of the land. Small wonder that even honest but narrow nativists who misunderstood and feared Catholicism were worried. Most remarkable was the interest in college foundations: Spring Hill in Alabama (1830), St. Louis University (1829), St. Xavier's in Cincinnati (1842), Fordham in New York (1841), Holy Cross in Massachusetts (1843), Loyola in New Orleans (1847), St. Mary's in Kansas (1848), Villanova near Philadelphia (1843), and Notre Dame in Indiana (1843). The Bavarian Father Boniface Wimmer established St. Vincent's Abbey and College in Pennsylvania (1846), the mother house of the Benedictines of the United States. Religious communities of sisters erected numerous academies for girls, to which many Protestants of the more comfortably circumstanced families sent their daughters because of the lack of higher schools and suitable academies for young ladies. Assuredly, by 1850 the Church in the United States had solved some of its most trying problems and was sinking its roots deep into the soil.

References

The following volumes of the *Chronicles of America*: H. E. BOLTON, *Spanish Borderlands*, pp. 258-295; CONSTANCE SKINNER, *Adventurers of Oregon*; S. E. WHITE, *The Forty-Niners*; N. W. STEPHENSON, *Texas and the Mexican War*. HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-48; HENRY BRUCE and G. P. GARRISON both have lives of Samuel Houston; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 148-162, 350-358; H. K. NORTON, *Story of California*; W. A. LINN, *Story of the Mormons*; H. N. CASSON, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*.

Bibliography

CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. V, pp. 489-614; G. P. GARRISON, *Westward Extension*; MCMASTER, Vol. VII; J. H. SMITH, *Annexation of Texas, War with Mexico*; J. F. RIPPY, *United States and Mexico, 1821-1924*; E. D. ADAMS, *British Interests and Activities in Texas*; JOHNSTON, *American Political History*, Vol. II, pp. 1-100; JOSIAH ROYCE, *California*; W. S. MEYERS (Ed.), *Mexican War Diary of McClellan*; EUGENE BARKER (Ed.), *The Austin Papers, 1765-1827*; H. I. PRIESTLEY, *Mexican Nation*; E. I. MCCORMAC, *James K. Polk*; SISTER ANGELA FITZMORRIS, *Four Decades of Catholicism in Texas* (Catholic University Studies); C. E. CHAPMAN, *History of California, Founding of Spanish California*; F. BISHOP, *Our First War with Mexico*; H. E. BOLTON (Ed.), *Francisco Palóu's New California*; I. B. RICHMAN, *California under Spain and Mexico*; R. G. GLASS, *California, the American Period*; J. G. WHARTON, *Old Franciscan Missions of California*; C. R. FISH, *Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. IV (1843-1866); C. R. GOING, *David Wilmot, Free Soiler*; JOSEPH SCHAFER, *Pacific Northwest*; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 187 ff., Vol. V, pp. 131 ff., Vol. VI, pp. 139 ff., 308 ff.; F. S. DELLENBAUGH, *Frémont and '49*; A. C. MCLAUGHLIN, *Lewis Cass*; A. B. FAUST, *German Element in the United States*; STEPHEN BYRNE, *Irish Emigration to the United States*; G. M. STEPHENSON, *History of American Immigration*.

3. SLAVERY AND SECTIONALISM

Sectionalism. The decade following 1850 witnessed the breaking of the nation into sections. The South and the North had long been turning in opposite directions. Slavery, high tariff, and the national versus the state-rights theory of government were issues on which they could not agree. Compromises were only temporary makeshifts. The North and South were growing far apart. The gulf was ever widening. The old bonds of union were breaking. The rise of the "Black" Republicans and the election of Lincoln were the last straws. The crash was destined,

and the abolitionists and fire-eating Southerners did their share to bring about the unfortunate strife.

The Abolitionists. The earliest abolitionists were high-minded Quakers. Soon other idealists were crusading against slavery. Benjamin Lundy gave his life to lecturing and writing articles and forming abolitionist societies, walking from Boston to Bennington, Vermont, in 1829, to obtain the services of William Lloyd Garrison. At first he found some of his best supporters in the South. James G. Birney stood for legal emancipation of the negroes. A lawyer and planter, he freed his own slaves and broke with Clay, whom he held responsible for the growth of slavery in Kentucky. As a publisher of an abolitionist paper in Cincinnati, Birney's life was endangered and his plant frequently looted. As secretary of the American Anti-slavery Society, he became the Liberty party's candidate for the presidency in 1840 and 1844, but never polled many more than 60,000 votes. The Grimké sisters of Charleston, South Carolina, broke with their family and the Episcopal Church over the slavery issue and joined the Quakers. Their eloquent speeches and writings caused their exile from the South. Lucretia Mott, a distinguished Friend, was a leader in this emancipation movement, in which women played a conspicuous part.

William Lloyd Garrison. William Lloyd Garrison, the most famous and one of the most radical abolitionists, established a violent journal, the *Liberator* (Boston, 1831). He agreed with Birney that "There will be no cessation of conflict until slavery shall be exterminated or liberty destroyed. Liberty and slavery cannot live in juxtaposition." While Garrison denied any connection with slave insurrections, he believed that an uprising of slaves might eventually be necessary. In 1835 a mob of well-dressed Bostonians dragged the abolitionist by a halter through the streets. As a protection, he was arrested. Not long after, a mob murdered Lovejoy, an abolitionist editor and orator, in Illinois. Such outrages increased antislavery ranks far more than any propaganda and made abolitionists more radical. Garrison printed at the head of his paper: "The compact which exists between the North and South is a covenant with death and an

you can't have them
living with the

agreement with hell — involving both parties in atrocious criminality and should be annulled." In 1854 he burned the Constitution, shouting, "So perish all compromises with tyranny." Such radicalism aroused wealthy manufacturers whose mills depended on cotton. This "cottonocracy" of Boston hated Garrison.

Moderate Antislavery Men. Not all antislavery men followed Garrison, who refused to coöperate with those who excluded women antislavery workers and who would take no political action. Some abolitionists joined the Liberty party or the later Free Soil party; others tried to prevent Whig compromises with slavery. Ere long a number of prominent figures sympathized with the antislavery views, even when annoyed by the rabid abolitionists. Among them were the spiritual Wendell Phillips, whose heart went out to the downtrodden immigrant as well as to the black slaves; divines like Channing, Parker, Higginson, and Beecher; authors like Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Emerson; the aged Gallatin, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, William Jay, and the rich Gerrit Smith.

The South on the Defensive. Nat Turner, a slave preacher, stirred some fifty negroes to revolt (1831). With barbarous cruelty they murdered fifty-seven persons, mainly women and children. In turn, seventeen negroes were executed. Many more suffered. Virginia was in a frenzy. The whole South feared servile insurrections and stood aghast. Abolitionists were blamed. A turning point was reached. Educators, ministers, public men, and editors of the South no longer criticized slavery. They more than justified their peculiar institution. A governor described slavery as the corner stone of the Republican edifice. Calhoun held it a positive good. The poet W. G. Simms boasted that he was one of the first to advocate slavery as a blessing. No criticism was allowed, and the privileges of negroes were cut down.

In two slave and six free states freedmen had been allowed to vote. In the South, this was soon ended. In some states freed negroes were banished or ordered to find a white guardian. On charges of vagrancy free negroes were reduced to servitude. Negro testimony was not accepted in court where a white man's rights were involved. Planters and overseers might punish dis-

obedient slaves to the point of death. The black man's market value and the necessity of keeping him in working condition were his only safeguards. Laws forbade teaching a negro to read and write, and a number of states denied masters the right to free their negroes. In the fear of disorders the right of worship was restricted and negro preachers were carefully watched.

Suppression of Discussion. The South sought to suppress all discussion of slavery, even though the democratic rights of freedom of speech, of petition, and of the mails must be violated. Southern postmasters, with the moral support of various administrations, refused to deliver abolitionist papers, even on occasion burning them. Congress, however, failed to close the mail to such "incendiary" writings.

In Congress the right of free petition was violated. A "gag resolution" was annually passed, providing that all petitions relating to slavery be laid on the table without action (1836-1844). John Quincy Adams, then a representative from Massachusetts, held that such procedure violated the ancient, fundamental, and constitutional guaranty of freedom of petition. He stood almost alone, with Joshua Giddings of Ohio seconding his motions; but he protected the right of petition.

The South Carolina legislature urged that abolition societies be suppressed in the North, and Governors Marcy and Everett of New York and Massachusetts stooped to consider the matter, on the ground that abolitionists preached destructive doctrines. The North went a long way, for wealth favored the big planters. In Connecticut a school for negroes was raided by a mob, and the legislature forbade the teaching of foreign negroes. The self-sacrificing mistress of the school was actually imprisoned. A governor of Georgia offered \$5000 to any "kidnaper" who would deliver Garrison to his mercies. A governor of South Carolina would execute abolitionists. The South posted rewards for the capture of leading abolitionists. The antislavery movement could not be suppressed; abolitionists thrived under attack, by Congress or by street mobs.

Slavery and the Churches. Southern ministers sought to restrain Northern preachers from lecturing against slavery or

taking part in abolition programs. By 1840 the churches of the South justified slavery as a benefit to Africans, who otherwise would not know God or civilization. They did urge more humane treatment and made feeble attempts to teach the blacks religion as they sat apart in the slave pews. Most Southern ministers owned a personal servant or two, something their Northern brethren refused to understand. Finally, over the general issue, with specific reference to a bishop's possession of slaves through having married a slaveholding wife, the Methodists separated into the Northern and Southern Churches (1845). The engendered bitterness has continued the separation, though most communicants of either division of the Church are now ignorant of the cause. In 1845, too, the Baptists split into Northern and Southern sects, just as the Presbyterians did somewhat earlier. Even the Episcopal Church found it difficult to straddle the slavery issue. These schisms were significant. Strong religious bodies which had helped to bind the nation were breaking. Would political parties do likewise? Would the nation itself be torn apart?

The "Underground Railroad." Negroes in the border states, knowing that freedom lay in the distant North, fled from cruel masters, tracing their way by night toward the North Star. If they managed to cross into New Jersey, over the Ohio River, or into Pennsylvania, freedom was in sight. Regardless of laws, kindly abolitionists and Quakers would hide them by day and pass them on to a friend's house or barn during the night. Ultimately they lost themselves among the freed negroes of the North or reached Canada, where British law automatically made them free. About 70,000 are thought to have found a Canadian refuge. In time there were regular routes on this secret, so-called "underground railroad," with its friends and agents at stations or hiding-places located every few miles along the route, where the wretched fugitive was given a bed and food. In the eyes of the law the abolitionist or Quaker was a criminal, not a benefactor. The reputed president of the "road," Levi Coffin, an Indiana Quaker, was the best known of all agents. He alone harbored over 2000 fugitives. Between 1830 and 1860

some 40,000 negroes are said to have been passed along the Ohio route alone. It was this successful violation of the Fugitive-Slave Law of 1793 that caused the South to demand a statute which could be enforced.

The escape of slaves was made easier after 1842, when the Supreme Court declared that state officials could not be compelled to enforce the Federal Fugitive-Slave Law. Therewith



CABINS OF SLAVES ON A SOUTHERN PLANTATION

From "Dixie," one of the Chronicles of America Photoplays. Copyright.
By permission, Yale University Press

a number of states passed laws forbidding their officials to give assistance in carrying out the unpopular act. As no Federal enforcement machinery had been provided, the slave-owner had little chance of capturing a fugitive and carrying him back to slavery. These laws, even though not in conflict with the letter, clearly violated the spirit of the Constitution. Southern states retaliated by refusing to return escaped criminals from the North.

The Situation in 1850. Affairs of state were in a bad way. California was clamoring for admission as a free state. Proslavery

men were numerous enough in California, but few men from the South brought their slaves, because of the distance and the likelihood of their escape. The South opposed the admission of another free state, which would further destroy the political balance in the Senate. The North was anxious not only to give California statehood, but to organize New Mexico and Utah as territories with slavery banned.

The North was also aroused by the active slave trade in the District of Columbia, over which Congress had undisputed jurisdiction. It seemed barbarous to sell negroes at the auction block almost within the shadow of the Capitol. And the slave trade was brisk, for Southern congressmen and visitors bought Maryland and Virginia negroes in this central mart. Again, sensitive Americans were annoyed by foreign travelers' descriptions of this slave market, comparing it with the sale of human flesh in Turkey. Moderate men of either party hoped to abolish the nefarious trade in the Federal District. The South, on the other hand, wanted a more stringent fugitive-slave law.

Could these demands be reconciled? Something must be done. Threats of Southern secession by responsible leaders were becoming more frequent. Congress was in an uproar. Many members were armed with revolvers or bowie knives; physical conflicts amid the numerous threats were avoided with difficulty. Men turned to Henry Clay, the peacemaker in difficulties beyond number.

The Compromise of 1850. Henry Clay pleaded with the South to accept a compromise, and warned against secession and dissolution of the Union. He was dead in earnest, for he loved the Federal Union, which he had served so long. No longer did the old man, destined to die two years later, think of his political future. And there were many like him — leaders of the earlier national period, but old men now. Clay's Omnibus Bill (so called from the popular carryall, or omnibus) was actually composed of five bills: California was to be admitted as a free state; a new fugitive-slave law was to be enacted; Utah and New Mexico were to be organized as territories with nothing said concerning slavery; ten million dollars should be voted Texas

in payment of its claim to part of New Mexico; and the slave trade should be prohibited in the District of Columbia. After seven months of agitation the Compromise was accepted and President Fillmore signed the measures.

Calhoun's last speech, read to the Senate by a friend, denounced the Compromise. About a month later Calhoun died. In his speech the whole slavery question was reviewed, and shrewdly it was shown that every compromise would only delay the inevitable struggle until the rapidly growing North would be far stronger than the South. Let the North cease all agitation, return the slaves, and open the nationally owned territories to slavery. That alone would satisfy the irreconcilable old statesman. Like Calhoun, Seward opposed compromise. He urged "a higher law" than the Constitution, a moral law which could not be violated, and he pleased antislavery men of all stripes. He was strengthening his hold on the North, but thereafter he was doomed politically in the South.

Unlike Seward, the dying Webster could scarcely be accused of playing politics. In his famous Seventh-of-March speech he took a middle course, defended the Fugitive-Slave Law, denounced abolitionists, and tearfully pleaded for the Union. He feared secession and the destruction of the republic. Webster's attitude won conservative representatives, whether north or south of the Mason and Dixon line. Webster's oration, one of the greatest ever heard in the halls of Congress, facilitated the passage of Clay's Compromise. But in Massachusetts Webster was a fallen idol. Northern Whigs turned from him as a traitor. Abolitionists assailed him. He died saddened, and unforgiven for favoring a compromise which may have saved the Union, and certainly gave the North time to grow stronger. Time alone revived the greatness of his name.

Fugitive-Slave Law. The new Fugitive-Slave Law provided that slaveholders or their agents in quest of a fugitive could get aid from Federal commissioners appointed by judges of Federal Circuit Courts. Commissioners were empowered to call on bystanders for assistance. Anyone helping a negro to escape might be fined \$1000 and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The

circuit of movable Ca

new law had sharp teeth. A fugitive negro was denied the rights of habeas corpus, jury trial, appeal, and offering testimony in his own behalf. As in the South, the slaveholder's word alone counted. The negro was simply guilty, as charged.

The law violated every ancient principle of justice. It was one of the few concessions that the South obtained in the Compromise, and it proved unworkable. Public sentiment in the North opposed the capture of escaped negroes and revolted at the cruel manner in which they were carried back to servitude. There was a suspicion, too, that agents were kidnaping free negroes for sale in the lower South. At any rate, mobs formed and rescued "captured slaves." Obstacles were thrown in the way of slave-catchers, which made the cost of returning a slave more than his monetary value. Penalties did not frighten the determined lawbreakers who helped fugitives over the road to Canada. So unpopular an act only made lawbreakers out of high-minded citizens and lovable fanatics.¹

Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852). The severest indictment of slavery at its worst came from the pen of Harriet Beecher Stowe, a member of the eminent Beecher family and the wife of a professor in Bowdoin College. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written in a little Maine village; but Mrs. Stowe, having formerly lived eighteen years in Cincinnati, Ohio, directly across the river from a slaveholding community, where she was constantly confronted with problems of human slavery, was well prepared for her great work.

¹ Not only slavery but liquor was under the reformers' fire. Americans had always drunk heavily. Germans introduced beer-drinking, and the Irish, finding liquor cheaper in America than in Ireland, drank more heavily. Whisky was given by contractors to speed up laborers. The soldier had his canteen. Statesmen and ministers drank publicly. In fact it was quite general among all ranks. Temperance societies were established everywhere. Their number became legion. Cities restricted the sale of spirits by licensing dramshops and thus cutting down their number. In Maine, under the leadership of Neal Dow, a prohibition law was passed (1851). In other states the Maine law was agitated, with the result that in some states counties were allowed by ballot to permit or prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks (county option). The great Irish temperance advocate, Father Theobald Mathew, visited America (1849-1851). He was rather better received by native Americans than by his own people. Campaigning through twenty-five states, he induced over 600,000 persons to sign the pledge and gave a lasting impetus to the Catholic total-abstinence movement.

Although it was an exaggerated account, most of its readers accepted her romantic portrayal as true to facts. Within a year 300,000 copies were sold. It was dramatized, and traveling troupes presented the play in every town and hamlet. Everyone in the North came to know Uncle Tom. The young readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are said to have been won for Lincoln in 1860.

In the South the book was not circulated. Suspected book-stalls and owners were raided for copies. A full generation after the war, stock companies caused riots by putting on the play, so aroused was the South by its libelous characterization. In Europe the book was printed in more than a score of languages. A million copies were sold in the British Empire. The drama too was successful. And in Europe, when the North was sorely in need of friends, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* taught liberals and laborers that the war in America was fought primarily against slavery.

Slavery on the Eve of Secession. The moral side of slavery grew worse. Impoverished planters of Maryland and Virginia sold their surplus slaves in the Far South, where labor on the cotton and sugar plantations was more difficult and unhealthy than in the tobacco fields. Mortality was high, and labor under the lash was forced on the larger plantations by overseers whose chief interest was a larger crop for the absentee owner. Greater production was the everlasting cry. Families were separated when planters died and their estates were subdivided, or when surplus laborers had to be sold. The hearts and souls of the colored folk were cruelly torn. Protestant churches recognized sale as equivalent to divorce and permitted remarriage, though at best the formality of marriage was rare in slave days.

The physical welfare of the negro was probably better guarded as his monetary value increased. A prime negro was worth \$250 in 1808, at least \$500 in 1840, and a minimum of \$1400 in 1860. It did not pay to work expensive negroes to death. Nor, regardless of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, were they often so viciously mistreated as to injure their working efficiency. Indeed, planters refused to hire out plantation hands to contractors on railroads and levees, for this work was too dangerous to life. It was left to Irish labor, which at fifty to seventy-five cents a day was cheaper

and more efficient. No employer cared if the poor foreigner was overworked and underfed. If he died no one cared, for to a large-scale contractor he was represented only by a number. He was buried in the embankment and another "navvy" took his place. A negro worth \$1400 could not be easily replaced, and the interest on the investment plus maintenance was more than a contractor would pay in wages. Aside from the moral wrong of slavery, there was a good deal to the Southern charge that the life of the immigrant in the grinding factories and coal mines and in the dangerous construction and dredging work of the North was far harder than that of the slave on the ordinary plantation.

Slaves and Slave-Owners. Slaves increased from 677,000 in 1790 to over 2,000,000 in 1830, and to about 3,954,000 in 1860. There was no dying out of the negroes. In addition to the natural increase there was some smuggling, or "bootlegging," of slaves into the South after 1808. Slave labor seemed cheap; but toward the end it proved very expensive, though few Southerners were aware that inefficient slave labor was ruining the South while cheap, free immigrant labor was enriching the North.

Hinton Rowan Helper wrote a book, *The Impending Crisis* (1857), later used as a Republican campaign text, which showed how costly slavery was to the South and how destructive to the small farmers without slaves and to the "poor white" population. He pointed out that only one family in five owned slaves and that there were only 10,000 large planters with 50 or more slaves and broad acreage. Yet the South was ruled by this small class, with the aid of professional men and ministers. The small farmers and poor whites, in their ignorance and sectional patriotism, upheld this standing order, believing that slavery made Southern prosperity and indirectly bettered their condition. The planters dominated; they alone held political offices; they controlled the banks, newspapers, schools, and churches; they ruled in their own interest and brought about the Civil War. The slaveless majority followed the rulers at the polls and bled in the ranks commanded by planters during the long war for slavery. Still only in the loss of the war could the economical and social condition of the poor be improved. Much of this

Helper explained to his social class in the South, but his fellows would not listen. Most of them would not have been able to understand his book had its circulation been permitted. The book was burned and thrown out of the mail, and its owners were mobbed. The ruling class would not face the facts or allow the governed any freedom of expression.¹

Election of 1852. Despite everything, men hoped against hope that the Compromise would settle the slavery issue. Politicians



CENTER OF POPULATION, 1790-1920

did their best to keep it in the background; yet they failed. The Democratic convention, on the forty-ninth ballot, nominated a "dark horse," Franklin Pierce² of New Hampshire, in preference to Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, or Stephen A. Douglas, the rising leader of Illinois. The platform maintained the justice of the Mexican War and of the Omnibus Bill, and urged that slavery be not stressed. The Whigs, on the fifty-third ballot,

¹ After 1850 it is curious to note that planters ceased to send their sons to Northern colleges, such as Princeton and Calhoun's alma mater, Yale. The University of Virginia grew accordingly.

² The Whigs published a book of a half-dozen pages an inch high by a half-inch wide, *Military Services of General Pierce*, in ridicule of this Democratic warrior.

selected a man whose views on slavery and current questions were doubtful, the war hero Winfield Scott. The Whig platform was cautiously written. It was not clear on any issue, but accepted the Compromise of 1850. Both parties named Southern candidates for the vice presidency. The Free Soil party, with John P. Hale of New Hampshire as standard-bearer, issued an advanced program of liberal principles: no more slave states; no new slave territories; no fugitive-slave laws; a declaration that the Compromise was repugnant to Christianity, the Constitution, and the common law; cordial treatment of immigrants; and the donation of Federal lands to settlers.

Scott drew a heavy popular vote even in the South, but carried only four out of thirty-one states and a seventh of the electoral vote. The Free-Soilers failed to carry a single state, but they educated voters in honest opposition to slavery. The campaign of 1852 ended the Whig party. It could not bridge the slavery issue and swallow the Fugitive-Slave Law. It could not satisfy Northern Whigs who opposed slavery and Southern Whigs who favored it. The Churches had broken; now political parties were splitting; and Pierce was made president.

[**Know-Nothingism.**] Out of this party chaos emerged the Know-Nothings.¹ Nativism of a virulent nature broke out in the fifties, when a secret, oath-bound political society known as

¹ Know-Nothingism was accompanied by no end of rioting and mob attacks on Catholic properties in a number of cities. Bloodshed reached its worst in Louisville (1855). Within the next few years many city police systems were reorganized, thus ending street riots. Know-Nothingism was annoying, but not detrimental in the long run. Immigration was not discouraged. Rather immigrants were better protected at ports of entry by Federal and state laws, and by societies which were established by religious and racial organizations. Catholicism was not injured. Interest in the faith was aroused. Intellectual converts entered the Church in numbers resembling those of the English Oxford, or Newman, movement. Attack compelled Catholic unity and ended various internal issues. Racial hatreds were forgotten as unity of faith drew immigrants together. Protestant immigrants, seeing nativism strike at them, found that they had a common bond with Catholic foreigners. There were no South and North Germans in the United States, one might say. In numbers as well as in prestige the Church grew, — from about 1,600,000 in 1850 to 3,100,000 in 1860. And some of the older immigrants and their children were finding themselves in the New World, as they gradually advanced from common labor to clerkships and careers in business, the professions, and public employment.

the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, or the Sons of '76, was founded. Members, on inquiry as to its nature, answered, "I do not know." Hence the American party was called Know-Nothing. The Know-Nothings aimed to raise the naturalization period to twenty-one years, prevent Catholics and men of Catholic parentage or with Catholic relatives from holding elective or appointive offices, and debar recent immigrants and their sons from office. Illogically, despite this proscription, they expressed a belief in separation of Church and State, the Protestant Bible in the schools, no interference with religion, and no test oaths for office. To unthinking men of narrow views the party appealed, with its elaborate ritual and cry of "America for Americans."

Kossuth, the Hungarian rebel of 1848, toured America in 1852, arousing his audiences against Catholicism and stirring up radicalism in German irreligious circles. Nativists agreed in part with Kossuth, but denounced German irreligious and socialistic movements. Two years later a papal representative, Cardinal Bedini, came to America to settle certain disputes between parishes and their bishops (trusteeism). His mere presence aroused nativist mobs wherever he journeyed. His reception by President Pierce annoyed the anti-Democratic Know-Nothings. After 1852 many antislavery Whigs voted with the Know-Nothings, merely as a protest against the Democratic party, in which the bulk of the foreigners were enrolled, and against the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

At any rate, Know-Nothingism displayed strength in 1854, electing forty representatives to the New York assembly and a governor and a majority of the legislature in Massachusetts. Know-Nothings polled a fourth of the vote in New York, two thirds in Massachusetts, and two fifths in Pennsylvania. The following year they elected governors and working majorities in the legislatures of Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, California, and Kentucky, and they counted strong minorities in New York, Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana. In a number of cities they named local officials. Yet their claim of a million oath-bound voters proved to be exaggerated. In the

South, Governor Wise of Virginia routed the secret order with the charge that it represented every undemocratic fanaticism from abolitionism to nativism. In the South there were few foreigners. Democratic leaders were aware that this was an artificial issue to cover up an antislavery movement.

In 1856 the Know-Nothings named Fillmore for the presidency, but his total Whig and nativist vote was only about 20 per cent of the popular poll. The Know-Nothings carried only Maryland. They won fourteen seats in Congress. Two years later they elected twenty-two representatives and two senators, although a larger number of congressmen were in sympathy with their aims. But the day of the Know-Nothings was over. The antislavery men in their midst withdrew. Whigs, who had voted in protest against Pierce and Buchanan, joined the new Republican party. The real issue was slavery. The South and the West divorced themselves from Know-Nothingism, which was opposed to slavery and the free distribution of land. An antiforeign and anti-Catholic party could not bridge the gap between the sections. Statesmen and politicians vied with each other in decrying this un-American party of bigotry, proscription, and racial hostility. Both major parties shunned its principles and its leaders. Nativism was forgotten as the war came on, and foreigners were welcomed in the fighting ranks.

Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854). Again the slavery question was in the air. Western leaders were anxious to open the Nebraska region to settlers clamoring for land, establish a territorial government, force back the Indians, protect the Oregon Trail, and prepare for a transcontinental railroad. Douglas, Benton of Missouri, and Dodge of Iowa had been active for several years. Douglas and his backers in Chicago and New York wanted a railroad which would follow a northern route from Chicago to the coast; Benton and Atchison of Missouri favored a central route from St. Louis; the Southerners wanted a southern road. Benton, defeated in Missouri for reelection to the Senate, thought of a new future in Nebraska. The South would oppose this Western expansion, which would mean more free states, unless it profited in some way. Radical Southerners held that Congress had no

right to legislate slavery in or out of the territories. They argued that the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah under the act of 1850 had violated the Missouri Compromise line and made it void. They maintained that slaves as property could be brought into a territory as well as other possessions. They believed that all forms of property should be given the same protection. They would take the slavery question out of Congress. At all events, they intimated, the South must have its own way. Could the factions be satisfied and Nebraska organized?

The South was strongly situated. The Indians were under the control of the Secretary of War, and as the Southerner Jefferson Davis was Secretary, Indian titles would not be silenced unless the South was satisfied. Nor could Indian tribes with treaty guaranties be removed unless the Senate concurred, and this the South could prevent. Then the Pierce administration was commonly regarded as under Southern influence. As the Indian titles must be taken care of before Nebraska Territory could be organized, the South must be satisfied. This Douglas and his supporters aimed to do.

His revised bill called for two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and left the decision as to whether they should ultimately come into the Union as free or as slave states to the territorial voters. Douglas would submit the question to the people, to the squatters on the land. Popular, or squatter, sovereignty, he called this doctrine. This provision aroused the Whigs



THOMAS H. BENTON

and antislavery representatives, but did not satisfy the South. Thereupon Douglas agreed to an amendment declaring not only that the act followed the principle of 1850 but that the 36° 30' line of 1820 was abolished. With this modification the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, or the Compromise of 1854, passed both Houses and, with the President's signature, became law.

The Significance of the Act. Douglas was the hero of the South — the successor of Calhoun for the moment. He was the master Democrat. The railroad interests were won, for the organization of both territories would permit of a central or a northern route. The rivalry of Missouri and Iowa was silenced, for each had a territory to its west. Northern Democrats were less solidly behind Douglas, for he was suspected of being willing to break the party. He was too ambitious.

The passage of the act caused an outburst of anger. Northern Whigs, some Democrats, all antislavery men denounced Douglas as a traitor. The line 36° 30' had almost the sacred character of the Constitution. It was trampled under foot. Seward and Sumner knew no limits in their denunciation. Edward Everett submitted to Congress a protest signed by three thousand New England ministers in the name of God against the immorality of the act and its breach of faith. Later Douglas himself presented another petition from five hundred ministers attacking him as wanting in "courtesy and reverence toward man and God." Therewith Douglas denounced these preachers as misguided men who would "desecrate the pulpit and prostitute the sacred desk to the miserable and corrupting influence of party politics." He ridiculed their assumption "to determine the will of God in legislative matters."

Throughout the North the clamor against the law and its author grew. Douglas said later that he could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his burning effigies. Mobs greeted him in his own West when he would speak. But fear did not deter the "Little Giant," who had dared beard Know-Nothingism in its Philadelphia stronghold with the most cutting attack against its un-American inquisition of naturalized citizens. Douglas was to turn the tide and appear again as the

favorite son of Northern Democracy.¹ In the meantime the slavery question was removed from Congress to the settlers on the Kansas prairies.

"Bleeding Kansas." Kansas suffered five long years before the slavery question was settled. Settlers from Missouri poured into the territory, bringing their slaves. To counteract their strength the New England Emigrant Aid Society was founded, under the leadership of Eli Thayer. This organization held mass meetings in New England and collected money, Bibles, and Sharpe's rifles for the aid of free-soil emigrants who desired to settle in Kansas. The rifles were known as "Beecher's Bibles," because of this divine's interest in obtaining subscriptions for arming emigrants. Easterners settled Topeka and Lawrence, the latter named after a wealthy Massachusetts manufacturer who contributed generously to the movement. The proslavery men founded the rival towns of Atchison and Leavenworth. In the election of a legislature the Free-Soilers, who were more numerous, found themselves outvoted by armed men from Missouri who crossed the line to vote and then returned home. Governor Reeder, a proslavery appointee of President Pierce, looked on helplessly. A code of laws was passed protecting slavery.

The Free-Soilers called a convention at Topeka, framed a constitution prohibiting any negroes, free or slave, in the territory, selected a governor and legislature, and applied for admission to the Union. Thus the question of choosing between the two rival governments was submitted to Congress.

The Kansas Debate in Congress. Pierce issued a proclamation against lawlessness and authorized his new proslavery governor, Shannon, to use troops if necessary. Senator Toombs, of Georgia, offered a bill (1856) empowering the legislature to call a constitutional convention and prepare the territory for admission to the Union if the convention should deem it expedient to seek admission at that time. Southerners and most Democrats supported the bill, expecting that a slave constitution would be

¹ Stephen A. Douglas aroused the antagonism of Know-Nothings and abolitionists because his second wife was of a Maryland Catholic slave-owning family and because he brought up his sons by the first wife in the Catholic faith.

drafted. Republicans demanded the Topeka constitution. The debate was bitter. Half the members of Congress were said to be armed. Violent threats were made; fistic encounters were seen. Charles Sumner, Webster's successor from Massachusetts, made a vicious attack upon slavery and proslavery men, with cruelly insulting references to Douglas and Senator Butler of South Carolina. Never before had Congress listened to such a bitter oration as Sumner's "The Crime against Kansas." The nation stood aghast. Meanwhile Kansas shed blood.

Douglas replied in kind, but Congressman Brooks of South Carolina sought to avenge his uncle, Senator Butler, by nearly killing Sumner with blows from his cane while the latter was bent over his desk in the Senate chamber. From this attack Sumner did not recover for years. The South made a hero of Brooks. His friends presented him with innumerable testimonial canes. The North deified Sumner. Yet calm men on either side must have regretted both incidents—the intemperate speech and, even more, the cowardly assault. The lines were drawing tighter, and the gulf between Republicans and proslavery Democrats was widening. Radicals on either side and new men of hot blood were gaining control.

Civil War in Kansas. Proslavery men raided Lawrence on the pretext of arresting certain Free-Soilers, looted the newspaper offices and stores, and destroyed buildings. John Brown of Osawatimie, a fanatical opponent of slavery, sought revenge. Aided by a small band of men, including his four sons, he murdered in cold blood five innocent proslavery men, calling them at night from their homes to their deaths. Elsewhere Brown would have been executed for murder or adjudged insane, but he escaped to the East with the plaudits of Free-Soilers. Civil war broke out. Over two hundred men on one side or the other were murdered. As election approached, President Pierce sent a third governor, who vainly attempted to preserve order.

In 1857 the corruptly elected legislature called a convention, over the governor's veto. Free-Soilers failed to vote, and thus the proslavery element, though a minority, was in control and framed a constitution guaranteeing slavery. Even the newly

appointed fourth governor, Walker of Mississippi, a staunch Southerner, opposed the crude way in which slavery was forced on the people of Kansas. President Buchanan would not heed his protest. Douglas, angered, warned the administration that he would not support the Kansas constitution. He had sacrificed much for the South, but felt that he had been betrayed. He was able to defeat the bill which would have made Kansas a slave state (1858), but in so doing won the hatred of the South and of the Buchanan administration. He stood by his principle of squatter sovereignty, maintaining that he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down but that the vote must be fair. The voice of Kansas must be that of the majority, not of a small, aggressive minority. Douglas regained strength in the North, but he lost the South and wrecked his party. No man could please both sections. There could be no compromise.

Kansas continued as a territory. Free settlers increased in number. Her people still bled. Her civil war gave notice of a greater Civil War, with "bloody Kansas" as one of its causes and charges. Order finally prevailed. At last, when the South seceded, Kansas became a free state, contributing its regiments and grain supplies to the Northern armies.

The Republican Party.¹ Hostility to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and to the proslavery control of the Democratic party caused the organization of the Republican party by Western antislavery men. Mass meetings in Ripon, Wisconsin, and in Jackson, Michigan, announced the birth of Republicanism (1854). The Whig days were over. Know-Nothingism had never been popular in the open spaces of the West. Moderate antislavery men believed that the times demanded a party which would leave slavery alone in the South but prevent its entrance into the territories, or any extension of its evil influence. Western men wanted a party which would not proscribe citizens for racial or re-

¹ This is the present Republican party, and must not be confused with the earlier Republican party of Jefferson, which became later the Democratic-Republican and finally the Democratic party. As the major rival parties these two have fought for political control since 1856. Save for the Cleveland and Wilson administrations, the "Grand Old Party" (G. O. P.), as its adherents popularly term the Republican party, has been in power since Lincoln's election in 1860.

ligious reasons but would aid in developing Western railroads and in obtaining free land for settlers. Republicanism grew rapidly throughout the North. The party was ready for action in 1856. Thereafter it drew into its midst the old Whig leaders; the rank and file of the Northern Whigs; the less radical Free-Soilers and abolitionists; most of the Germans, who hated slavery and wanted free lands; the bulk of the Northern Know-Nothings, who at heart disliked the Democratic party more than they did the immigrant; and manufacturers and business men who thought in terms of a high tariff. The new party gave expression to all these elements.

Election of 1856. The Democrats passed over Pierce, though commending his administration, and named James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as their candidates. The platform upheld the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, agreed to silence on the issue of slavery, and violently condemned Know-Nothingism and abolitionism. Seward, the real Republican leader, had been slow in deserting the Whigs for the new party. He declined the nomination for president, and the Republicans named John C. Frémont, known as the Pathfinder, because of his Western explorations and his "conquest" of California. Lincoln was passed over for the vice presidency. The platform called for the support of all men who wanted Kansas free and who were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Know-Nothings and the Whigs united on Fillmore, who took enough votes away from the Democrats to give the Republicans New York. Buchanan won by a large plurality, but the Republicans did surprisingly well, with about 1,300,000 popular votes. Evidently, the new party would be a dangerous foe in the next election.

The Dred Scott Decision (1857). The squatter-sovereignty theory was shortly upset by a judicial decision. Dred Scott was an army surgeon's slave, who accompanied his master to Illinois and to Fort Snelling in Minnesota, and later became the property of a citizen of New York. He brought suit in the Missouri courts for freedom, on the plea that residence in a free territory automatically made him a free negro. His suit was denied, on the score that as a slave he was not a citizen and could not sue in

the courts of Missouri. Therewith his backers had Scott sue for freedom in the Federal courts, appealing to the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Taney, presiding over the court, read the majority decision that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri or of the United States and could not bring suit. The court, in the hope of settling the controversy regarding slavery in the territories, continued that even if Scott had a right to bring suit, mere residence in the territory would not make him free, as the territory was not legally free soil nor had Congress the constitutional right to make a territory free. Thus the Supreme Court declared that the former Missouri Compromise was never constitutional and that the free-soil clause in the Ordinance of 1787 would hardly stand judicial test.

Justice Curtis read a dissenting opinion, based upon law, custom, and the history of the slavery issue, which argued that a negro descendant of slaves could be a citizen, that until repealed the Missouri Compromise was constitutional, and that Dred Scott should go free. The poor negro was forgotten. Chief Justice Taney meant well, but his unnecessary decision only made slavery more of a political issue. Apparently, it could not be settled by the Court any more than by Congress. For the first time the Supreme Court was widely criticized. Taney was depicted as a slave-owner, a Southerner, and a Democrat ready to do anything to safeguard slave property. The South was delighted. The decision ran counter to Douglas's squatter sovereignty by declaring slavery legal in all territories of the United States. It upheld the Southern contention that negro property, like any other property, could be brought into the territories and must be protected. Buchanan, in his next message to Congress, accepted Taney's decision, as did the Democratic party; but Republicans would have none of it, as law or public policy.

Douglas-Lincoln Debates (1858). The candidates of the next election soon appeared in the arena. Douglas, as a candidate for reelection to the Senate, stumped Illinois, urging the election of a Democratic legislature. Lincoln stood as the Republican candidate and followed Douglas about the state, attacking his proslavery views and his Kansas-Nebraska compromise. A series

of joint debates was arranged, which attracted national attention. To every town where the speakers appeared people came for miles. At Freeport, Lincoln asked how Senator Douglas could reconcile his squatter-sovereignty view (that the people in the territories, rather than Congress, could determine whether a territory should enter as a free or slave state) with Chief Justice Taney's decision, which guaranteed the right of slaveholders to



© Keystone View Company

A REPLICA OF THE LINCOLN CABIN

bring their slaves into the territory and demand protection for such property. If Congress could not constitutionally prohibit slavery in the territories or in new states, how could the people in the territory do so? In the so-called Freeport Doctrine, Douglas half avoided and half answered this question by saying that slave property needed protection, but that the people, if opposed to it, would not provide the necessary local police protection. Slavery, he declared, could not thrive in an unfriendly atmosphere. His answer dodged the issue, but left him apparently in opposition to Taney's decision.

The people of Illinois cast a greater popular Republican than Democratic vote, but were unable to elect a Republican legislature. Hence the legislature named Douglas as senator. The debates, however, made Lincoln known and the most likely candidate to oppose Douglas in the coming presidential election.

John Brown's Raid. John Brown of Osawatomie, Kansas, was a Connecticut Calvinist, a ne'er-do-well in life, an admirer of Cromwell and Nat Turner, and a fanatical opponent of slavery. Believing that he was divinely commissioned, Brown planned to invade the South, free a few negroes, arm them, and thus free others. In time a wide revolt would be begun. This wild scheme was aided by certain ministers and Yankee business men like George L. Stearns of Boston and Gerrit Smith. Brown, with a score of men, crossed the Potomac from Maryland and took the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (October, 1859). No negroes revolted. Brown's men were besieged by the militia, who hesitated to charge. Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived with some United States marines. The fight was over in three minutes. All but four of Brown's men were killed or captured. Brown, convicted of treason and murder, was promptly hanged by the Virginia authorities.

The deluded victim became a martyr; his memory was revered in abolitionist circles. And the song with the refrain

John Brown's body lies a-mold'ring in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on

was sung in Northern churches and by the marching volunteers of 1861. In Catholic churches it was rather generally forbidden as somewhat "idolatrous." Southerners believed that Brown's raid was generally approved. All Northerners not openly holding proslavery views they classed as abolitionists. The importance ascribed to Brown's raid in radical Northern and rabid Southern circles gave the affair a tragic significance.

Northern Agriculture. The stress placed on the slavery issue should not cause the student to overlook the economic prosperity of the early fifties or the great strides which the nation, especially the North, was making in the decade of 1850 to

1860.¹ Agricultural methods in the North were revolutionized. Reapers, threshing-machines, harvesters, corn-planters, mowers, cultivators, seed drills, fertilizers, and even steam-driven machinery were improved and coming into general use. Competition between numerous manufacturers made machinery relatively cheap. During the war, shortage of labor and high prices for grain caused farmers to extend the area under cultivation and increase their crops by a general substitution of farm machinery for arduous and slow manual labor. Improved methods of farming and scientific improvement in stock-raising increased Northern wealth and thus gave a tremendous advantage to the North in the coming sectional struggle.

Improved Transportation. Agriculture received an impetus from improved transportation, which made easy the moving of larger crops. A railroad mileage of 3000 in 1840 jumped to almost 31,000 in 1860. The East and West were bound together by a network of railroads (fully three fourths of the railroad mileage being in the North). In the South, railroads were not developed because cities were few, population was less dense, and the plantations shipped their crops to port by means of rivers and creeks or by team. In 1853 there was an all-rail connection between Chicago and New York, and by 1860 the Erie, New York Central, and Pennsylvania railroads were running into Chicago. And Chicago, with a population of over 100,000, had

¹ Southern prosperity was indicated by an increase in the value of the crops from \$580,000,000 in 1840 to \$800,000,000 in 1850 and \$1,250,000,000 in 1860. Cotton in 1840 amounted to 600,000,000 pounds and in 1860 to 2,120,000,000 pounds, selling at 14 cents a pound, or double the old figure. English mills were unable to get enough raw cotton to satisfy the demand for cotton goods. Tobacco production increased from 219,000,000 pounds to 434,200,000, and rice from 81,000,000 to 187,100,000 pounds.

The agricultural advance of the North between 1840 and 1860 is roughly indicated by the following statistics for the nation at large (for the products listed were chiefly Northern):

Corn, from 377,500,000 bushels to 838,800,000 bushels; wheat, from 84,800,000 bushels to 173,100,000 bushels; oats, from 123,000,000 bushels to 172,600,000 bushels; potatoes, from 104,200,000 bushels to 153,200,000 bushels. Wool increased from 35,800,000 pounds to 60,200,000 pounds. The number of cattle grew from 14,900,000 to 25,600,000 head; and horses, sheep, and swine increased relatively. The advance during the war years was even greater.

become the metropolitan city of the West as a railroad and Lake shipping center. The Baltimore and Ohio connected St. Louis and Cincinnati with the Eastern cities. In the fifties, encouraged by a Federal land grant, the Illinois Central was built from Chicago to St. Louis, thus linking the Great Lakes by rail with the Mississippi. Incidentally, George B. McClellan was the engineer in charge of construction. For early railroad-building the



A CANAL BOAT AND AN EARLY RAILROAD TRAIN

government lent army engineers and West Point graduates; for few civilians were then sufficiently trained in this field.

Shipping on the Great Lakes increased from 76,000 tons in 1845 to about 400,000 in 1860. The widening and deepening of the Soo and Welland canals permitted the passage of larger steamers. The Great Lakes cities grew rapidly as shipping ports for grain and ore. Buffalo became an important flour-milling and manufacturing center. Water as well as rail connections with the West made New York the economic capital of America. Its population increased from about 300,000 in 1840 to more than 800,000 in 1860, and the increase in its trade and wealth was relatively larger.

Political Significance of Railroads. The close association of West and East in 1860 was extremely important. In the earlier days, when the West depended on river transportation, a Southern market, and Southern ports, there was a strong economic and political alliance with the South. The West and the South were in sympathy. All this changed. As the West now looked toward the East as the chief market for its crops, the old economic dependence on the South disappeared. By 1860 the West was politically allied with the East. When the war broke out, the West and East were tightly bound together. Thirty years earlier the West might have been in open sympathy with Southern secession. Again, the prevalence of railroads in the North added to the military strength of the Union side, making easy the transportation of soldiers and supplies, while the South was more dependent on primitive means of transportation.

Immigration and Population. In this development, immigration continued to play a large part. Conditions in Europe were bad on account of wars, high taxes, and poverty. Older immigrants encouraged their relatives to come to America, sending money for their transportation. Steamship lines cut rates to attract steerage passengers. In this period 2,598,000 immigrants were counted. The Germans led, with over 950,000. The Irish followed, with 914,000; the English, Welsh, and Scottish, with almost 425,000; and the French, with 76,000. Among the new racial groups which now appeared in numbers were the Scandinavian, Swiss, and French-Canadian peoples. The Scandinavians were to come in a mighty wave, and the Canadians as mill hands were destined to build up a New France in New England.

Immigrants remained in the cities and mill towns of the North or else pushed on to the Western farms. Few located south of Baltimore. Northern cities grew rapidly¹; small textile towns became cities; cheap labor developed the milling and mining industries; a crowded population increased values of land and town properties; fortunes in manufacturing, in transportation,

¹ In 1790 about 3 per cent of the population lived in towns; in 1840, 8.5 per cent were in the 44 cities of 8000 or over; and in 1860, 16 per cent were in the 141 cities of 8000 or more. The North was becoming industrial.

and in real estate were accumulated. The North grew rich and powerful as Europe contributed cheap labor and brawn. By 1860 the population of the United States was over 31,000,000, of whom all but 5,500,000 whites and 3,500,000 slaves lived in the free North or the neutral border states. The effects of immigration were patent. The North had far outstripped the South.

Panic of 1857. Expansion received a temporary check in the panic of 1857. Hard times may be ascribed to many causes. The Democratic tariff of 1846 increased the list of goods admitted free, and fixed an average duty of about 24 per cent. The Federal income continued large, but manufacturers held that this low tariff was hurtful to the growth of their business. The Crimean War demand for American grain suddenly ceased. Stored-up Russian wheat was thrown on the market, and prices dropped from two dollars to seventy-five cents a bushel. This was a severe blow to the Western farmers, as all grain and provision prices fell correspondingly. Again, the overdevelopment of industry and railroads and the sudden expansion of agricultural areas were important factors. The monetary system, and prices in terms of gold, were affected by the gold output of the California mines and the resultant lowering of the value of gold in terms of silver and commodities.

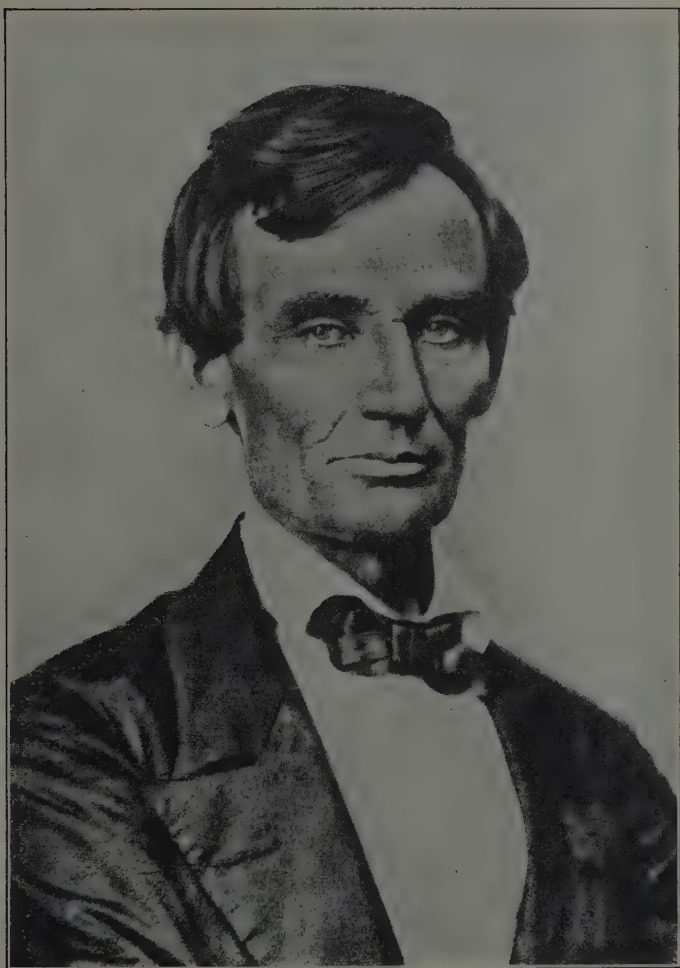
Banks in the West failed, and caused the suspension of payments on loans and bank paper by Northern banks. Weak banks closed their doors. Business was at a standstill; construction work ceased; factories shut down; labor was unemployed; the farmer could not sell his crops. Not until 1860 did conditions improve. Demand for a higher tariff was soon answered. The South suffered little; for the foreign call for cotton was unchanged, and prices continued high. The South took credit for American prosperity, believing that Cotton was truly king. This false estimate of its prosperity gave the South undue confidence in its economic strength.

Parties and Candidates (1860). The Democratic convention in Charleston was a tumultuous affair. The South was determined to write the platform and name the candidate. As Douglas had wrecked the Buchanan administration and saved Kansas from

slavery, he was not satisfactory to the South. Rather than support him, Southern enthusiasts followed Yancey of Alabama out of the convention hall. The Democratic party was rent in two. Another bulwark of the Union had broken; another common bond had snapped. The bolting Democrats then proceeded to hold their own convention, and nominated Breckinridge on a slavery-extension platform. The regular Democrats adjourned to Baltimore and selected as candidates Douglas and a moderate Georgian, Herschel Johnson. The Republicans were in high glee; for their chances of victory were improved with Democracy divided into rival, sectional camps.

The Republican convention met in Chicago, in Lincoln's own state. Lincoln's supporters crowded the galleries and made the chamber echo and reëcho with shouts for their favorite son. Parading the streets, they aroused enthusiasm for the Western antislavery rail-splitter who had come from the common people and had suffered the privations of the frontier. The Republican bosses did not know where to turn. Seward, the most prominent candidate, had powerful enemies. At times he was too outspoken. He had antagonized Horace Greeley, the powerful editor of the *New York Tribune*, then the most influential journal in America. He was opposed by Know-Nothings who had joined the Republican party. His marked hostility to slavery annoyed conservatives, to whom he was as dangerous as an abolitionist. Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was strong in the Middle West, but had been too closely associated with Democrats. Simon Cameron, boss of Pennsylvania and builder of a machine which has only recently collapsed, was too corrupt a politician for the young idealists. Other favorite sons commanded support only in their own states.

On the first ballot Seward led, with Lincoln second. Then Lincoln's manager bargained with Cameron, certain German leaders, and the boss of Indiana. Cabinet positions and patronage were apparently promised. Lincoln is thought to have been unaware of this wire-pulling, which, however, is not unusual in political conventions. At any rate, on the third ballot Lincoln was nominated, and by resolution his choice was made unanimous.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society

Charity

His principal opponents did enter his cabinet, thus giving more substance to the charge of bargaining. The conservatives were worried; a Constitutional Union party was formed. While the Southern nativists preferred Sam Houston, other counsel prevailed, and John C. Bell of Tennessee was selected. The talented Edward Everett of Massachusetts accepted the vice-presidential nomination. They hoped to preserve the American nation from disruption.

The Election of 1860. Lincoln proved a popular candidate. Unknown in the East, he was accepted on faith as guaranteed by Sumner, Seward, Thurlow Weed, Cameron, and others. The platform was pleasing to Eastern capital, for it offered encouragement to industry and a Western railroad; to farmers, because it advocated a homestead bill and agricultural aid; to laborers, because it "hoped" for their prosperity; and to moderate anti-slavery men because it would save Kansas for freedom and the territories from slavery. Lincoln was held to be a moderate. Wendell Phillips, in the *Liberator*, actually described him as the "slave hound of Illinois." Lincoln had said nothing openly to annoy the Know-Nothings, although the platform cautiously denounced nativism. Carl Schurz, the distinguished German-immigrant politician, editor, and scholar, led the Germans of the West out of the Democratic fold into the Republican party. And the German vote had grown large. In the South, Lincoln was considered an abolitionist, and Democrats argued that he would break the Union to destroy slavery as they read his pronouncement

"A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.

The vote was most interesting. Lincoln carried the North and the new Western states: California, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Oregon. In ten Southern states he did not receive a single recorded popular vote. Lincoln was a minority

president, getting less than 40 per cent of the total popular vote.¹ Douglas, on the other hand, had votes in every state but Texas, and in a number of states he ran strong. Yet he carried only Missouri and the three New Jersey votes. Breckinridge carried eleven slave states; while Bell and Everett won Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, where Union sentiment was stronger than the negro interest.

Lincoln was a sectional president. The "Black Republican party," as Southerners called it, was a sectional party. The South threatened secession if Lincoln was elected. Was it the old cry of "Wolf!" or would the South risk rebellion?

References

MACY, *Anti-Slavery Crusade*, and W. E. DODD, *The Cotton Kingdom* (Chronicles); HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 48-163. In the indexes of the following works may be found references to good material on this and future chapters: CLIVE DAY, *History of the Commerce of the United States*; ISAAC LIPPINCOTT and H. R. TUCKER, *Economic and Social History of the United States*; and J. R. MOORE, *Industrial History of the American People*. H. J. DESMOND, *The Know-Nothing Party*; SIMONDS, *Social Forces in American History*, pp. 216-263; L. P. POWELL, *Historic Towns of Southern States*.

Bibliography

A. B. HART, *Slavery and Abolition*; T. C. SMITH, *The Parties and Slavery*; F. E. CHADWICK, *Causes of the Civil War*; J. F. RHODES, *History of the United States*, Vol. I (1850-1854), Vol. II (1854-1860); MCMASTER, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII, pp. 526 ff., Vol. VIII; CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 1-256; JOHNSTON, Vol. II, pp. 101-279; J. W. BURGESS, *The Middle Period*; W. E. DODD, *Expansion and Conflict*; W. G. BROWN, *The Lower South*; U. B. PHILLIPS, *The Plantation and Frontier*; *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb*; *American Negro Slavery*;

¹ Presidential vote in 1860:

	POPULAR VOTE	ELECTORAL VOTE
Lincoln	1,866,452	180
Douglas	1,376,957	12
Breckinridge	849,781	72
Bell	588,879	39
Total of Lincoln's opponents	2,815,617	123

W. O. SCROGGS, *Filibusters and Financiers*; L. D. SCISCO, *Political Nativism in New York*; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 415 ff., and Vol. III, pp. 33 ff.; P. O. RAY, *Repeal of the Missouri Compromise*; E. D. FITE, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*; CHARLES ROBINSON, *The Kansas Conflict*; FRANCIS CURTIS, *The Republican Party*; ALLEN JOHNSON, *Stephen A. Douglas*; RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Edward Everett*; W. E. B. DU BOIS, *John Brown*; J. W. DU BOSE, *Life of William Lowndes Yancey*; G. H. HAYNE, M. STOREY, and F. S. EDMONDS all have lives of Charles Sumner; O. G. VILLARD, *John Brown*; B. T. WASHINGTON, *Up from Slavery*; LINDSAY SWIFT, *William Lloyd Garrison*; G. H. PUTNAM, *Lincoln-Douglas Debates*; F. L. OLMSTED, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, A Journey in the Back Country*; LEVI COFFIN, *Reminiscences*; THOMAS MOONEY, *Nine Years in America*; J. F. MAGUIRE, *The Irish in America*; J. DOWD, *The Negro in American Life*; W. L. MATHIESON, *British Slavery and its Abolition*.

Causes  *Tariffs -*
secession -
economic conditions
Religion -
Education!

CHAPTER VIII

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

I. THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

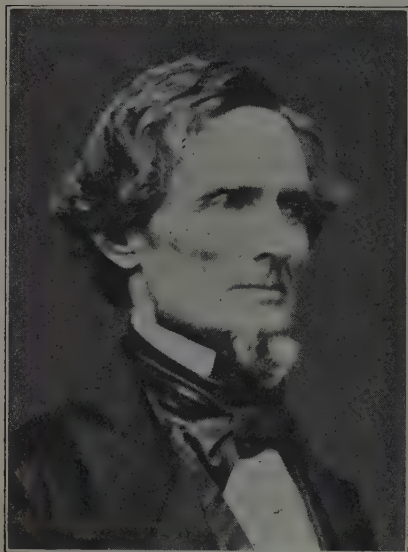
✓ **Secession of the Gulf States.** South Carolina carried out her threat and struck the note of rebellion. On learning of Lincoln's election, the legislature called a convention and passed a formal act of secession, which resembled in a degree the Declaration of Independence (December 20, 1860). Jefferson Davis resigned from the Senate with the explanation that Southerners "were to be deprived in the Union of the rights which their forefathers bequeathed them." Southern congressmen issued an appeal to their constituents:

The argument is exhausted. All hope of relief in the Union ... is extinguished, and we trust the South will not be deceived by appearances or the pretense of new guarantees. In our judgment the Republicans are resolute in the purpose to grant nothing that will or ought to satisfy the South. We are satisfied the honor, safety, and independence of the Southern people require the organization of a Southern Confederacy — a result to be obtained by separate state secession.

Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas passed similar ordinances within six weeks. In some states there was a strong minority favorable to compromise. In Georgia, Alexander Stephens led such a group, but was defeated in the convention by 164 to 133. Toombs came down from Washington to help the secessionists. Sam Houston of Texas urged delay, as did almost half the delegates in the Alabama convention. Nowhere except in Texas were the ordinances referred directly to the voters, and the ruling planter class, which favored secession, controlled the conventions. Half-hearted but

sincere attempts to prevent rebellion were made by conservative leaders in Washington. All was in vain; the sections had grown too far apart for compromise.

✓ **Confederate Government.** The seceded states met in convention (February 4) at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a provisional government. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was



JEFFERSON DAVIS

named president and Alexander Stephens vice president. The constitution was similar to that of the United States save that it provided for a Confederacy, or loose union of semi-independent, sovereign states. The presidential term was six years with no reelection. Foreign negroes were not to be brought into the country, though slavery was guaranteed recognition and protection in the states and in any territory which might be acquired. The return of fugitive slaves was guaranteed. No tariff duty could be levied save

by a two-thirds vote of both Houses. There was no supreme court to review and set aside congressional legislation. Appropriations for internal improvements were carefully safeguarded. It was thought that a workable constitution had been drafted.

In the regular election Davis was returned, and inaugurated on Washington's birthday (1862) at Richmond, which was selected as the capital of the Confederacy. Davis was born in 1808 in Kentucky, not far from Lincoln's birthplace. He had been bred on a large plantation in Mississippi, while Lincoln's impoverished parents had journeyed to free Illinois. A reversal of their early lives might have reversed to some extent the careers of

the two men who headed the Confederacy and the Federal government. Davis was sent to West Point, and on graduation served in the Indian campaigns, in one of which Lincoln was a volunteer. Later he fought in the Mexican War, and served with distinction in Congress and in the cabinet. Davis did not desire the presidency and would have preferred a high military command, for which he regarded himself as better fitted. He was selected as a moderate over certain radicals, such as Robert Toombs, who for a time was satisfied in the state department. Davis named an able cabinet, with Walker of Mississippi as secretary of war and Mallory of Florida as secretary of the navy, and the brilliant Jewish lawyer Judah P. Benjamin serving in different positions at various times.

Buchanan's Watchful Waiting. The South had revolted and established a new government, but Buchanan did nothing. He did not meet secession as Jackson had met nullification in South Carolina. He did not protect Federal property or attempt to enforce the law. He merely waited for March 4, and turned the problem over to his successor. Buchanan maintained that he was without authority to act. His attitude gave the South valuable weeks in which to strengthen its position. His Secretary of War, Floyd, a Southerner, was accused of having stocked Southern arsenals with military supplies and equipment, which, of course, would soon fall into Confederate hands.

Lincoln's Inauguration. Lincoln was spirited into Washington to avoid possible assassination and inaugurated without mishap. His inaugural address was a model of moderation. He made no threats; he did not hold the South solely responsible for slavery; he did not think of slavery as something on which no compromise could be reached. Yet he showed no weakness:

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. . . . No state on its own mere motion can get out of the Union. . . . The Union is unbroken; and, to the extent of my ability, I shall take care . . . that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. . . . The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government.

Lincoln, a quiet, strong man, gave expression to Unionist sentiment. As powerful an editor as Horace Greeley thought the South had a right to form an independent nation and should be allowed to go in peace. James Russell Lowell expressed similar views. Radical abolitionists would see the Union broken rather than enter into any compromise with slavery. New York merchants and brokers with a heavy Southern business did not favor the suppression of the South by force. Massachusetts textile manufacturers feared a war which would end the supply of raw cotton and close a market for their manufactures. Democrats were half-hearted; pacifists were numerous. To weld the North into a united people ready to maintain the integrity of the American republic, regardless of cost, called for a Lincoln.

Lincoln's Cabinet. Every faction of the Republican party was represented in Lincoln's cabinet: Seward as Secretary of State, Chase in the Treasury, Cameron (succeeded by Edwin M. Stanton, a Pennsylvania war Democrat) in command of the War Department, and Gideon Welles of Connecticut in charge of the Navy. Lincoln thus had able counselors and men influential enough to control their party in Congress, but at no time did they dominate the President, whose inherent strength displayed itself in the crisis and whose ability and judgment developed to meet every administrative demand. Douglas pledged his support when the Union was endangered, and his action carried weight in Democratic circles. The Democrats, as a whole, stood behind Lincoln and his war measures quite as ardently as the Republicans.

Firing on Fort Sumter. As Fort Moultrie could not be held, Major Anderson, in command of its garrison, moved to the recently completed Fort Sumter on an island far out in Charleston Harbor, where he patiently awaited reinforcements. Relief ships dispatched by General Scott were turned back. Merchant vessels continued to enter the harbor; telegraph and railroad service was unbroken; even mail and fresh vegetables were delivered at the fort. Neither side cared to take decisive action. Seward informed the commissioners sent to Washington by South Carolina that the fort would not be relieved. Anderson

expected an order of evacuation. Lincoln, however, determined to strengthen Anderson's force. Just as suddenly, President Davis, despite the warnings of counselors, ordered General Pierre G. T. Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort.

Anderson refused; a thirty-two hours' bombardment commenced, April 12, 1861. Anderson surrendered. With flag flying, the garrison departed for New York on a relieving fleet.



INTERIOR OF FORT SUMTER AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT

Temperate men who foresaw the cost of a fatal struggle between the North and South were pushed aside. War fever was contagious. The War between the States had commenced.

Lincoln's Call for Volunteers. The day after Sumter fell, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service. The North was ready. The flag had been fired upon. Sympathy with the South was diminishing. Militia regiments were hurried to the defense of Washington. Most Northerners fatuously believed that it would be a short war. Five days later the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was fired upon by Southern sympathizers as it passed through the streets of Baltimore. The first

blood had been shed ; and strangely enough, it was Boston blood and on the anniversary of Lexington. It was this incident which inspired the writing of a favorite Southern lyric, "Maryland, my Maryland." But it inspired New England with an invincible passion.

The call for troops to quell the rebellion forced Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee to join the Confederacy. They could not remain neutral and they would not furnish soldiers to wage war on their sister states of the South. Their citizens resigned from Congress, the army, and the navy, and followed their states in rebellion, for state allegiance was prized as more holy and binding than Federal loyalty. Yet one cannot appreciate with what sore hearts many men like Robert E. Lee made the momentous decision, and broke with the past, staking life and fortune on obedience to the call of honor and duty.

The Borderland. Would the slaveholding border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri join the Confederacy? Lincoln, with skillful patience, sought to hold them in the Union, while the South used every stratagem to entice them into the Confederacy. In Missouri there was civil war. Southern feeling ran high. Northern leaders broke up a secessionist camp near St. Louis. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis warned his flock against taking part in the Confederate movement. The Germans, holding the balance of power, were ardent Republicans and anti-slavery men and did valiant service in holding Missouri. Finally a Confederate force was defeated, and a pro-Southern governor was expelled and replaced by an executive loyal to the Union.

In Kentucky there was a similar struggle, but by the end of 1861 the Unionists were in control. Maryland was strongly pro-Southern, but refused to pass a secession ordinance. Its location was critical. If it had joined the Confederacy, Washington would have been surrounded by "rebel" territory. On the other hand, Maryland would have been overrun by Federal troops. Drastic action was taken by Lincoln's government. Martial law was declared in disaffected districts. Washington was heavily garrisoned. Even the District of Columbia had numerous secret supporters of the South, who must be closely watched.

Maryland furnished volunteers for the Southern armies, and some of her citizens gave information to the South. Kentucky and Missouri had regiments fighting on both sides. In the border states there was civil war at its worst. Sad were the divisions in society, in churches, and in families. Brother fought against brother. As an instance, Senator Crittenden, who sought by compromise to prevent war, had one son in high command in the South and another a general in the Northern army. This was no isolated case. Kentucky was again a bloody battleground in this fratricidal war; and no war is so bitter as a civil war.

West Virginia. The forty-eight western counties of Virginia were opposed to secession. Their population of Scotch-Irish, Germans, and small farmers would not follow the planter aristocracy of Virginia in a rebellion so hostile to their interests. Here was the last episode in Virginia sectionalism, of which Bacon's revolt was the first. Governor Letcher sent a force to quell the revolt, but George B. McClellan, in command of Ohio militiamen, drove out the Confederates. Steps were taken to establish a new state, which was admitted into the Union in 1863. Ardent Southerners still regard West Virginia as the Arnold of the Confederacy, though it is hard to see, if the doctrine of secession permitted Virginia to revolt, why a portion of Virginia could not divorce itself from that state and set up a government of its own choice, or continue its allegiance with the Union, of which it had always been a part.

The Position of the South. Could the eleven states of the Confederacy win their independence? Did they miscalculate their strength or were they led by false hopes? Did they realize the reserve power of the North?

The South had a population of about 9,000,000, while the North had over 22,300,000, counting 3,000,000 in the semiloyal border states. Of the 9,000,000 inhabitants of the South over 3,500,000 were slaves. However, the slaves were a source of strength, for they worked the land and labored on fortifications. To their credit, the slaves remained loyal to their masters to the end. There were no servile insurrections even in the darkest days, when the man power of the South was in the

fighting ranks and the negroes on the plantations were unpoliced or under the control of women and aged men. Such loyalty suggests that the slaves were never so abused as abolitionists and Northern radicals had maintained. On the basis of population the South could count on only one potential soldier to every four in the North. The South probably was more united than the North. It was on the defensive. Most of the campaigning would be in its territory in defense of its hearthstones and liberties. The South believed that its soldiers would be more than a match for the armies of the North, manned by men of every race. In the South hardly one soldier in fifteen was foreign-born; in the North, possibly one in three. This was regarded as a Northern weakness. As a fourth of the officers in the old army and navy seceded with their states, the South was well provided with experienced officers of West Point training and long service. As a matter of fact, the Southern armies were better marshaled.

The South had scarcely a third of the national wealth and only a fourth of the railroad mileage. It had few industries. It was not provided with iron and coal mines. It could not point to great shipyards, armories, and munition plants. It had few skilled laborers. The South had forsaken diversified farming. Only with the greatest difficulty could its cotton and tobacco lands be converted into grain fields and stock ranches. It lacked trained labor and machinery for general farming.

The South overrated the demand for cotton. It believed that England would aid the Confederacy, as France had aided the revolting colonies, rather than see its own factories closed for want of cotton. If cotton could be sold for arms, cannon, food-stuffs, clothing, and supplies, the South believed that with foreign loans and the support of the British navy it could win independence. It also misjudged the North. It thought the North less united than was actually the case. It did not correctly evaluate the North's economic strength. It did not think that foreigners and industrial laborers would make the best of fighting men. It did not realize that Douglas Democrats were first of all loyal Unionists. It thought the North was too divided and too materialistic to endure a long war. Like the German staff in

1914, the South miscalculated, overestimated its own strength, relied upon false foreign hopes, and misjudged the material and spiritual strength of the foe.

The Northern Program. The plan of suppressing the Southern revolt, as finally worked out, called for a rigid blockade of Southern ports, which would prevent the exportation of cotton and the importation of war munitions and manufactures; an invasion of Virginia with the objective of capturing the Southern capital; the opening of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico as a means of cutting the Confederacy in halves and isolating the states west of the river; the capture of the ports of Norfolk, Mobile, and New Orleans; and the gradual conquest of Southern territory, thus forcing the Confederacy within narrower limits. This crushing process was popularly described as the "anaconda plan." The preponderant power of the North, it was expected, would ultimately crush the South as between the jaws of a vice, bleed it white by destroying its man power, and destroy its morale by the gradual starvation of its people through cutting off the necessities of life.

The Blockade and its Enforcement. Lincoln immediately declared a blockade of the Southern ports. Within a year this had become so effective that there was little blockade-running. The South was shut off from the rest of the world. She could not market her cotton or obtain supplies and munitions from England. As time went on, the South suffered terribly from the lack of food and hospital supplies. Old clothes could be worn, soldiers could wear any kind of uniform, such luxuries as tea, coffee, sugar, and spices could be given up; but the shortage of plain food told on the people and the army. The South in the past had depended on the West for grain, provisions, and meat. In the stress of war it found difficulty in turning from cotton and tobacco to general farming. In spite of herculean efforts the South was hardly self-supporting.

In the spring of 1862 it looked as though the blockade might be broken. The old *Merrimac* (*Virginia*) had been raised from a watery grave and turned into an ironclad ship with a huge, cast-iron battering ram. This strange vessel entered Hampton Roads

and destroyed the blockading ships, the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*. The next day (March 8, 1862) it was planned to destroy all the shipping in the harbor, but the *Merrimac* encountered the peculiar little *Monitor*. John Ericsson, a marine inventor and Swedish immigrant, built a steam-propelled iron vessel with a revolving turret, armed with two guns rising from the center of its deck, which was flush with the water; it looked like an iron cheesebox on a low-lying hulk. Its crew was small; but the boat was wieldy and could strike the enemy with ease, while it proved an elusive target. The *Merrimac* was defeated in a short engagement and abandoned. The *Monitor* had saved the day for the North. The battle had wide significance; it marked the beginning of ironclad, armored ships. The navies of the world were compelled to "junk" wooden warships and build iron vessels.

With the capture (1861-1862) of Fortress Monroe, Fort Hatteras, Roanoke Island, New Berne, Fort Macon, New Orleans, Port Royal, Beaufort, Hilton Head, Cape Hatteras, and finally Mobile (August, 1864), the whole South was sealed tight. It was at Mobile that the bold Admiral Farragut, lashed on high to the rigging, directed his fleet in its destruction of blockade-runners and enemy shipping. The United States navy was living up to its fighting tradition.

The Advance into Virginia. Federal troops, under Colonel Ellsworth, seized Alexandria (May 24, 1861), a town once in the District of Columbia, but again a part of Virginia since 1846. In answer to the popular clamor and newspaper advice General McDowell, with 30,000 untrained troops, set forth in an "on to Richmond" campaign. At Manassas Junction, on the little creek of Bull Run, he encountered about 20,000 superior Confederate troops under a greater leader, Beauregard of Fort Sumter fame. After an all-day battle (July 21) the Northern forces were badly defeated and rushed pell-mell in disgraceful flight for Alexandria and Washington thirty-five miles away. This engagement gave English journals a rare occasion for humorous sallies. The green Southern troops were too thoroughly frightened to pursue. Thus Washington was saved from attack.

Washington, however, was in peril until the troops could be reorganized and reënforcements arrive from neighboring states. Lincoln had called a special session of Congress for July 4. No longer did men feel that the South would be humbled in three months. General Scott was retired, and George B. McClellan, an able engineer and capable drillmaster, was given command of the



OLD WESTOVER MANSION IN VIRGINIA

From a painting by E. L. Henry. (Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

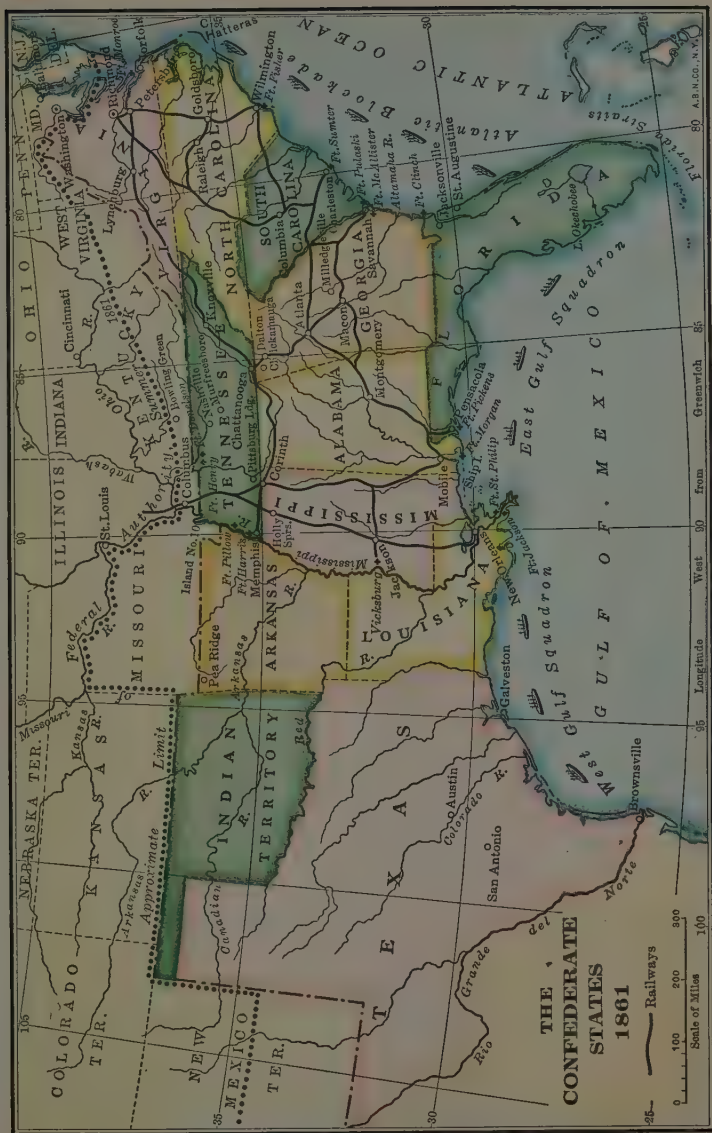
forces mobilized around Washington. He had successfully held West Virginia and safeguarded the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was important as a main gateway to the capital from the West. The victory of Bull Run, on the other hand, misled the South into false hopes of immediate success and foreign support.

Congress upholds Lincoln. Lincoln was forced to assume tremendous powers, which could be constitutionally justified only under a broad interpretation of his authority as commander in chief of the army and of his official oath to enforce the law. The Force Act of the Jackson administration further strength-

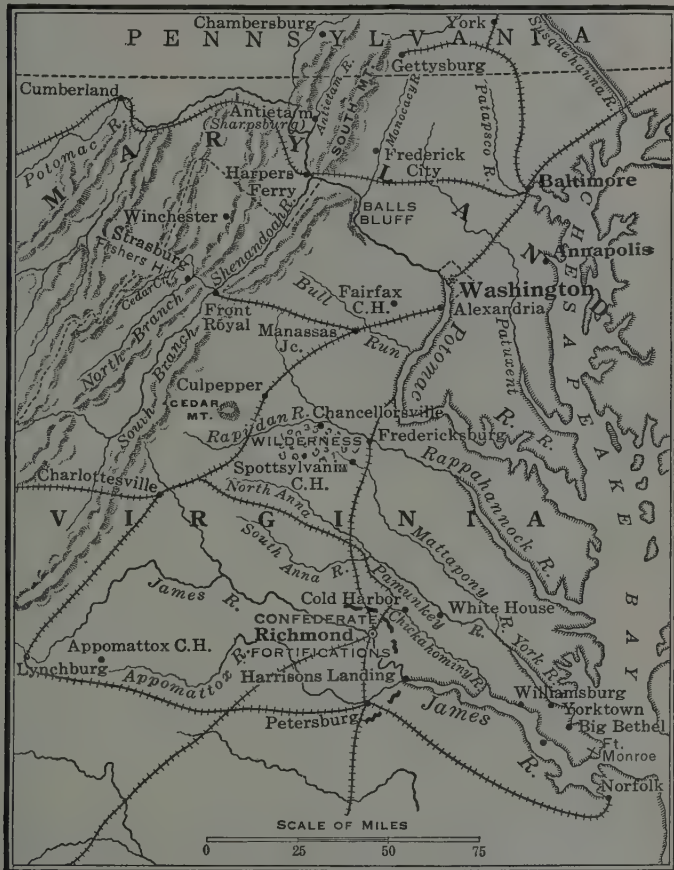
ened his hand. Congress ratified Lincoln's acts. The defeat at Bull Run silenced opposition. Men were aware that the nation faced a crisis.

Congress appropriated money without stint and authorized the enlistment of hundreds of thousands of three-year volunteers. A later Congress passed an act permitting the drafting of men for military service for the duration of the war. A heavy tariff for revenue was enacted. This further annoyed British manufacturers, increased the Federal income, raised the prices of all manufactured products, and incidentally enriched American manufacturers, who were virtually freed from foreign competition. A heavy excise tax, unknown since the days of Gallatin, was placed on tobacco and liquors, and taxes were levied on all other luxuries; a stamp duty was placed on papers and documents; and higher postal rates were established. As a new scheme of raising revenue a tax of 3 per cent was levied on all incomes from \$800 to \$5000, and 10 per cent on incomes over \$5000. The tax was quite unfair, bearing most heavily on the salaried middle class and small business men. Manufacturers and contractors could easily pass their tax on to the public by raising the prices of the commodities which they handled. Nor was the tax properly graduated so that men of large income would pay a proportionately heavier tax.

Congress approved of the blockade and the presidential war powers. As time advanced, the assumed war powers were tremendous. Lincoln took active control of military affairs. Opponents of the war were dealt with severely. Areas inhabited by Southern sympathizers were harshly handled and often put under martial law. Constitutional guaranties and safeguards were practically set aside. Lincoln had more actual authority than any English ruler had had since Cromwell. He was dictator of the nation, the commander of the people. Congress was little more than a recording body to enact—and willingly enough—the laws demanded by the administration in carrying on the war. No man ever used such power with more personal humility, more measured restraint, and so little abuse. Lincoln's nobility of character stood the test.



The War in the East. McClellan spent the fall and winter (1861-1862) training his army of 200,000 men, until the raw recruits seemed like seasoned veterans. He hesitated to take the

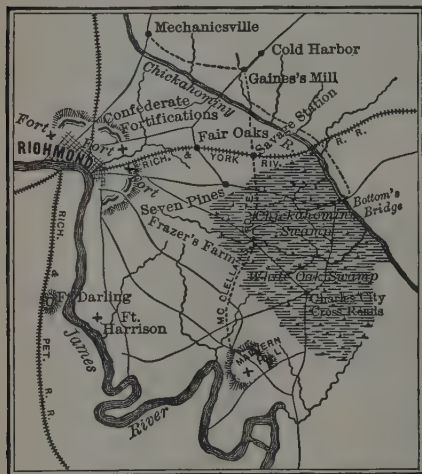


THE WAR IN THE EAST

field until Lincoln persistently urged that something be done. Politicians and editors were demanding action. To retain the nation's confidence, Lincoln must show results. Thus McClellan was compelled to undertake his famous Peninsular campaign. To

lead his forces through Virginia and strike directly at Richmond was held to be too hazardous an undertaking.

Peninsular Campaign. The main army was sent by water to Fortress Monroe with the object of striking by land up the Yorktown peninsula between the York and James rivers to Richmond. Despite McClellan's bitter complaints, McDowell's force



PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

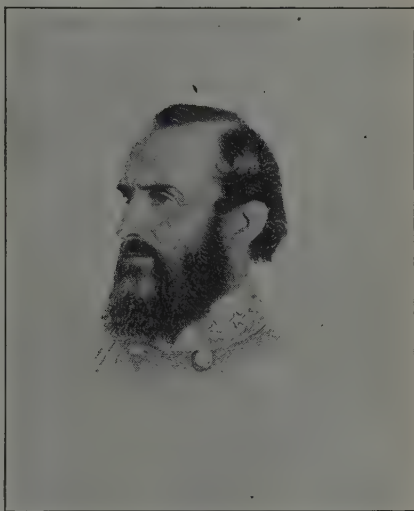
of 40,000 was held back to defend the capital. McClellan proceeded with characteristic caution, always fearful of needlessly sacrificing his men, and overestimating the enemy's strength. Instead of spiritedly attacking the defenses of Yorktown he delayed a month until he was ready for a siege. Thereupon the enemy retired. Minor engagements were fought at Williamsburg and White House Landing, which became a base for the fleet and Nor-

thern army (May 16, 1862). McClellan was only six miles from Richmond, but feared to attack it and awaited reënforcements.

With McClellan's army between Washington and the Confederate forces, Lincoln was no longer worried, and he ordered McDowell and Shields, with 50,000 men, to join the main army. But by the time they reached Fredericksburg this order was reversed. "Stonewall" Jackson, with a small command, was making a raid through the Shenandoah valley. He threw the divided detachments of Banks and Frémont into confusion. He defeated Banks at Winchester (May 25), forcing his retreat across the Potomac at Harpers Ferry. With the fiery Jackson so near, both Washington and Baltimore feared attack. Lincoln and the War Department planned to trap the Confederates between the

oncoming armies of McDowell, Shields, Banks, and Frémont, but Jackson was too skilled a strategist to allow his army to be caught. He withdrew to Strasburg, and in rear-guard actions held back his foe while his main army escaped down the valley with numerous prisoners and valuable stores of supplies. Jackson had a spectacular month's campaign to his credit. He had drawn McDowell too far away to be of any assistance to McClellan.

McClellan's Failure. Still McClellan, with 120,000 men, had a force twice as large as that of General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the South's most distinguished leaders. At Fair Oaks the Confederates defeated the Northern corps of Keyes and Heintzelman (May 31), but Johnston was so sorely wounded that he gave way to Robert E. Lee,¹ one of the greatest commanders America has ever produced.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON

McClellan, who was well provided with heavy artillery, should have battered away, assaulted Lee's intrenchments, and, regardless of casualties, forced the lines about Richmond. This he would not do. At Mechanicsville and Gainesville, Lee's divisions defeated the Unionists under General Porter (June 26). McClellan crossed the narrow peninsula and established a new base at Harrison's Landing, on the James River, despite Lee's sudden attack (July 1). He then intrenched at Malvern Hill and awaited Lee's assault, in which Lee suffered a deadly loss.

Lee, like Lincoln, was one of nature's noblemen. This hero of the Confederacy was a son of the Revolutionary figure "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, and a son-in-law of Washington's adopted son.

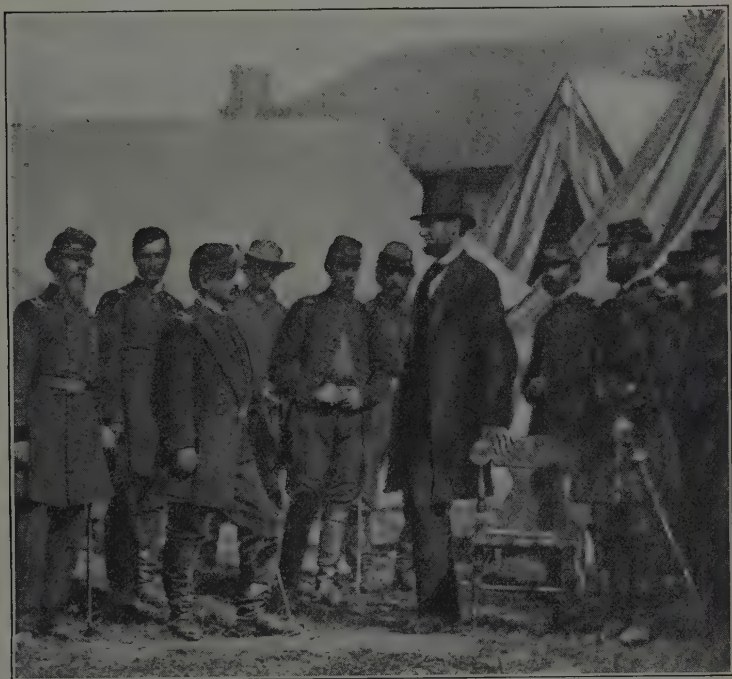
Jackson meantime had slipped away from the Northern generals detailed to watch him, and joined Lee's forces in time for the seven days' battle.

Federal losses of 19,000 to Confederate losses of 15,000 would indicate McClellan's failure, but he was well stationed, and if given ample reinforcements, might have continued the fight for Richmond. McClellan was not popular with the administration and had antagonized Secretary Stanton and powerful Republican politicians. He was a Democrat. Lincoln did not send reinforcements, but recalled the commander and gave the reorganized army to General W. H. Halleck, who, as leader of the Northern forces in the West, had won his laurels. The reason for Lincoln's action was not clear. McClellan had been critical of his superiors and outspoken in condemnation of their policies. He was beloved by his troops; he was a safe general and a superb organizer, if not the equal of men of genius like Jackson, Johnston, and Lee. McClellan's campaign was not properly supported and was even interfered with by well-meaning civilians who would plan the attack.

The Second Battle of Bull Run. Halleck, with headquarters in Washington, prepared for a direct attack upon Richmond. General Pope was given command of the Army of Virginia and boastfully explained what he would do. Heading southwest from Manassas, he reached the town of Culpeper, about fifty miles from Washington. Here his progress ended. Banks's division, surprised and outnumbered by Jackson, was defeated in the Battle of Cedar Mountain (August 9), a few miles away. Stuart, a picturesque Confederate cavalry officer, raided Pope's camp and temporarily cut off his supplies. "Stonewall" Jackson maneuvered to a position between Pope's army and Washington. Pope was forced to retreat or find himself in enemy country with severed communications. Jackson thereupon seized the supplies at Manassas.

On August 29 Jackson, Longstreet, and Lee joined forces. At Groveton Woods and Bull Run a two days' battle ended in a Federal defeat. General Porter, a Union commander, was dismissed from the service for failure to obey an impossible order to

attack, but was later exonerated. Pope proved incapable of high command as he faced an unbeatable combination of Confederate leaders and confident troops. Retreating toward Washington, the pursued Federals barely saved themselves from a disgraceful rout by fighting a battle at Chantilly (September 1).



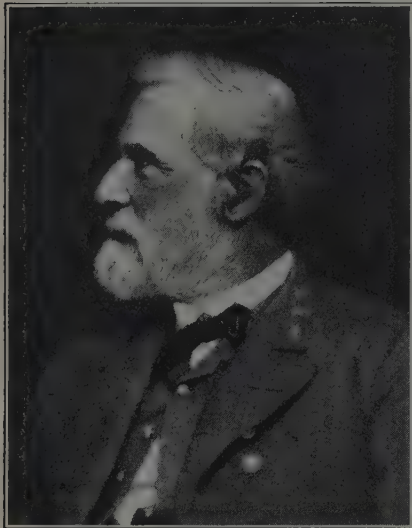
LINCOLN IN CONSULTATION WITH MCCLELLAN AT ANTIETAM

From a Brady photograph

Pope's army lost heavily, far more than the much smaller force of General Lee. Halleck was not charged with the failure, but General Pope was recalled.

McClellan in Charge. Lincoln immediately visited McClellan in his retirement and insisted that he again take charge. The President was big enough to pocket his personal pride. McClellan slept while Lincoln was waiting in an antechamber. Lincoln

observed that he would hold General McClellan's horse if he would but defeat the enemy. Lincoln thought of the nation, never of himself. The demoralized army received its beloved commander with joyous shouts, and its morale was soon restored under McClellan's magic touch. Could McClellan hold Lee and Jackson and turn back their invasion of Maryland?



ROBERT E. LEE

Lee's Invasion of Maryland.

Unable to attack Washington or remain long at Manassas, Lee boldly invaded Maryland. He hoped that many Maryland sympathizers would join the invading force. If successful, this campaign would injure Northern prestige and might cause England and France to recognize the South. Ordering Jackson to cross the Potomac about twenty-five miles north of Washington, Lee led the main army to Hagerstown (September 7). It was on this march that Jackson's men passed through Frederick,

where the Barbara Frietchie incident was reported to have taken place. At any rate, the reputed cry of the loyal old woman, "Shoot this old gray head if you must, but spare yonder flag," as she waved a flag from her window while the Southern troops went by, sounded a patriotic note which rang through the North.

Maryland did not welcome the invasion. Jackson hurried to Harpers Ferry, which must be held in case the Shenandoah valley should be needed as a highway for retreat. The Union commander surrendered 12,000 men and large stores of supplies without making a fight, although reënforcements were only a few miles distant. In the meantime McClellan, with unusual

speed, marched along the northern bank of the Potomac in order to protect Washington or Baltimore from a possible raid. Lee, with inferior forces, saw the futility of driving farther into the North as long as the Maryland populace showed so little enthusiasm for deliverance. He retreated toward Sharpsburg and intrenched behind Antietam Creek.

Battle of Antietam. Learning of the Confederate plans through intercepted orders, McClellan, in an effort to prevent Jackson from joining Lee, rushed his forces to Antietam, which he reached at midday on September 15. Instead of instantly attacking, he decided to rest his wearied troops and strike on the morrow. Skirmishing and artillery fire marked the next day. Jackson, profiting by the delay, arrived with his regiments. At dawn of

the second day the battle began in earnest. It was the bloodiest single day of the war, about 24,000 men falling. Only with night-fall did the furious conflict end. The next day General Lee prepared to retreat, while McClellan and his men were ready to continue the fray.

Lee withdrew across the Potomac to Culpeper. McClellan, despite Lincoln's insistence, failed to pursue the Confederate columns. Only after a delay of five weeks did he follow Lee into Virginia. Thereupon Lincoln dismissed McClellan. The removal cost Lincoln much unfavorable criticism and was a partial cause of Democratic success in the fall elections, when the administration saw its majority in Congress endangered and hostile state officials elected. In later years General Grant



LEE'S INVASIONS OF THE NORTH

declared that McClellan would have become a great soldier if he had started lower and had fought his way to the top. This would have given him experience and greater assurance. Lee held him in higher regard than he did any Union general against whom he fought.

Great was the significance of this drawn battle. Maryland stood true. The North was encouraged, especially as the war in the West was progressing favorably. The prestige of the Union army was restored. Lincoln took heart; he could announce his emancipation program. European nations were inclined to defer action.

The English Situation. The Confederacy was barely organized when Southern agents sought English recognition. England was enthusiastic when Sumter fell. The Union seemed doomed; the American republic, broken into hostile nations, would no longer be a dangerous rival. Europe had little love for republics. The British aristocracy, the cabinet, Parliament (save for a few reformers, idealists, and Irish members), manufacturers, shippers, bankers, the press, the Anglican ministry, the clubs, the universities, and the middle class were all intensely pro-Southern. And this governing group ruled the empire.

The South was pictured as more English than the North. Southerners were gentlemen and descendants of cavaliers. They were a landed aristocracy. The North was composed of Puritans, of dissenters, immigrants, Irish rebels, and German peasants. Northerners were common and given to shopkeeping and labor. Manufacturers wanted Southern cotton for their textile mills, and they hated the North with its high tariff and competing industries. Bankers, brokers, and shippers had conducted a heavy Southern business. The South had few ships; the North was a competitor on the seas.

The North had friends, probably a majority of the people, including the dissenters in religion, the lower-middle class, organized labor, the textile workers of the industrial north of England, and political radicals. These groups were powerless at the polls; yet through sheer weight of numbers they served as a check, for the ruling class could not intervene on behalf of the South and

cotton without considering this opposition. The press sought to impress the people with the view that the North was fighting solely for the Union and not against slavery, for it was recognized that the laboring class would not accept the side of slavery. England must remain neutral for a time, but what a neutrality!

Proclamation of Neutrality. Queen Victoria issued, at the request of her cabinet, a Proclamation of Neutrality (May 13, 1861), as did Napoleon III on behalf of France, on the plea that nine million people could not be treated as rebels and that Lincoln, by declaring a blockade, had virtually recognized the belligerency of the South. The North was desperately annoyed. It looked like the first step toward recognition. To declare neutrality came near to recognizing the Confederacy as an independent nation, for such a proclamation indicated that England regarded the North and the South in the light of two powers at war. The announcement appeared hurried and doubly insulting, coming, as it did, on the arrival of Charles Francis Adams (son of John Quincy Adams), our capable, firm, and tactful minister to England during these trying years. Even the gentle Lincoln looked on Confederates as rebels, though he had no thought of punishing them as such when captured. The South, however, was not satisfied, for it expected full recognition as an independent nation from both England and France, which were then closely associated in foreign policy.

The Trent Affair. In the heat of this difficult situation Captain Wilkes of the American navy stopped a British mail ship, the *Trent*, and took off James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate agents bound for the courts of England and France (November 8, 1861). These accredited emissaries had run the blockade and reached Havana, where they had taken passage on the English boat. Wilkes violated the principle of search as defined by the United States in 1812, though his action was approved by the Secretary of the Navy, Congress, and the press. Lincoln, on practical grounds, regretted the seizure. The agents, as captives in Boston Harbor, were doing the North far more damage than if they had been permitted to proceed to their destination. England was aroused. This insult to her flag gave a

pretext for war. Her navy was prepared, an army was dispatched to Canada, and the sale of munitions to America was forbidden. The mob spirit was inflamed by the press, while the tune "I wish I were in Dixie" was heard on all sides.

Palmerston, the arrogant prime minister, drafted an insulting ultimatum demanding the surrender of Mason and Slidell with an abject apology. Queen Victoria toned down the dispatch in the interest of peace. Seward's note disavowing the seizure, and the surrender of the envoys within the stated time satisfied the British ministry, and the danger of war was averted.

Confederate Agents at Work. Mason and Slidell were never officially received, for that would have been a virtual recognition of the Confederacy; but unofficially they were honored, though they had accomplished little. They purchased munitions which could not be delivered; traded cotton which could not be exported; and sold Confederate bonds to banks and individuals who anticipated heavy profits if the South won. The South was buoyed with false hopes. English statesmen might toast the South and British journals extol Southern victories, but only recognition and the breaking of the blockade would aid the Confederacy. The North was irritated. Gladstone, a younger member of the ministry, at a Liberal banquet, hinted the cabinet attitude when he said:

We know quite well that the people of the Northern states have not yet drunk of the cup — they are still trying to hold it far from their lips — which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of. We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either — they have made a nation. [1862]

Lincoln's Personal Emissaries. To counteract Southern propaganda, Lincoln sent personal representatives to Europe to make known the Northern side and win friends for the Union. Archbishop Hughes, whose association with Lincoln was close because of his long friendship with Seward, visited Ireland, France, and

Rome. Pope Pius IX and the papal secretary expressed confidential wishes that the North would win, because of slavery in the South. Then, too, Rome was well aware that the bulk of her adherents were in the free North and that nowhere was the Church enjoying greater growth or more legal freedom. Bishop McIlvaine, an outstanding Episcopalian; Thurlow Weed, a powerful New York journalist and politician; Harriet Beecher Stowe; and Aspinwall of New York and Forbes of Boston, industrial magnates, were among the personal agents of the President. Numerous spokesmen went of their own accord. They all did some good, but were quite annoying at times to our duly accredited ministers; for in their ardor they overstepped diplomatic niceties.

Russia was friendly to the North, for the Czar hated rebels, being then engaged in stamping out an insurrection in Poland. It hurt Americans that liberal England should turn away while absolutist Russia gave evidence of friendship. Russia's attitude was partly due to her hatred of France and England, by which nations she had recently been beaten in the Crimean War. Yet her attitude was important; for England feared that if she aided the Confederacy, Russia would turn to the North and a world war might result. Piedmont, Denmark, Austria, and the bulk of the German people were generally believed to favor the United States.

The *Alabama*. England did more than discuss possible recognition in cabinet and in Parliament. In 1862 the *Florida*, *Shenandoah*, and *Alabama*, among other cruisers built in English yards for Confederate service, were allowed to escape to sea, where they played havoc with American shipping. It was estimated that some two hundred and eighty-five merchantmen worth fifteen million dollars were sunk before the raiders were destroyed. The North breathed easier when the *Alabama* struck colors to the *Kearsarge* off the coast of France (June, 1864), and sank before her whole crew could be rescued. In vain did Adams protest England's violation of international law.

Ireland and the Civil War. Antagonism toward England inspired greater love of the North in Ireland; yet there were

higher reasons. Bad years had caused a discontent about to be inflamed into open rebellion. Fenianism was spreading. O'Connell had always thundered against slavery. Ireland remembered American aid during the famine. She looked across the seas and saw her exiles, the sea-sundered Irish, so numerous and on the whole prosperous. Few of her emigrants were in the South. She accepted Archbishop Hughes's interpretation of the righteousness of the Northern side. She was aware that, whether in America or in the penal colony of Australia, all her rebels, save John Mitchel, were ardent supporters of the North. Ireland understood that in addition to second-generation Irish-Americans there were about 200,000 Irish-born soldiers in the Union armies. She followed with pride Thomas Francis Meagher's Irish Brigade, Corcoran's noble sixty-ninth regiment of New York, Mulligan's regiment from far-away Chicago, the Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut regiments of Irish lineage, and fighting men like Sheridan and Shields as well as lesser figures. She was told that the Tammany regiment, Wilson's Zouaves, the Phoenix Brigade, and the Thirty-seventh Irish Rifles were largely Gaels, and that merged in other regiments were countless Irish immigrants and even whole companies which carried a sprig of green and bore such characteristic names as Hibernian Rifles, Sarsfield Guards, and Emmett Rifles. Irishmen at home were proud of one and all of them.

Public meetings were held in Ireland, and even by the London Irish, in which resolutions of sympathy for the Federal cause were boldly adopted. British army enlistments were ceasing in Ireland, and Irish regiments in the British service were disaffected. In 1863 and 1864 there were over 200,000 immigrants who, as it was pointed out in Parliament, would swell the Northern armies. Northern agents were said to encourage enlistments under the guise of immigration. Ireland's attitude certainly had something to do with the hesitancy of England in casting her lot with the South.

Emancipation Proclamation. At the outset Congress and the President held that the war was waged solely to enforce the Constitution and maintain the union of the states. Lincoln was

aware that he had no constitutional power to interfere with slavery in the states. Yet some slaves were freed when Northern generals seized negroes as contraband of war. Radical anti-slavery men urged Lincoln to take steps toward emancipation on a large scale, but he was slow to act. In March of 1862 he urged the border states to free their negroes, guaranteeing some indemnity for the monetary loss which their citizens would sustain; but the loyal slaveholding states were not willing to listen.

In July, Lincoln read his draft of the Emancipation Proclamation to the cabinet, but he delayed its publication until the Union forces were victorious in driving Lee's army out of Maryland. On September 22 he was ready, and warned the rebellious states that if they did not return to their allegiance by the end of the year, he would declare their slaves free men. Hence on January 1, 1863, Lincoln formally declared a general emancipation of slaves in the seceded states. As commander in chief of the armed forces, he took this step as a military measure which would weaken the enemy. At the moment all it meant was that slaves would be freed if the Southern states were conquered.

The South, with Fredericksburg in mind, might scoff in its belief that the North could not win and hence that the proclamation would be futile. This great act — the freeing of nearly four million black slaves — had tremendous effects. Now the North buckled into the war with renewed interest. Here was an ideal; here was a crusade for liberty. Besides, the Emancipation Proclamation made clear to England, and all the world for that matter, that the war was one against slavery and not merely for the perpetuation of the American Union. And England, which had freed slaves in her colonies, could hardly take active steps to aid the South in maintaining slavery in the New World. The British people could no longer be deceived; the North was fighting for the liberty of a race.

The Fredericksburg Defeat. Burnside, loyal to McClellan, whom he regarded as the most brilliant general in the army, refused command of the Army of the Potomac until peremptorily ordered to replace McClellan. He insisted on his own unfitness, which he speedily demonstrated. With Lincoln's aid and that of

the political war lords in Washington's safety zone, Burnside planned a campaign against Richmond along the shorter but more difficult Fredericksburg route. It was decided not to try the Manassas approach which had been so fatal to both McDowell and Pope. The Union forces found Lee and Longstreet intrenched on the heights of Fredericksburg with Jackson near at hand, though he was thought to be far away in the Shenandoah valley. Stonewall Jackson was everywhere. His swift movements could not be watched or blocked.

Burnside's 113,000 men outnumbered the Confederates by at least 30,000. He would not make McClellan's mistake of caution but would attack boldly. This he did (December 13, 1862), despite the objections of his generals, who considered an assault on the enemy's impregnable position a reckless murder of men. Six times the divisions of Meade, Hooker, French, and Hancock stormed Lee's center, with terrific losses. It was in these assaults that the Irish Brigade was wiped out, fighting, it was said, Irish troops in the Confederate line of honor. General Pickett wrote: "Your soldier's heart almost stood still as he watched those sons of Erin fearlessly rush to death. . . . We forgot that they were fighting us, and cheer after cheer went up along our lines." It was a death trap. Burnside would take no advice, but obstinately ordered assault after assault. Maddened with grief as he saw the heaps of the dead and dying, Burnside could hardly be restrained from leading a last assault in person with the idea of offering himself as a sacrifice to his fatal blunder.

A representative of the *London Times* exultantly wrote to his paper that December 13 would be an epoch-marking day in the History of the Rise and Fall of the American Republic. He was wrong. In the life of the nation the day carries no significance. Fredericksburg, with its loss of about 13,000 Unionists, demonstrated the courage of the Northern soldier. It was Spartan against Spartan. A grief-stricken North tightened its belt and determined to carry on. A month later Burnside was relieved, and "Fighting Joe" Hooker was given command. The year ended in disaster in the East; but on the Western front the North had honor enough.

War in the West (1862). Northern plans called for the expulsion of Confederate forces from southern Kentucky and Tennessee and the opening of the Mississippi River. The West was intensely interested in freeing the river for sentimental and economic reasons. The Mississippi was the Western highway to the ocean, and incidentally if its strongholds were in Federal hands, the South would be severed into two isolated sections.



SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300

THE WAR IN THE WEST, 1862

Missouri was now safe within the Union; even Confederate raids across her borders were less numerous. Most of Kentucky was held by Union armies of occupation. Frémont had been removed from his command of the West, on charges of corruption and incompetence, though unfortunately Lincoln transferred him to a lesser command in the East, where his incompetence cost dearly. The administration obviously feared his political strength, and, as it was, he became a wronged hero in the eyes of the abolitionist and radical critics of Lincoln. General Halleck was made commander of the West, with headquarters at St. Louis; and while he was not an able leader, he was fortunate in

having capable though inexperienced generals in the field, whose fighting qualities and military genius rapidly developed under fire. With such subalterns as Thomas, Grant, and Sherman, Halleck won a personal reputation far beyond his merit for victories and strategical skill.

Capture of Fort Henry. Paducah and Cairo were taken by Grant¹ in September, 1861. In January, 1862, General George H. Thomas defeated the Confederates in a severe battle at Mill Spring. Grant moved from Cairo with a land force and a fleet of river gunboats, with which the Western army was well supplied, up the Tennessee River and seized Fort Henry, though the garrison managed to escape to Fort Donelson (February).

Capture of Fort Donelson. Grant, ably assisted by General Lew Wallace's division and Commodore Foote's gunboats, attacked Fort Donelson. An assault broke the outer defenses and prevented the garrison's escape, though picked men under Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Forrest (a noted Confederate cavalry officer) managed to flee under cover of darkness. Within ten days (February 16, 1862) General Buckner saw the hopelessness of fighting and capitulated with 15,000 men. As Grant had called for the "unconditional surrender" of Fort Donelson, the term stuck to him as a popular name throughout the war, fitting perfectly, as it did, with his initials U. S. Grant became a hero. He had taken an almost impregnable fortress situated on a high, protected plateau. It was a strategic point without which the Confederates could not retain their old line. General Leonidas Polk, West Pointer and Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, was compelled to withdraw from Columbus and turn toward Corinth, as did Albert S. Johnston, who had maintained a position at Bowling Green, Kentucky, on the main railroad line from Louisville to Memphis.

The Battle of Shiloh. Grant forced his way south on the Tennessee to insignificant Pittsburg Landing with its small cotton

¹ Grant, a graduate of West Point, had fought in the Mexican War, and later resigned from the army. As a civilian he worked a little farm in Missouri without success and then clerked for his father in a small leather shop. Given to drink and indolence, he failed to make a living for himself and his family. When the war broke out he was given a command over volunteers. He soon found himself and developed into the greatest general on the Northern side.

wharves, located almost on the border where the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama meet. Here on April 6 the Confederates under General Albert S. Johnston attacked the Unionists during the absence of Grant. Hard fighting around the log church of Shiloh cost the Federals many prisoners, as at times the army was hurled backward. It was a bloody day, with fierce assaults of Confederate infantry and superior cavalry. Johnston, wounded, recklessly continued in the saddle until he fell dead, though immediate aid might have preserved his life. Johnston was a real loss. He had been one of the ablest generals in the American army and was regarded at the time of his death as the most brilliant Confederate leader, not even excepting Lee.

The next day saw Grant's return and the reënforcement of the Northern army by 25,000 troops of Don Carlos Buell's and Wallace's divisions. That and the death of Johnston saved Grant. Beauregard, Johnston's successor, was an able general but without the touch of genius. With a fatigued army he faced a larger force strengthened by Buell's fresh regiments. Yet when the second day's fighting was over, Beauregard was able to withdraw his battered army in safety to Corinth. Grant, whose forces were in no condition to prevent Beauregard's orderly retreat, was caustically arraigned by the press for the first day's defeat and his inexcusable absence. It was to William T. Sherman, a graduate of West Point, that the North gave credit for snatching victory from defeat. Thereafter Sherman's reputation deservedly grew.

Capture of Island No. 10. While Grant was at Shiloh, Commodore Foote, with his gunboats, and General John Pope, with an auxiliary land force, captured New Madrid and the stoutly protected Island No. 10 in a bend in the widened Mississippi about forty miles below Columbus (April 7). War stores and 7000 prisoners were taken, and the Mississippi was opened as far south as Memphis. In the meantime Generals Curtis and Sigel, the latter a popular German figure, worsted a large Confederate force under Van Dorn in the battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas (March 7).

Seizure of Corinth and Memphis. In the general displeasure with Grant after Shiloh, General Halleck took personal command, ordering an army of 100,000 men to Corinth, which the

Confederates abandoned on its approach. He then followed the railroad to Memphis, which in turn surrendered (June 6). Fort Pillow, up the river fifty miles, had capitulated the previous day. The Mississippi was a Confederate river only below Vicksburg. Western Tennessee was in Union hands. The President recognized the conquered section as the state of Tennessee and made Andrew Johnson military governor. He had been one of the few prominent Southerners in political life who failed to follow his state when the secession act was passed. While a believer in state rights, he was at heart a loyal nationalist.

Capture of New Orleans. The assault on the metropolis of the South, New Orleans, was assigned to Admiral Farragut, the outstanding naval officer and a native of Tennessee, who prized his life of service in the Federal navy and his national oath of loyalty above state allegiance. In vain did the Confederacy try to win him over. On April 23, 1862, the fleet of Farragut and Admiral Porter crossed the bar below New Orleans. A bombardment of five days and five nights silenced the forts on either side of the Mississippi, the huge chain which had been strung across the river as barricade was cut, and the fleet passed through the fired wreckage and blazing derelicts to the city. Farragut's own flagship was afire, but he calmly directed some of the soldiers to put out the blaze while he held the sailors to the guns, which continued to belch forth shot at the Confederate shipping and forts. On May 1 the Northern forces under General Butler took over the city, parts of which had been fired by the inhabitants, together with millions of dollars' worth of supplies and cotton. The capture of New Orleans ended the blockade-running trade in cotton and English munitions as far as the Southwest was concerned. Butler as military governor brought order, though his drastic rule bordered on tyranny.

Chattanooga-Perryville Campaign. Halleck sent Buell to capture Chattanooga, a key railroad center of southeastern Tennessee; but prior to his arrival General Bragg, the successor of Beauregard in the West, had occupied the city in force. Reinforced by conscripts (for the South was now drafting soldiers), Bragg with 50,000 men undertook to follow President Davis's

orders (Confederate politicians and civilians also interfered in military affairs) that he invade Kentucky. He reached Lexington and turned his columns toward Louisville, which was saved by a mad rush of Buell's army to the rescue. There Buell obtained plenty of new Federal recruits and, with an army augmented to 58,000 men, began a campaign to drive Bragg from the state, in which he had set up a Confederate government. Earlier this Confederate raid might have had an effect upon the people of the borderland, but in the fall of 1862 it was too late. Bragg found Kentucky as little interested as Lee did Maryland. The border states no longer wavered in their allegiance, nor could they afford to do so.

Buell's army overtook Bragg and his Confederates at Perryville (October 8), where in a bitter fight the Union forces more than held their ground, even though their losses were quite as large as those of the enemy. Buell hoped to resume the offensive on the following day, but during the night Bragg wisely withdrew. Like McClellan at Antietam, Buell failed to pursue the foe. To strategists in editorial chairs and at political desks it was hard to explain how Bragg could escape a larger army and carry with him prisoners, supplies, and the plunder of the raid. Lincoln ordered Buell to winter in eastern Tennessee and sustain his army at the expense of the countryside. With this plan of foraging Buell would not agree, and, on investigation of his failure to follow Bragg, he was removed, to the satisfaction of his political opponents. Buell was a skillful if not a brilliant strategist, a trained soldier, and a strong character. General William S. Rosecrans was then given command.

The Battle of Murfreesboro. Rosecrans¹ had just emerged from obscurity to fame. Iuka, near Shiloh, in the northeastern tip

¹ Rosecrans, grandson of a signer of the Declaration, on graduation from West Point served in the army and as a professor at the academy. He became a convert to Catholicism, as did his brother Sylvester, who was auxiliary bishop of Cincinnati and first bishop of Columbus. A colonel at the outbreak of the war, he rose to major general's rank. Relieved of command, he entered railroad construction work. In 1868 he was minister to Mexico. Later as a Democrat he served in Congress and was appointed registrar of the United States Treasury by Cleveland. In 1889 he was restored to his rank and pay as a brigadier general.

of Mississippi, was held by Price, the old Confederate leader of Missouri. Because of its location on the railroad from Memphis to Chattanooga, Grant ordered its seizure by Rosecrans. An indecisive battle was fought (September 19). Encouraged by reinforcements under Van Dorn, the Confederate leader at Pea Ridge, Price attacked Corinth, situated on the railroad line where the Union army had stored the bulk of its supplies and munitions. For the moment it seemed that Corinth would be taken, but Rosecrans, with reckless valor, rode up and down in the line of fire before his troops and shouted encouraging orders to them. Corinth was saved and the disappointed Confederate President resolved to try a new commander, Pemberton, while Rosecrans was awarded a major-generalcy in the Army of the Ohio.

Rosecrans refused to winter in eastern Tennessee and encamped at Nashville until Christmas. With 47,000 men he moved along the Nashville-Chattanooga Railroad to Murfreesboro, about thirty miles distant, where Bragg had located for the winter months. The armies faced each other in silent suspense for a day; then suddenly on the following morning (December 31) Bragg attacked. The Confederate legions under Hardee, Polk, and Kirby Smith fought heroically. Only the personal bravery of Rosecrans aroused his men to mighty efforts when the battle seemed lost. It was in this fight that Colonel "Phil" Sheridan¹

¹ Philip Sheridan (1831-1888) was born in Albany of Irish immigrant parents. Raised on a small Ohio farm, he was sent to West Point, where he was almost expelled for an attack on a minor officer who mistreated him. Graduated in 1853, he served in Indian campaigns. When the Civil War commenced he was an obscure colonel. Sheridan had no powerful supporters; merit alone brought him to the front. He was a quartermaster-general under Halleck and won his rank of brigadier general in the Chattanooga-Murfreesboro campaign. Grant came to regard him highly as a cavalry officer on whom he could rely to carry out any order. In April, 1864, Sheridan was given command of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, and in November was made a major general. During the early post-war years he was military commander of Louisiana, Texas, and Missouri. In 1869 he became a lieutenant general. In 1870 he viewed the Franco-Prussian War with the German General Staff. He succeeded Sherman as commander in chief of the army (1883) and shortly before his death was raised to the full rank of general. He was described as "a handsome, powerfully built but short man, decidedly Irish, full of amiability and humor." Not long before his death he was considered as a possible Democratic candidate for the presidency, but the *New York Nation* (February 16 and August 9, 1888) felt that the day of war heroes had passed.

proved his mettle and won renown. On New Year's Day the exhausted armies remained deadly quiet, as if by mutual understanding in a sort of truce of God. On the following day the battle was renewed with even more desperate attacks and counter attacks. At nightfall it was either army's victory, though during the night the Confederates admitted defeat by silently creeping away. Thus ended the year in the West. Lincoln appreciated this victory of Murfreesboro; it gave a ring of forceful meaning to his Emancipation Proclamation.

The Failure of the Volunteer System. As the war continued and there was no end in sight enlistments became slow. Congress passed a Conscription Act providing that men between the ages of twenty and forty-five should be drawn by lot for army service. Archbishop Hughes was among the first to favor the change, for he noted that in industrial regions shops would close temporarily and poor men be driven to enlist to ward off hunger, while propertied men would sit back in comfort and shout their loyalty. In this way recent immigrants were driven into the ranks when the crusading spirit of natives, the prosperous, and antislavery men was dulled. Even the draft was unfairly administered.

Each district throughout the country was assigned a certain quota. If this number was approximated by enlistments, few would be drafted. Hence every attempt was made to force enlistments by laying off laborers and paying state and county bonuses to volunteers. When the lottery was operated it was peculiar how few of the chief men of a community would be on the list of draftees. If their names did appear, the law permitted them to hire substitutes, who could be obtained for as little as \$300 each. Later prices ranged as high as \$800. Such figures seemed huge to the unemployed or to recent Irish and German arrivals, who were often picked up at the port of landing. It was becoming a poor man's fight. In the meantime many a man who hired a substitute to fight and probably die for him profited by high war wages or enhanced returns from industrial plants. It was President Wilson's knowledge of the unfairness of this system which led him to favor a selective draft in the World War which should be administered as fairly as was humanly possible.

Draft Riots. When the injustice of the law and its enforcement was seen, there were disturbances and riots in a number of cities. As rioters were poor men, no inconsiderable number were recent immigrants. In New York, where the riots were worst, the malcontents were in control of the city for a few days in July, 1863. The mayor and police were secretly in sympathy with the anti-war mob. Property was destroyed, newspaper offices were raided, rich men were forced into hiding, and poor negroes were maltreated and killed. Federal troops, some called from the front, brought order by firing on the crowds and killing a number of persons. Archbishop Hughes and other leaders of the people urged the mob to disperse and obey the laws. Quiet was thus restored. It was a disgraceful episode, an unfortunate protest of the laboring class stirred up by demagogues who opposed the war and by writers who denounced the draft law. Yet without conscription the war could not have been won. The South was at last forced to draft men, and the method employed was subject to the same abuses. This opposition, however, made the authorities more careful in administering the unpopular act.

The Battle of Chancellorsville. The tragedy of Fredericksburg did not end the misfortunes of the Union army in the East. "Fighting Joe" Hooker restored the morale of his troops. With new recruits he had an army of 125,000 men, far more than he was capable of handling in action. Breaking winter quarters at Falmouth in April, he attempted to get behind Lee's army of 60,000, which was still camped around Fredericksburg. For this he was not cunning enough. At Chancellorsville, a mean village of scattered houses, the armies met (May 1, 1863). Hooker gave up the hill despite the advice of his staff and posted his army on the low bottoms of the Rappahannock near a ford which would make retreat easier.

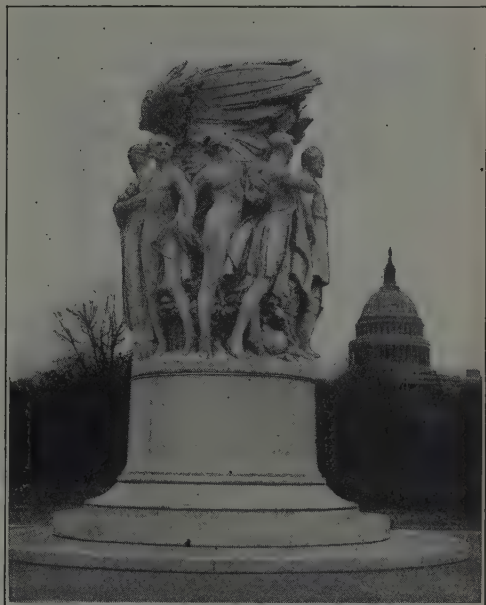
Jackson negotiated a long detour, surprised the Union right, and nearly destroyed Howard's corps before reënforcements and nightfall saved the day. That night Thomas J. Jackson¹ was

¹ "Stonewall" Jackson was a picturesque man, an army officer who resigned to teach school. When his state called he accepted a commission. He prayed long before battles, and no man fought with greater success. His loss was irreparable.

killed, when his own forces by mistake fired on a reconnoitering detachment which he himself was leading.

The next day Sickles's corps fought courageously, but General Hooker failed to render the necessary support. A whole corps was not even in action. Meantime Early's forces defeated General Sedgwick, who had been left at Fredericksburg. With a loss of 17,000, Hooker's disheartened army, though double that of Lee, retreated over the Rappahannock to safety. The North was disgusted; Hooker was replaced by General George Gordon Meade. The South was elated; Chancellorsville, following Fredericksburg, compensated for losses in the West.

Lee's Second Invasion. Flushed with success, Lee planned another invasion of the North. He sent 80,000 men in three widely separated columns toward Hagerstown, leaving Stuart with 10,000 cavalrymen to watch Meade's army. The Confederates were soon well into Maryland on the road to Harrisburg, which controlled communications between the West and the East on the Pennsylvania Railroad. If Harrisburg were captured or put to ransom, it would cause panic in Philadelphia and Baltimore. Lee hoped to impress Europe and levy heavy tribute on this rich region. Lee was at Chambersburg, halfway between Harrisburg and Gettysburg, when he learned that Meade's army



© Harris & Ewing

THE MEADE MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

tions was Cemetery Ridge, — the Union center. Lee ordered a charge across the dividing plain a mile wide and up the slope of fortified Cemetery Ridge. Longstreet remonstrated, but in vain. To him it seemed hopeless. The artillery gave support, and Pickett led 15,000 of the finest Southern troops in the immortal charge, against Hancock's crack Northern regiments which awaited the assault. For the first half-mile the Confederates marched proudly with banners flying. Under bursting cannon shot they held their ranks. As they came within the concentrated musket fire they rushed headlong, only to be mowed down in desperate fashion. Yet some of the stoutest heroes reached the Northern cannon on the hillside. General Armistead jumped on the rocks of the inner defenses, waving the flag with its stars and bars, but fell dead that instant. The Unionists could not be dislodged. The broken remnant retired. As an exhibition of courage the assault was superb. Only the poet who immortalized the charge of the six hundred could have done justice to Pickett's men. Their glorious failure ended the day.

Gettysburg was a decisive Northern victory. The high point of the Confederacy had been reached. The South was entering its decline. In good order Lee withdrew. Meade followed, but did not attack, as the North hopefully anticipated. The invaders reached Virginia. Gettysburg's three days had been so dreadful and the fighting so furious that mortal men could stand no further strain until time had dulled that nightmare of death and destruction. Over 32,000 men had fallen. In the North there were brighter hopes of victory, for foreign intervention was less likely.

Foreign Relations after Gettysburg. Napoleon III urged joint French and English recognition of the South and intervention on its behalf in 1863, and the matter was hotly considered in Parliament. Wiser counsel prevailed. In the textile-manufacturing cities conditions were improving. Though still impoverished, the laboring people favored the North. In 1862 over 500,000 persons depended on poor relief, for which contributions came from all parts of the empire, and the weekly wage loss amounted to about a billion dollars. Cotton from Egypt and Syria soon in part replaced Southern cotton. Apparently Cotton was not king.

When news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg reached England there was little further danger of recognition of the South, which would have been so ruinous to the North. British neutrality was still unfair. Ironclad rams were being built at Laird's yards; but on a firm protest from Minister Adams that if these rams were allowed to reach Confederate hands, the United States could regard their "escape" only as an open breach of neutrality, the British government took pains to see that the rams were never delivered. Mason realized that his mission had become futile and departed for France.¹

The Attitude of France. Emperor Louis Napoleon was more hostile to the North than was the English government, and his rule of France was absolute. In 1861-1862 he inspired a joint French-Spanish-English occupation of Mexico to collect debts contracted by its revolutionary government. On promise of the payment of the debts England and Spain withdrew, but the French forces remained. The Monroe Doctrine, Napoleon felt, could be violated with impunity while the United States was engaged in this death struggle. The Mexican republic was overthrown, and an empire established, with Maximilian, a brother of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, on the throne as a protégé of Napoleon.

At all times Napoleon III urged the British ministry to act. The capture of New Orleans and the Northern victories of 1863, as well as England's hesitation, cooled his ardor. In 1864, on protest of our minister, he prevented the launching of ships built in French ports for the Confederacy. Like the British ministry, he had no heart to back a lost cause.

In 1866, when the war was over, Sheridan was sent to the Texas border with a large army, and our State Department sent a strong protest to Napoleon against his Mexican occupation.

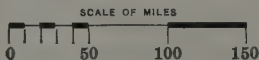
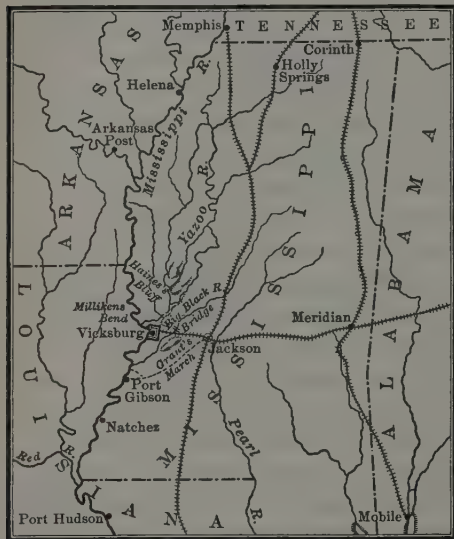
¹ The student must remember that the England of our Civil War was not the England of today. Had the people been in power, the attitude of the government would have been different. Not until the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 gave universal suffrage and provided equalized representation in Parliament did the laboring and lower-middle classes have a voice in the government. Trade unionism too was weak. The Union had friends enough, but not in the class which dominated Parliament and controlled the foreign policy.

Napoleon, seeing war clouds hovering over Europe, agreed to withdraw his troops within eighteen months. Thereupon Mexican revolutionists reëstablished a republic and executed the unhappy Maximilian, whose pride kept him from seeking refuge in flight. The United States thus gave teeth to the Monroe Doctrine.

The Vicksburg Campaign. In the West the main objective of Union strategy was the capture of Vicksburg, the key fortress of the Mississippi. When Farragut captured New Orleans he sailed up the Mississippi in hope of freeing the whole river. Halleck refused troops for a joint river-and-land attack upon Vicksburg, which in its unfortified condition might easily have been taken. Obtaining no aid, Farragut floated back to New Orleans. Meantime the Confederates under Van Dorn fortified the city, which was built on a high bluff commanding a full turn in the Mississippi. Thereafter Vicksburg, with a picked garrison and bristling cannon, was like a Gibraltar, impregnable to assault. Two hundred miles south, Port Hudson was also fortified and garrisoned.

Grant finally succeeded Halleck in command of the Army of the West. His attempts against Vicksburg were bootless. The North had made a costly error. In December, 1862, Grant planned to go into the state of Mississippi well to the southeast of Vicksburg, and ordered Sherman's army and Porter (successor of Commodore Foote) with his gunboats to cut off the fortress from the north. This proved impossible when Van Dorn raided Holly Springs (December 20) and captured or destroyed Union supplies, and when the daring cavalry of Forrest raided Tennessee, destroying bridges, railroads, and telegraph lines so effectively that Grant's army was without communication with the North. Sherman with 30,000 men was sorely defeated by an inferior force in the swamp lands where the Yazoo River flows into the Mississippi. Grant was forced to withdraw, and remained idle during the rest of the winter. Loud were the cries for his removal. Stanton, Chase, and Halleck gave way to the general clamor. Lincoln refused to make any change for the time being, but Grant, realizing that he must act, planned an audacious campaign for the spring.

Grant dispatched his army down the west bank of the Mississippi through bad lands and swamps. Thirty miles below Vicksburg the Union forces recrossed the river and by an assault seized the stronghold of Grand Bluff, which was held by a few Confederate regiments (May 3, 1863). In the meantime Porter's gun-



THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

boats and supply boats floated past Vicksburg on a dark night made terrible by the glare of bursting shells from the fortress and answering shot from the ship mortars. Though struck on all sides, all but one ship passed the fort in safety. In May, Grant, with McPherson's able help, defeated Johnston's army and captured the town of Jackson, an important rail center in Mississippi. Destroying railroads and bridges for miles in every direction, his foraging army stripped the countryside. Grant kept John-

ston from joining Pemberton, who, despite several engagements, had been forced to take refuge in Vicksburg. By May 18 Grant's army and Porter's river squadron surrounded the fortress.

The Siege and Capture of Vicksburg. An assault on the fortress failed, though Grant displayed that recklessness of life for which he has always been harshly judged (May 22). That 3000 men were lost in this impossible attempt caused him little concern. Sherman with half the army kept Johnston at some distance, lest he succeed in relieving Pemberton. Grant settled down for a long siege. Admiral Porter kept firing shells into the

city, as did Grant's artillery. The Northern forces dug in and kept pushing their lines closer and closer to the city. And no end of recruits were coming to increase the size of Grant's army. Vicksburg suffered terribly. The civilian population lived in cellars and underground burrows. Buildings crashed; casualties from bursting shells were large. Starvation and resultant disease wore down the garrison. Without food and faced by an epidemic, Vicksburg surrendered (July 4, 1863) with 37,000 prisoners. Grant, always thoughtful of the vanquished, paroled the prisoners; that is, on their agreement to fight no more, they were allowed to go home to their families.

Port Hudson could no longer hold out and five days later surrendered to General Banks. Lincoln remarked that "the Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea." The Mississippi became a Northern river from source to outlet. Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas were severed from the Confederacy. Men and supplies could no longer be drawn from across the Mississippi. Foreign goods entering Texas by way of Mexico would no longer reach the fighting forces. Raids from Arkansas, which was only half conquered, were made into Missouri until 1864, but henceforth they were without military significance.

The Chattanooga Campaign. Awaiting the success of Grant at Vicksburg, Rosecrans with 70,000 men remained at Nashville in order to guard against the possibility of Bragg's leaving Chattanooga for the Vicksburg region. In June he was ready. Bragg expected an attack from the north, as Chattanooga was quite inaccessible from the south, but in this he was surprised. Rosecrans crossed the Tennessee River; and his divisions, half lost in the deep, rugged valleys and at times dangerously separated, managed by good luck to concentrate, 58,000 strong, at Chickamauga Creek, ten miles south of Chattanooga. Bragg's army was stronger by several thousand troops; for Longstreet had come from the East to support him, as did Buckner's detachment, which had been driven out of Kentucky by Burnside, who was stationed at Knoxville.

Rosecrans was sorely pressed (September 19). Indeed, he thought the day lost when Longstreet broke his center, and his

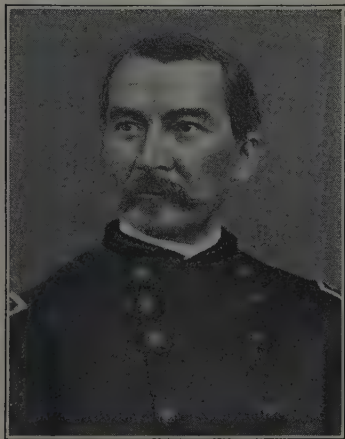
left wing was falling back on Chattanooga. He ordered General Thomas to protect his retreat, but Thomas did more. Surrounded on three sides, he held his ground until nightfall and then gained control of the gap which provided a passage northward. With heavy losses the Union forces retired to Chattanooga, where supplies were low, as Northern communications were severed. A retreat would be costly in men and in prestige. The army was almost entrapped, with Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge held by Confederates in force.

Lookout Mountain. The North was worried. Rosecrans was replaced by Thomas, "the Rock of Chickamauga." Hooker with a small army was hurried from the East. Grant sent Sherman with a large force from Vicksburg and ultimately came himself to take supreme control. The Confederate general Bragg, in a sense of security, sent part of his army under Longstreet against Burnside's Federal army of occupation in eastern Tennessee. Longstreet gave up the expedition when he saw how weak was Southern sentiment in the state. Before Longstreet returned, Grant had captured Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge in the costly "Battle of the Clouds" (November 24-26). All Tennessee was in Northern hands. Fighting in the West ended for the year, as both armies went into winter quarters — the Union at Chattanooga and the Confederate, a few miles away, at Dalton in Georgia.

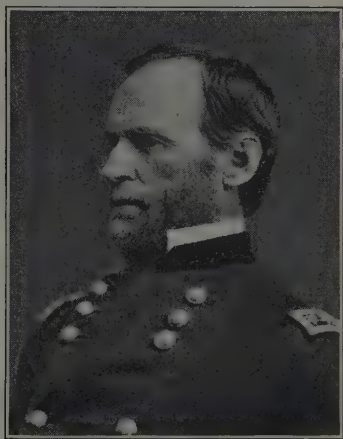
The Atlanta Campaign. Both armies were active in the spring of 1864. Grant was made lieutenant general over all the Northern forces, with Sherman heading an army of 100,000 in control of Western operations. President Davis replaced General Bragg with Joseph E. Johnston, a more aggressive and successful campaigner. Political generals were giving place to trained fighters on both sides. It had become a critical matter on one hand to gain and on the other to hold Atlanta, a key position of the Confederacy.

Sherman, by skirmishes and flanking movements, forced Johnston with his smaller army of 75,000 men to retreat toward Atlanta, destroying, as he retired, the Chattanooga-Atlanta Railroad. As Sherman advanced, his railroad engineers rebuilt bridges and relaid tracks. Progress was necessarily slow. Sherman

refused to assault the ever-intrenched Confederates, but by wide flanking movements compelled their painfully gradual retirement. Only at Kenesaw Mountain (June 27) did he venture a direct attack, and then the Union army sustained heavy losses. Yet in the continuous fighting Sherman reported casualties of about 17,000, or somewhat more than those of the enemy. President Davis was aroused because Johnston did not force the



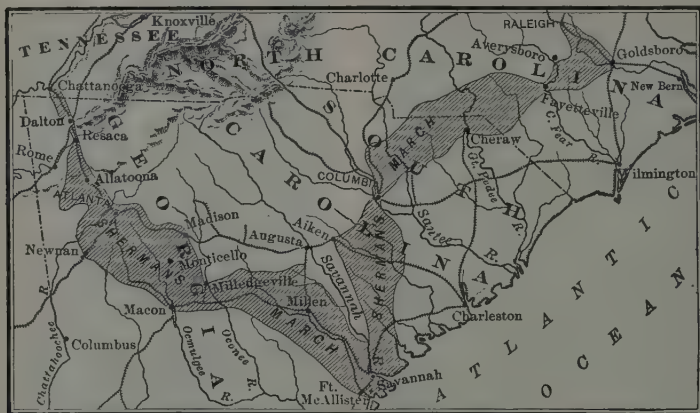
SHERIDAN



SHERMAN

fighting, and gave the command to General Hood. Hood, in the last days of July, fought three losing battles, in which each side suffered heavy losses. Superior numbers and equipment won the day. Sherman was enveloping Atlanta. On September 2 Hood wisely evacuated the city rather than stand siege, with the possible capture of his army. Hood vainly sought to draw Sherman away from Atlanta by marching northward in the direction of Nashville, but Schofield and Thomas were on guard, and Sherman knew that they could be depended upon to give a good account of themselves. In the hard fighting of December 15-16 they defeated and scattered Hood's army, thus dealing a mortal blow to the power of the Confederacy in the West. In the meantime Sherman was well on his way to the sea.

Atlanta to the Sea. Sherman finally obtained Grant's consent to undertake the perilous march through Georgia to Savannah, three hundred and fifty miles away. Burning Atlanta and destroying his bridges behind him, Sherman set out with 60,000 hardened veterans and supplies for only twenty days. Ordered to forage and devastate the country, the army did so with a will. A swath of destruction sixty miles broad was cut through



SHERMAN'S MARCH

Georgia. Never did an army do more willful damage by robbery, fire, and dynamite. No building was too sacred to be given to the torch. Churches and schools did not escape. Plantations, farms, wells, orchards, — all were ruined. Central Georgia was left a land of destruction, despair, and charred ruins. Sherman boasted that a hundred million dollars' worth of damage had been done, and even mild-mannered Northern spokesmen rejoiced. Sherman amply demonstrated his description of war as hell. Within six weeks he was at Savannah, which General Hardee evacuated as he withdrew to South Carolina (December 20). The South was crumbling. Only the Carolinas and a part of Virginia were left in the Confederacy.

Sherman in the Carolinas. On February 1, 1865, Sherman's army turned to Columbia, South Carolina. Here the devastation

was worse, for officers and soldiers gave free sweep to their hatred of the state which had commenced the rebellion. Columbia, a beautiful college town of 10,000, was fired and left a pile of cinders. Soldiers crazed by drink committed riotous excesses. Yet in the North there was little criticism of such criminal destruction. Hardee fled from Charleston with the remnant of an army. Fort Sumter had long been blown to atoms by a naval attack. In North Carolina less hatred was displayed. On March 11 the Fayetteville arsenal was destroyed. Johnston was backed across North Carolina, step by step. Finally Sherman reached Goldsboro, about a hundred and fifty miles from Richmond (March 23), and two days later Schofield arrived from Wilmington, which he had seized in January. Johnston was only a few miles away at Greensboro. Both sides waited anxiously for news from Richmond.

Renewal of the War in Virginia. After Gettysburg there was quiet in the Eastern section, with only skirmishes and minor raids. Those July days had been so terrible that men could not forget. All attention was riveted on the West. In the spring of 1864 Grant as general in chief came East to direct the renewed operations, though Meade was left in actual command of the army. The colossal struggle soon commenced with Grant's grand army of 125,000 battering away against 60,000 Confederates under Lee.

The Wilderness Campaign. On May 3 the Union troops pushed across Rapidan Creek into a broken region of heavy underbrush, which was well designated the "Wilderness." For a few days the infantry was engaged in almost hand-to-hand combats with Lee's forces, which had the advantage of local guides familiar with every inch of the impassable country. Northern losses were terrible, but Grant persisted. At Spottsylvania Court House, Grant ordered an assault on Lee's lines, which were cleverly protected by trenches and barricades (May 8). Again the Northern losses were desperate. So far 34,000 names were on the casualty lists. Grant showed no feeling; men counted for little. Grant only declared, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Continuous fighting and flanking marches brought the Union troops to North Anna

(May 23), where Lee was too strong for even the reckless Grant to attack. A saddened nation criticized Grant, as it wondered if, in his sober senses, he could be so calloused to the bloody losses.

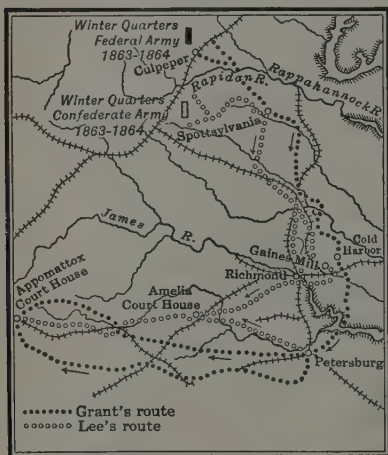
Cold Harbor. By June 3 Grant's army was at Cold Harbor, almost on the ground that McClellan had occupied in the last days of his Peninsular campaign. But the administration supported Grant. The nation was in deadly earnest. Cost in

men and money was not considered. Recruits poured in to take the dead men's places. Eighty thousand Union men were ordered to assault the Confederate trenches; seven thousand dropped in their tracks. Grant refused to ask for a truce to bury his dead, and for four days the dead lay unburied and the wounded were dying of starvation and lack of attention in this no-man's land. Yet the battle had not been won.

Grant moved to the James River. Would he be no more

successful than McClellan? He had lost 55,000 men. Lee had lost hardly a third as many, but there were no recruits to fill their places. The South was fast being bled to death; her resources were at an end. Grant's war of attrition, even though he lost two men for every Confederate, would in the end win.

Opposition to the War. As in all our wars, there was a fairly strong opposition to the Civil War and to the increased powers of the Federal government. The elections of 1862 had seated a number of anti-war Democrats and resulted in hostile state administrations in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and New Jersey. Yet, on the whole, Democrats supported all war measures. Lincoln's refusal of Napoleon's offer to mediate aroused some Copperheads, as rabid opponents



GRANT'S RICHMOND CAMPAIGN

of the war were called. Southern Illinois and Indiana were centers of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret anti-war faction. Ohio Democrats nominated Vallandigham, who was a thorn in the side of the administration, but he was defeated for the governorship (1863). Few men have been so abused as Lincoln or attacked from so many sides. No president has been so caricatured in the foreign press. Yet Lincoln carried on, and his name is a living force, while his opponents are forgotten.

Election of 1864. The Democratic convention in Chicago named McClellan as its candidate and urged a cessation of hostilities and a peaceful restoration of the Union. The war was declared a failure in a platform which denounced the war powers of the President as unconstitutional and pictured democracy and liberty buried. McClellan, however, declared for the Union first and then for peace. Before election, victories in the field ruined the force of the party's appeal.

Frémont was nominated by a Cleveland mass meeting; but finding that he was not seriously considered, he withdrew, denouncing Lincoln's administration as "politically, militarily, and financially a failure." Chase resigned from the cabinet to contest the Republican nomination, but saw that his chances were hopeless. Lincoln, appreciating his ability and war services, appointed him to the chief-justiceship on Taney's death, for the President carried no rancor in his heart. The Union Republican convention named Lincoln on the first ballot, calling for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat, was named as running mate.

While Lincoln at first was doubtful of his election, military successes made it certain by fall. He won by a popular majority of a half million and an electoral vote of 212 to 21; for while McClellan polled 1,800,000 popular votes, he carried only New Jersey, Kentucky, and Delaware. Apparently the people (including the soldiers in the field, who were given the ballot), in electing Lincoln, agreed with his homely adage that it was not good policy "to swap horses while crossing the stream."

Southern Discontent. Davis, like Lincoln, faced bitter criticism. Men objected to the war powers which he was forced to assume.

Opposition newspapers were often quite unfair. Depreciated paper money, enforced sale of bonds, high taxes, rising costs, and hunger (due to breakdown of transportation quite as much as to actual shortage of food) caused bitter discontent. The draft law, which favored the planter class, had to be amended to silence the clamor. Vice President Stephens was often at odds with the President over the latter's violations of constitutional and common-law guaranties. Some of the states elected anti-Davis administrations and sent strong opponents to Congress. After 1863 President Davis could never be certain of a working majority in Congress.

At Petersburg. Butler was sent by Grant to take Petersburg, but he failed in the presence of Beauregard and was bottled up. Lee was soon at Petersburg, with his army solidly intrenched (June 18, 1864). Grant wasted 14,000 men in bootless assaults before he settled down to a siege. Lee was injured only in so far as his man power was lessened. His troops suffered from short rations and poor equipment, but chiefly because of their fear that the folks at home were suffering. Their morale was breaking.

Early's Raids. In July, Early with 17,000 horse drove the Federal forces out of the Shenandoah valley, defeated the detachments of Sigel and Wallace, and attacked the defenders of Washington behind their earthen works within four miles of the capital. Washington was in terror until Grant sent aid. Early retired to Strasburg, soon to start on a plundering expedition as far as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, which he gave to the flames. His depredations had to be ended.

Grant commissioned Sheridan with 15,000 horse and 40,000 infantry to destroy the famous raider. Sheridan won minor battles at Winchester and Fisher's Hill (September 19-21) and then systematically wasted the valley so that it could support no more Confederate raiders.

Reënforced, Early surprised a larger Union force at Cedar Creek (October 19). Only one corps stood. Meanwhile Sheridan arrived after his famous ride from Winchester, twenty miles away. Inspiring his demoralized soldiers with his fiery enthusiasm, Sheridan turned defeat into victory. Early's cavalry was through raiding, and Sheridan rushed his men back to support Grant.

Hampton Roads Conference. Lincoln and Seward met Confederate representatives at Hampton Roads (February 3, 1865) and offered to end the war if the South would submit and accept emancipation. Lincoln went so far as to promise his good offices in an attempt to get a congressional appropriation as partial compensation for the monetary loss in freeing the slaves. Davis



© H. A. Ogden

THE FEDERAL LINE OF BATTLE, 1864, IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

seemed to have no realization that the war was lost and refused to authorize his commission, headed by Stephens, to treat save on the basis of independence. Naturally the conference came to naught.

The Last Fighting. By spring Lee was almost cut off and Petersburg could no longer be held after Sheridan's victory of Five Forks (April). Lee informed the Confederate government that he must retire, after giving time for its removal to a safer capital. Leaving Petersburg, Lee protected his retreat by continuous rear-guard fighting. He hoped to join forces with Johnston, but his road was blocked by Generals Sheridan and Ord.

The next day (April 9, 1865), at Appomattox village, Lee accepted Grant's generous terms and surrendered his army, which had been cut, by casualties and desertion, to 27,000 men. Grant was a kindly victor, allowing Lee to retain the sword he had carried so honorably. "Let us have peace" was Grant's motto, as his army shared provisions with the famished veterans in ragged gray uniforms and as he allowed the cavalry and artillery men to retain their horses for the spring plowing.

Collapse of the Confederacy. President Davis and his cabinet fled from Richmond and joined Johnston's army, which they ordered to continue the war in the mountains if necessary. Johnston refused; he was aware that the South must have peace and that the war was lost. Accepting Sherman's terms, he surrendered (April 26). A week later Taylor surrendered his forces in Alabama and Mississippi, as did Kirby Smith. In all about 175,000 men laid down their arms after a four years' fight for the lost cause.

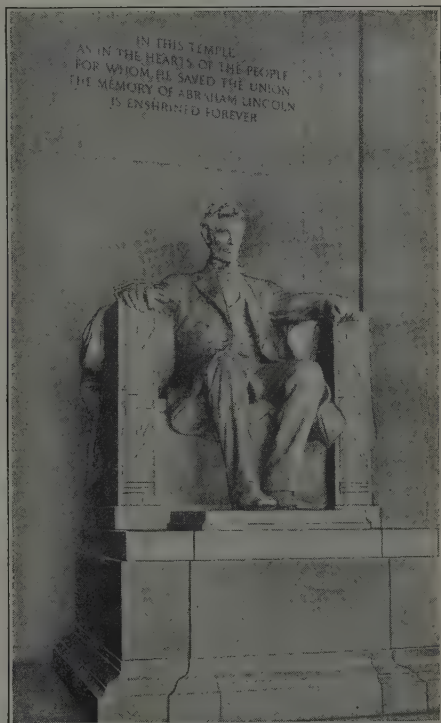
The Cost of the War. The greatest civil war in history was a costly affair.¹ About a million of the best men in the North and South died in battle or of disease. The South was economically ruined. The North was left with a war debt of nearly \$3,000,000,000, though some \$800,000,000 had been raised by current taxation. Daily war costs of \$1,000,000 mounted to \$2,000,000 as early as the summer of 1862. Bonds had been sold largely through Jay Cooke of Philadelphia and his branch banks, or subscribed by the newly established national banks. As interest rates varied from 5 to over 7 per cent and the bonds were sold below par, the cost of financing the war was heavy. The monetary system was demoralized by the issue of over \$400,000,000 in paper money (greenbacks), which greatly depreciated in terms of gold, thus causing an enormous rise in prices. The war upset society. It marked the rapid rise of

¹ The maximum number in the Northern army was 2,778,304; but at no time were there over 1,000,000 men under arms. Of this force the regular army numbered about 26,000. In 1870 the army was reduced to a peace footing of 30,000, later 25,000. Southern authorities estimate their maximum number at about 700,000.

huge fortunes, many of which might be traced to war profits. It resulted in a Federal centralization of power undreamed of by the framers of the Constitution and far in excess of the desires of the most ardent nationalists of pre-Civil-War days.

The war was the answer to secession. Few men would now contend that the war was not worth the cost. It preserved the Union. It guaranteed the integrity of the American republic. It drove slavery from our national life. In a sense, it was the ordeal of fire which made the United States a permanent nation.

The Assassination of Lincoln. Five days after Lee's surrender, on Good Friday night (April 14), Lincoln was assassinated by a fanatical Southern adherent in Ford's Theater, a short distance from the White House, where he sought much-needed relaxation. The North was in a furor. Wilkes Booth, the actor murderer, was thought to be an agent of Jefferson Davis. Wild



STATUE OF LINCOLN IN THE LINCOLN
MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON

cries for revenge resounded. Grant's plea for peace was forgotten. In Professor Channing's words, "As the news of Abraham Lincoln's murder traveled through the Southern land, the wisest men were depressed, but to the generality of the Southern people it seemed to be a fitting accompaniment

to the tragedy that was in their own hearts." The South had lost a friend, as it learned in the dark days of reconstruction which followed.¹

References

HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 164-444; BRADLEY GILMAN, *Robert E. Lee*; MORRIS SCHAFF, *Jefferson Davis*; CHARLES KING, *The True Ulysses S. Grant*; W. STEVENS, *Life of General Grant*; HENRY BRANN, *Most Reverend John Hughes*; N. W. STEPHENSON, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union and The Day of the Confederacy* (Chronicles); W. WOOD, *Captains of the Civil War* (Chronicles); N. W. STEPHENSON, *An Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln*; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 163-183; MARY STANARD, *Richmond*; C. F. MACARTNEY, *Lincoln and his Generals*; GAMALIEL BRADFORD, *Union Portraits and Confederate Portraits*.

Bibliography

RHODES, *History of the United States*, Vols. III, IV; CHANNING, *United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 256-637; BURGESS, *Civil War and the Constitution*; J. K. HOSMER, *The Appeal to Arms and The Outcome of the Civil War*; J. B. MCMASTER, *History of the People of the United States during Lincoln's Administration*; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia* for the war years; E. D. ADAMS, *Great Britain and American Civil War*; JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*; ALEXANDER STEPHENS, *War between the States and History of the United States*, pp. 589-847; W. G. SHOTWELL, *The*

¹ In 1861 a Sanitary Commission and a Christian Commission were organized as Protestant agencies to do work not unlike that of the present nonsectarian Red Cross, and, in addition, to forward Bibles and religious tracts to soldiers. Among volunteer nurses none stand higher than Dorothea Dix, Lucretia Mott, Amy Bradley, Julia Ward Howe, and especially Clara Barton, who became a founder and head of the American Red Cross. Of another group less has been written, but Walt Whitman has told of the Sisters of Charity in hospital and shell-torn field. Eight religious communities furnished several hundred nurses and operated military hospitals: Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of the Holy Cross, Sisters of St. Joseph, Ursulines, and Sisters of Charity (Nazareth, Cincinnati, St. Vincent de Paul, and Emmitsburg). They served both North and South, knowing no distinction between soldiers in blue or in gray. Convents were turned into hospitals. Providence Hospital of Washington originated as a temporary hospital for the men wounded at Bull Run. The Good Samaritan Hospital of Cincinnati was given to the Charity nuns in honor of Sister Anthony, "ministering angel of the Army of Tennessee," by two Protestant gentlemen. Other hospitals may trace their history to similar service.

Recently (1924) Congress authorized the erection in Washington of a monument to "The Nuns of the Battlefield." There appear the carved figures of nuns in their respective habits, and Lincoln's loving eulogy of their gentle service.

Civil War in America; W. E. DODD, *Expansion and Conflict*; E. D. FITE, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*; E. C. SMITH, *The Borderland in the Civil War*; E. C. KIRKLAND, *Peacemakers of 1864*; D. K. DODGE, *Lincoln, Master of Words*; J. H. BARRETT, *Abraham Lincoln and his Presidency*; R. B. MOWAT, *Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States*; SCHAFF, *Sunset of the Confederacy*; J. C. ROPES, *Story of the Civil War*; COMTE DE PARIS, *Civil War in America*; J. T. SCHARF, *The Confederate States Navy*; DAVID KNOWLES, *The American Civil War*; P. F. MARTIN, *Maximilian in Mexico*; W. R. WEST, *Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War*; GIDEON WELLES, *Diary*; McCLELLAN, GRANT, SHERIDAN, SHERMAN, SCHURZ, SCHOFIELD, and WALLACE, among other generals, have left memoirs; H. GREELEY, *The American Conflict*; C. F. ADAMS, *Charles Francis Adams, Autobiography of Charles Francis Adams*; W. C. FORD, *Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861-1865*; G. C. GORHAM, *Edwin M. Stanton*; A. B. HART, *Salmon P. Chase*; G. C. LEE, *Robert E. Lee*; ROBERT E. LEE, JR., *Recollections of Robert E. Lee*; PIERCE BUTLER, *Judah P. Benjamin*; W. E. DODD, *Jefferson Davis*; W. H. RUSSELL, *My Diary, North and South*; P. A. STOVALL, *Robert Toombs*; S. S. MCCLURE, *Lincoln and the Men of War-Times*; G. F. R. HENDERSON and H. A. WHITE have lives of "Stonewall" Jackson; C. MERIWETHER, *Raphael Semmes*; SEMMES, *Service Afloat*; F. M. BENNETT, *The Monitor*; W. C. CHURCH, *Life of John Ericsson*; A. T. MAHAN and J. R. SPEARS have lives of Farragut; C. A. DANA, *Recollections of the Civil War*; A. ROMAN, *General Beauregard*; P. H. EPLER, *Clara Barton*; C. A. INGRAHAM, *Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth*; LAWRENCE KEHOE, *Complete Works of John Hughes*; SIR F. B. MAURICE, *Robert E. Lee and Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War*; E. ROBINS, *W. T. Sherman*; L. PENDLETON, *Alexander H. Stephens*; N. W. STEPHENSON, *Lincoln: Account of his Personal Life*; N. W. MACCHESNEY, *Lincoln, the Tribute of a Century*; L. E. ROBINSON, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters*; F. S. EDMONDS, *Grant*; NICOLAY and HAY, *Abraham Lincoln* (10 vols.); IDA M. TARBELL, W. E. CURTIS, J. T. MORSE, JR., W. H. HERNON and JESSE W. WEIK, H. B. RANKIN, W. E. BARTON, and CARL SANDBURG all have lives of Lincoln; T. K. LOTHROP, E. E. HAYNES, and F. BANCROFT all have lives of Seward; F. W. SEWARD, *Reminiscences of a War Time Statesman*; E. P. OBERHOLTZER, *Jay Cooke*.

2. RETURN OF THE SOUTH AND POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN THE NORTH

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. Lincoln troubled himself little about technical questions concerning the legal status of conquered Southern territory. He held that no state could leave the Union and that secession was illegal. Hence the Southern

states were as much in the Union as ever, only rebellious and disobedient. He would bring them back to loyal allegiance, with no thought of making the process difficult. He would treat the conquered territory with justice and tact and lovingly bring about its reconciliation. As commander in chief, Lincoln assumed the constitutional right to reconstruct the South.



© Harris & Ewing

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

Lincoln recognized the loyal government at Alexandria as the legal state of Virginia. This developed into his "10 per cent plan." He appointed military governors over the conquered portions of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas as the first step in the restoration of those states. In December, 1863, he issued a general amnesty, or pardon, to all "rebels," with the exception of men who held high rank in the Confederate service, provided that they take an oath of loyalty. When 10 per cent of the population of a state accepted this condition and established a provisional government which approved of emancipation, the President agreed to recognize the loyal people as the legal state. He had no thought of punishment. In a last cabinet meeting he

Take back & killing

made it evident that he would take no part in any executions or proscription of Southerners. He was averse to the British method of breaking a rebellious people by hangings and deportations. As Lincoln did not believe in negro suffrage save for educated negroes or veterans of the Union army, it is doubtful if he would have forced this issue.

Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas were organized before the end of 1864 according to Lincoln's plan. Congress was aroused, as radical leaders maintained that reconstruction was a legislative problem. It was pointed out that the Constitution gave Congress the right to judge its own membership and hence to refuse seats to representatives who might be named by reconstructed states. The break between Lincoln and Congress was evident when he pocket-vetoed a bill providing for a harsher method of reconstruction. Congress passed a rule by which the consent of both Houses of Congress was necessary to count a disputed electoral vote from any state. Thus Congress could prevent the counting of a state's vote in a presidential election if both Houses were not satisfied with the state's good standing. Lincoln saw the coming struggle, but aimed to lessen its bitterness by quiet persuasion. The crazed murderer prevented the encounter. Lincoln was no more. The problem was passed on to his successor.

✓ The Thirteenth Amendment. Before his death Lincoln had the satisfaction of seeing Congress approve the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States and gave Congress the power of enforcement. The amendment was ratified by the necessary number of states and proclaimed a part of the Constitution (December 18, 1865). Thus the Emancipation Proclamation was translated into our permanent law and extended to cover all the states instead of merely the section that had left the Union.

Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. Johnson, a "poor white," taught to read by his wife, fought his way up the political ladder from a village official to the governorship of Tennessee and finally to Congress, where he served in both Houses. As military governor of Tennessee he won the favor of Republicans and was

elected vice president in 1864. His succession to the presidency should have been a warning to future political conventions that the vice-presidential candidate should be carefully considered and not named for purely sectional reasons. Johnson, like Lincoln, was self-made; but the harsh uphill struggle had made him hard, aggressive, bitter toward planters or men of wealth, intolerant, and undiplomatic. In early life he hated Republicans and never fitted well into the party, whose nominal leadership he obtained by chance. He was honest and courageous, but bad-tempered. He gave free expression to his dislikes. Such a man would find obstacles ahead, with a natural conflict brewing between the executive and legislative branches of the government concerning their respective powers. Congress was determined to regain its old authority and strip the presidency of the vast powers so rightly assumed during the war.

At first the radical Republicans were pleased with Johnson. They hoped for a policy of revenge when he ordered the arrest of Jefferson Davis and his chief associates with the idea of charging them with rebellion and connection with Lincoln's murder.¹ Johnson, however, soon accepted Lincoln's view. He was a Southerner; he sympathized with the rank and file of the Confederates. In May, 1865, he issued a general amnesty, excepting more of the leaders and well-to-do planters than had Lincoln. He ordered that conventions, elected by loyal white voters, re-establish their state governments, accept the Thirteenth Amend-

¹ In 1865 Davis was arrested and placed in irons by Colonel Nelson A. Miles. This was too much for Stanton, who ordered the manacles removed. After an imprisonment of two years he was brought before a Federal judge and, though charged with treason, released under a heavy bond which was signed by the kind-hearted Greeley and Vanderbilt. Charles O'Connor and Judge Shea served as volunteer chief counselors, while Evarts was in charge of the government's case. Released, he went to Montreal, where his children were in school. Public sentiment was changing from hatred to pity. The case was abandoned in 1869, and Davis lived in retirement for twenty years on his Mississippi plantation.

Other cabinet officers were imprisoned for a time, including Stephens, who wrote a monumental history of the conflict. Judah P. Benjamin went to England, where he won enduring fame as a leader at the bar. Radicals urged the prosecution of General Lee and other military leaders in spite of Grant's parole. Lee, as president of Washington and Lee University, gave his declining years to the education of Southern youth and was an inspiring example of loyal acceptance of the new order.

ment, and repudiate all debts incurred in the late rebellion. This seven states did by the end of 1865, and Texas fell in line the following spring. Thus all the states that had seceded were re-organized under the Lincoln-Johnson plan. The newly organized governments maintained order and elected representatives to Congress. Would Congress receive their delegates and thus recognize presidential reconstruction?

Mistakes of the New Governments. Loyalty to their natural leaders, who had suffered so much, caused the South to send prominent ex-Confederates to Congress. This annoyed even moderate Republicans, who resented the selection of the "chief rebels." Apparently the South was not repentant. Congress refused seats to the representatives of Johnson's states. The South, which had acted in good faith, saw only political treachery in this exclusion of its representatives.

Southern legislatures passed "black codes," which were more lenient than the pre-war laws defining the position of slaves, but still full of restrictions. The freedman was something less than free in the sense of a white man. It seemed necessary to quell the negro. Stirred up by missionaries and agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, which was intended to protect the negro and give him counsel, some of the negroes became arrogant and were guilty of excesses. Without the lash, it appeared, they would not work. With freedom they expected their livelihood without hard labor, and at least forty acres and a mule as a gift from the Federal government. A typical negro is said to have cried that he felt sovereignty running through his body, so little did sudden freedom mean to an inferior race unprepared for self-government. Liberty meant license. Not all negroes were riotous, but Southerners with long experience in handling the negro were aware that the negroes must be ruled or white superiority would be menaced. Let alone, the South would have solved its problem. But both corrupt men and simple-minded Northern idealists were in the South to settle the race question, with no understanding of the negro or of the social and economic difficulties in the way of freeing millions of illiterate negroes and attempting to raise them overnight to the white man's standard.

These "black codes" denied freedmen the right to own land. A negro must carry a registration card bearing his employer's name. He must sign a labor contract and actually work. If he violated a contract, he could collect no wages; yet few negroes could understand a contract. His rights in court were limited if the other party was a white man. He could not carry arms. For rioting, preaching without a license, insulting whites, selling liquor, and many other offenses, he was liable to a heavy fine collected from wages earned by compulsory labor. Negro orphans and unsupported children were bound out to work. These rules which the South held so necessary were regarded by Northerners as a cunning means of enforcing peonage on the freedman. To this charge there was some truth. In the Northern press and in Congress the "black codes" were denounced. The South was said to be avoiding the consequences of the war. This view played into the hands of radicals in their contest with Johnson and gave weight to their demand that the South must be treated as a conquered land subject to the will of the conqueror. They cried that treason must be made odious.

Congress and Reconstruction. The radical Republicans under the leadership of Sumner in the Senate and Thaddeus Stevens in the House, both virtual dictators and as able as they were hostile to the South, were in control of Congress when it convened in December, 1865. Had Johnson been a Lincoln, he might have won moderate Republicans and Democrats to his side and gained the day. But Johnson's political skill was suitable only for the Tennessee hills. Congress passed a bill extending the life and powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, which gave its agents an appeal to military authorities in enforcing the rights of freedmen. A state which violated these rights might be subjected to military rule. Johnson vetoed the bill, which, however, was passed in more offensive form in the next session of Congress under the innocent title of the Civil Rights bill. State rights were clearly violated, but the radical Republicans knew no such rights.

The die was cast. Johnson was attacked in Congress and generally throughout the land. He retaliated, charging Sumner and Stevens and their friends with treasonable attacks on the

Constitution. As a club to enforce the Thirteenth Amendment, the "Black" Republicans passed a bill describing negroes as citizens of the United States and guaranteeing all citizens equal rights, with a provision that all cases arising under this law should be reserved for the Federal courts. Again Johnson used his veto on the score that the law dangerously extended the powers of the Federal government. Congress immediately repassed the bill over his veto. Henceforth the radicals could command a two-thirds vote in both Houses and overrule the President.

Joint Committee of Both Houses on Reconstruction. Congress appointed a joint committee on reconstruction with a membership politically strong enough to force its recommendations on both Houses. This committee, in hearings, brought out in an enlarged way all disturbances in the South—the illegal efforts to put down the negro, riots between whites and arrogant negroes, whippings and murders of disorderly negroes, and the New Orleans race riots. The South was pictured, by the exaggerations of a hostile press, as rebellious, though in fact the Southland was comparatively quiet and orderly. In this way the radicals strengthened their control in Congress and their influence over the country, silencing the opposition of moderate Republicans and Democrats, who were described as pro-Southern and unfriendly to negro emancipation. They were ready to force the Fourteenth Amendment.

✓ **The Fourteenth Amendment.** All persons born or naturalized in the United States were declared citizens of the nation and of the state of their residence :

No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

This portion of the amendment was intended to guarantee the privileges of full citizenship to the negro. In time the negro was forgotten, as this guaranty of the rights of citizenship has been applied by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions to protect

the rights and privileges of corporations and individuals from injurious state legislation. In this way the amendment has greatly extended the authority of the central government.

The second section sought to force negro suffrage on the South at a time when negroes were allowed to vote only in New York and New England (save Connecticut) and when Ohio, Michigan, Kansas, and Minnesota had just defeated proposals to permit negro voting. This suggested the unfairness of the congressional attitude. Prior to the war, in arriving at a state's representation in Congress, all the whites and three fifths of the negroes were counted in totaling the population. Now if any state denied the vote to negroes, its representation would be cut down, as only the white population would be counted. Hence a Southern state which prevented negro voting would have its representation in Congress cut by about a third. On the other hand, if a state granted negro suffrage, its representation would be increased by a third, for representatives would be allotted on the basis of the total population; that is, all the whites plus all (five fifths) the negroes. In a Northern state this amendment would make no difference because the negro population would be too small to affect representation in Congress.

Another section debarred from Federal or state offices anyone who had violated his oath of allegiance to the United States, unless pardoned by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress. Still another section provided that the Northern debt be not questioned, while that incurred by the Confederacy in aid of rebellion must be repudiated. Nor would any claim for loss due to emancipation of the negroes be lawful. Congress, too, was given power to enforce the amendment by necessary legislation.

Congress approved the amendment, and on ratification by three fourths of the states it was made part of the Constitution (July, 1868). Southern states were forced to ratify before they could gain admission, for Congress accepted Sumner's theory that by rebellion the "indestructible" states had committed political suicide and could be rehabilitated only by Congress. The half-reconstructed states refused to ratify the amendment. They held that it was dangerous with its inference of negro suffrage.

In honor they could not agree to its proscription of their beloved leaders. Only Tennessee accepted all conditions and was restored by Congress to full membership in the nation (1866).

The Congressional Elections in 1866. In the fall of 1866 both the President and the "Black" Republicans submitted their respective cases to the voters. Johnson's "swing around the circle" in a campaign on behalf of his friends in the congressional elections was criticized as bringing his high office into disrepute. It was a bitter campaign. The press, humorists like Petroleum V. Nasby, and cartoonists ridiculed Johnson in a most outrageous manner. As might be expected, the radical Republicans swept the country. "The South must be punished" proved a popular slogan. Republicans gained fifty seats in the House and several in the Senate, which gave them more than the necessary vote to override any presidential veto. The nation had spoken.

Congressional Reconstruction. Congress, with a feeling of righteous authority, assumed full power when it assembled in 1866. The break with the administration was complete. Johnson could control no votes save those of the Democratic minority. Existing governments in the ten former Confederate states were abolished, and the states were divided into five military districts, each under the command of a general with sufficient troops to maintain order. This was the atrocious system Cromwell had used to govern England and prevent Royalist revolts against his tyrannical rule. A general, if he saw fit, might substitute military for civil rule and supplant civil officials with army officers. He was to call a state constitutional convention whose delegates would be chosen by all loyal adult males regardless of color. As ex-rebels could not vote or be elected as delegates, the voters were largely negroes, carpetbaggers (the term for Northerners who brought all their belongings in a carpetbag and planned to profit by exploiting the conquered region), and "scalawags" (Southern Tories who had refused to take part in the war or who turned upon their fellow rebels). The revised Constitution as drafted by the convention must guarantee negro suffrage and the Fourteenth Amendment, which was still before the states.

This scheme of reconstruction was passed over Johnson's veto.

It was a shrewd means of forcing negro suffrage on the South. By forcing the amendment on the Southern states, it was hoped that the approval of the necessary three fourths of the states might be obtained, for as the amendment was not generally popular its ratification was doubtful. Curiously enough, the Southern states were regarded as unfit to elect representatives but competent to aid in the passage of an amendment to the Constitution.

Tenure-of-Office Act. ~~Un~~ an effort to restrict the President's appointive power Congress passed over Johnson's veto a law making Federal officials, including cabinet members, irremovable, ~~save with the consent of the Senate, during the term of the president who appointed them (1867).~~ The Constitution is not clear on the right of removal, but custom (certainly since Jackson's time) had allowed the president wide discretion in the case of a cabinet officer. Johnson as well as moderate men regarded the law as unconstitutional and an unwarranted restriction of his appointive power. Radicals were determined to retain their friends in high executive offices, and especially Secretary of War Stanton, whose support they needed in controlling the army. Led by Stevens, they questioned the Supreme Court when some of its decisions were not favorable in related cases. The Supreme Court took the hint and did not embarrass legislation.

Incidentally the Tenure-of-Office Act was repealed by Congress under Cleveland. Recent presidents have removed at will cabinet officers as well as other appointees who do not fall under the civil-service regulations. In 1926 the Supreme Court for the first time directly affirmed the president's right to remove without senatorial sanction an official whom he had appointed with the consent of the Senate. It is safe to assume that the act of 1867 would under normal conditions have been declared unconstitutional if it had been submitted to the Supreme Court for review.

Johnson's Removal of Stanton. In the summer of 1867 the radicals sought to impeach Johnson, but failed to muster enough votes to bring about his prosecution. It was generally recognized by moderate representatives that the President was only guilty of political opposition to Congress and that he had violated no statute. Actually Johnson enforced to the best of his ability all laws

which Congress had passed, no matter how he himself regarded them. However, Johnson soon gave Congress its opportunity.

He suspended Stanton, who had become a personal enemy. And surely no president could be expected to retain open enemies in his immediate circle of counselors. Stanton he regarded as the spy of his congressional enemies. Grant was appointed to the vacancy, but he retired when Congress restored Stanton, rather than challenge the powerful Secretary of War. From the point of view of Grant's political advance it was well that he so decided. Johnson then ordered Stanton to retire and named General Thomas, who was arrested for forcing Stanton out of office. Rather than face court action the radicals obtained the release of Thomas, but retained Stanton. Congress then retaliated by impeaching the President for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Impeachment of Johnson The House appointed General Butler, George Boutwell, Stevens, and four others to prosecute the President, who was charged on eleven counts. The charges might be summed up in his removal of Stanton and his general opposition to the Republican program of reconstruction. Ex-Judge Curtis of the Supreme Court and William Evarts, two of the ablest American lawyers, were in charge of Johnson's defense. Chief Justice Chase presided, and the Senate sat as a trial jury.

It was proved that even Stanton along with other cabinet officers had regarded the Tenure-of-Office Act as unconstitutional; and it was pointed out that as Stanton was a Lincoln appointee his removal did not technically violate the law. Moderates were worried, for Wade, a radical, as president of the Senate, would become president if Johnson was convicted. Meanwhile Johnson selected the popular General Schofield to replace Stanton. This appointment was a tactful move which pleased the nation. The press became less bitter. As a final vote was imminent, popular opinion desired an acquittal, which would allow Johnson to finish his term and shield his high office from disgrace. The radicals had gone too far. When the vote was taken 35 senators voted for conviction and 19 (12 Democrats and 7 Republicans) stood for acquittal. The impeachment failed by 1 vote, but it was well that the radicals did not win. There was a possibility

that Congress might gain too commanding a position in this ideal government of checks and balances.

Election of 1868. Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, the Carolinas, and Mississippi, in conventions dominated by carpet-baggers and negroes, and called under military auspices, adopted revised constitutions in full accordance with the congressional plan. These constitutions were submitted to the voters whose names were on the military registration lists, who approved, save in Mississippi. Thereupon these states were permitted to erect state governments and reënter the Union. Congress was in a hurry. Electoral votes were needed in the coming national election if the Republicans were to be assured of victory. And the nation must have a Republican administration.

Republicans nominated the military hero Grant for president and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for vice president. Grant was no politician. If he ever exercised the suffrage, it was as a Democrat. The bosses believed that they could control him, for he had a simple trust in his "friends" and no knowledge of political tricks. His name was a tremendous asset to the ticket. The Democrats named for the presidency ex-Governor Seymour of New York, whose war record was not creditable, and for the vice presidency Francis Blair of Missouri, on a platform which frightened business men into the Republican fold, as it favored payment of war bonds in depreciated paper money instead of gold and condemned the whole reconstruction policy.

A heated campaign followed. Republicans denounced the war record of Democrats and waved the "bloody shirt," as reference to the war troubles was described. Republicans brazenly assumed credit for winning the war, freeing the negro, and making treason odious. The result was foreseen. Although he polled only 53 per cent of the total popular vote, Grant was elected with 214 electoral votes, to 80 for Seymour. If the South had had its free status of 1860, it is doubtful if Grant could have been made president.

Black Rule in the South. The South was in a desperate way. The powerless whites were oppressed; negroes were in control. Carpetbaggers, usually cheap Northern politicians, unscrupulous preachers, and self-seekers of every hue were in all offices, high

and low. Half-educated blacks occupied positions of high trust. Illiterate negroes sat in conventions and legislatures. State legislatures and carpetbag governors voted heavy taxes, increased state indebtedness, made fraudulent contracts, stole and wasted the public money, and voted appropriations for every corrupt scheme at a time when the need of expenditures for schools, roads, and buildings was overwhelming. It was a time of riotous extravagance and foul corruption. The white population was in despair. Their unworked lands were sold for taxes. They could not obtain loans to start anew, or employ labor for their plantations. The system of transportation had broken down; railroads were in bankruptcy and physical ruin. Starvation and failure seemed the fate of the whole section. These post-war years left a legacy of hate for the North and Republican rule more bitter and long-lived than that caused by the years of bloodshed. It is the darkest blot in American history — this crime of reconstruction.

The Ku-Klux Klan. Something had to be done to discipline the negro. For the Southern white man there was no recourse to law; the courts and the military and the overzealous agents of Northern welfare associations gave the negro more than ample protection. If the dangerous negro minority was to be disciplined, it had to be done outside the law. A method was discovered in Tennessee. Young Southerners in ghostly, hooded attire riding white-shrouded horses intimidated superstitious negroes. Frightened blacks kept under cover during the night. They dared not prowl abroad. The more bold were whipped into submission. The authorities could not prevent these so-called outrages. The members of the Ku-Klux Klan left no trail. They were sworn to secrecy. The idea spread. Within a year (1867) the society was organized as an "invisible empire" with ridiculously named officials and "dens" in every locality of the late Confederacy.

Soon the Klan took dangerous steps. Wilder spirits gained control. They hid behind the secrecy of the order. Intimidation gave way to violence. Negroes were maltreated and even murdered by hooded riders. The early and more responsible leaders withdrew after trying in vain to disband the Klan. They feared Northern interference; for they were aware that the disorderly

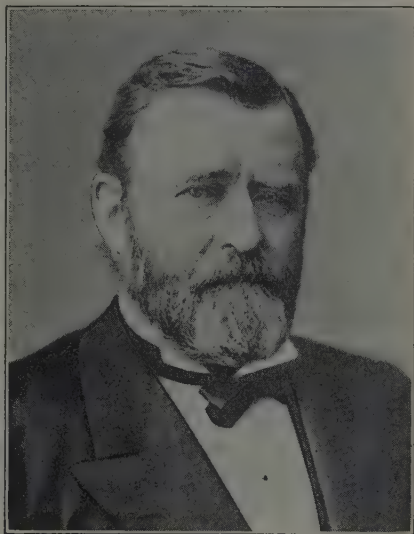
proceedings of the Klan and similar secret societies like the "Pale Faces" and the "White Camelia" would be used as a pretext for further repression and the reestablishment of martial law. Soon a stringent Federal law destroyed the Klan.

✓ **The Fifteenth Amendment.** Congress meantime submitted the Fifteenth Amendment, that "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia were compelled to accept this amendment as well as the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments before they were restored to the Union. Their ratifying votes were actually required for passing the amendment, which was officially declared in force on March 30, 1870.

For several years troops were left in the South and an attempt was made to enforce negro suffrage. Republicans hoped in this way to hold the South and further assure the party's continued national supremacy. In this they failed, for the South ultimately learned how to disfranchise the negro without technically violating the letter of the law. And for the sake of political and industrial peace a more reasonable North has winked at this violation of the spirit of the war amendments in the Southern black belt.¹

¹ Qualifications for voting are determined by the states and set forth in the state constitutions. Hence the Southern states have been able to disfranchise freedmen by describing voting qualifications which the negro cannot pass. For instance, it was provided that no one could vote unless he paid a poll tax, or lived a certain time in his voting district, or was able to read and interpret the Constitution. As a negro's ability to interpret the Constitution is decided by hostile, white, Democratic judges, a negro Republican is not apt to pass the test. To avoid disfranchising illiterate native whites, most of the Southern state constitutions guarantee the vote to descendants of men who voted in 1860. Some of these expedients are used in Northern states to restrict the voting rights of naturalized immigrants. In addition, there is intimidation of negro voters in the South. At any rate, few negroes vote south of the Mason and Dixon line and few are the Republican ballots in the Southland. Since the nineties there has been no attempt to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, for the North has agreed tacitly to let the South handle its own problem. Northern capital in the South is not in favor of "force acts" which would renew ill feeling between the sections. In some Southern states negroes are not permitted to vote in the primaries, though the Supreme Court (1927) nullified such a law in Texas, where negroes were refused a vote in the Democratic primaries on the plea that the amendment referred merely to general elections.

Reconstruction under Grant. To enforce the amendments, drastic "Force Acts," a Federal Election law, and a Ku-Klux Act were adopted (1871), giving the President broad authority in enforcing the "benefits" of reconstruction upon the South. Grant had fallen under the influence of corrupt politicians, but the heyday of the intolerant anti-Southerners was over. Stevens and Sumner, both honest idealists, died (1868, 1874), and the new leaders, Butler and Senator O. P. Morton, were less able to control Congress. In 1871 Grant recommended a general amnesty for about 160,000 ex-Confederates, and Congress approved. In 1872 there was a revolt of liberal Republicans against the tyranny of reconstruction and the corruption of the Grant administration, which threatened radical supremacy.



ULYSSES S. GRANT

After 1872 the Southern whites were regaining power and the South, to a man, was supporting Democratic candidates. In 1874 there was a revival of Democratic strength in the North, and reformers were winning control of the Republican organization. With the election of Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 and withdrawal of the last troops, political reconstruction ended, though a few of the leading Confederates remained unpardoned until 1898.

The Alaskan Purchase. Johnson's administration was marked by Secretary Seward's purchase of Alaska. Russia was anxious to sell the distant territory, because of fear that it might be seized by England and added to her Canadian domain. Her minister priced Alaska at \$7,200,000, about the cost of sending her fleet

during the Civil War to safety in our waters, which Americans erroneously considered an evidence of Russian aid in the case of Franco-English intervention on behalf of the Confederacy. Seward accepted with alacrity and immediately drew up the necessary treaty (1867). Autocratic Russia was removed from the New World.

"Seward's folly" the purchase was called, for most men saw in Alaska a worthless, bleak expanse of mountains and ice which could never be settled. Even if perchance it attracted settlers, there was little likelihood of its admission to the Union, for it was separated from American territory by two thousand miles of Canadian soil. As years passed, the wealth of Alaska challenged attention: furs, seal preserves, salmon fisheries, gold of the Yukon, rich coal fields, and mineral deposits. Seward's purchase proved a sound investment.

Grant's Administration. Grant made a poor president. He became a stout partisan, selecting his friends with little wisdom and trusting them to the last. There was corruption of every sort, such as Federal politics had never known. Outside of Hamilton Fish of New York and Attorney-General Hoar of Massachusetts, his cabinet was not strong. Grant was roughshod in his methods, arousing the hostility of honest and able leaders. Social life in Washington savored of the camp. The occupant of the White House was a good general, and his place was with the army.

Grant's Quarrels. As a militarist believing in expansion Grant tried to force the annexation of Santo Domingo, with whose corrupt ruler an irregular treaty had been drafted by his personal agent, whose appointment had never been submitted to the Senate. Even the cabinet had not been consulted. Sumner, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, fought the treaty until its final rejection. Grant's friends in the Senate thereupon deposed Sumner. Motley (the historian) was recalled from the Court of St. James merely because of his friendship with Sumner, so far did his vengeful spirit carry the President.

Grant sided with the spoilsmen. He had no sympathy for civil-service reformers and no desire to drive corrupt Indian agents

from the Department of the Interior. Hoar was dismissed from the cabinet with far less warning than Johnson gave Stanton, and the Secretary of the Interior was asked to resign. Thereafter Grant's closest associates were machine politicians, who made official service a paying business and governmental patronage and contracts the spoils of office.

The "Black Friday" Panic. The worst scandal of Grant's first administration was in connection with the schemes of Jay Gould and the notorious plunger, Jim Fisk, to corner the gold market of New York. At the time \$100 in gold was worth \$131 in paper money. By controlling the local gold supply, the arch-gamblers hoped to encourage European buyers to purchase American grain in a hurry. This would give the Western farmers a slightly better price in paper. They would rush grain eastward over Gould's Erie Railroad. This would increase his profits and cause a temporary rise in Erie stocks, which could then be sold at a high mark to unwary investors. Grant's brother-in-law, a New York broker, was taken into the plot; and through him Grant became an intimate associate of Gould's. Grant ordered his Secretary of the Treasury to cease exchanging gold for war bonds. Gould had newspapers feature a war scare, which caused gold to rise.

On September 22, 1869, gold was around 137, when railroad stocks dropped 20 per cent. Stock speculators required gold to cover their losses. As gold rose in terms of paper money, bankers and brokers failed. The strongest financial houses were worried. When the exchange closed, on the twenty-fourth, gold was 144; but on Friday morning (September 25) it was at 150, an hour later at 155, and by noon at 160. Fisk continued to buy on credit in huge amounts, thus forcing gold higher; Gould, his partner, sold secretly to reliable houses on good security. As banks failed and hundreds of brokers were pauperized, there was a demand that Grant order the Treasury to sell reserve gold; but Grant was "lost" in an inaccessible region of western Pennsylvania. Finally he was located and ordered the sale, and gold dropped to 135. Now, in turn, concerns which had bought high-priced gold failed or took huge losses. There was a panic in

Wall Street but it did not injure the country at large. Gould and Fisk on winning a fortune went into hiding, for their lives were in danger at the hands of maddened brokers. Grant did not escape the harshest criticism, for his immediate family and associates had profited. "Black Friday" brought insistent demands that the government take steps to bring paper money to the gold level.

Failure of the Liberal Republicans, 1872. Disgust with radical Republicans gave rise to a reform movement in Missouri which was headed by German leaders like Senator Schurz and Governor Gratz Brown. The reformers gained the support of Greeley and Charles F. Adams, as well as a host of Eastern liberals. In 1872, as Liberal Republicans, the party held a national convention and named Greeley and Brown as candidates. The Democratic party accepted this choice of candidates, though the "half-cracked, fanatical" Greeley and his *Tribune* had fought their party for two generations. The Liberal Republicans meant well; their ideals were high; but with the erratic Greeley as standard-bearer they courted defeat.

Grant was renominated, for his faction controlled the Republican convention, which was packed with political bosses and Federal officeholders. The campaign was bitterly personal. Greeley was exposed to national ridicule, even when his wife was dying, by clever writers and by Thomas Nast, our first noted political cartoonist. Big business supported Grant and a high tariff. Veterans thought of him only as the victor of Appomattox. Corruption in public life did not worry the masses; stealing from the government had become a minor offense. Grant won a remarkable victory; Greeley carried but six Southern states. In a few weeks the unhappy editor followed his wife and his cause to the grave.

Liberal Republicanism did not fail. Its attack on reconstruction brought an improvement. It ended the domination of the radical group. It led to internal reform in the Republican party.

The Crédit Mobilier Scandal. Corruption, charges, and investigations continued to fill the air. The Crédit Mobilier joint-stock company, in financing the building of the Union Pacific

Railroad, was charged with wholesale corruption. A congressional investigation (1873) disclosed that a representative from Massachusetts had procured legislative favors — unusual land grants and government aid — by virtual bribing of leaders in Washington, who were given stock in the *Crédit Mobilier* outright or enabled to buy below the current price. The favored shareholders profited to the extent of over \$20,000,000 at the expense of the government and small stockholders and bondholders. Only two representatives were censured, though it was generally felt that the investigation was whitewashed to save influential men higher up. A number of senators and representatives were concerned, but they all managed to escape criminal responsibility. None of them, however, satisfied the public of the purity of their motives. Some were destroyed politically, but others were uninjured, so low was the civic morality of the era.

The Salary Grab. Official pay was low and, if a higher type of public servant could be obtained, there could be little argument against increasing salaries. But when Congress just prior to adjournment passed an act increasing the salaries of the president (from \$25,000 to \$50,000), vice president, Supreme Court justices, and members of Congress (from \$5000 to \$7500), the cry of "salary grab" was heard throughout the land. An astounding feature of the bill made the increase good for the past term of Congress. A number of honest and shrewd members of Congress refused to pick the \$2500 bonus out of the Treasury. During the next session, Congress repealed the law as far as congressional salaries were concerned.

Further Frauds. A high Treasury official saved his name by resignation. He had allowed a Massachusetts politician to collect good internal revenue claims on a fifty-fifty basis as "bad claims." The government was defrauded, but friends of the administration reaped a neat profit. A clique of St. Louis distillers with the connivance of a local collector of internal revenue defrauded the government of millions of dollars in whisky taxes. On conviction some of the conspirators were sent to prison, where one of them wrote a book exposing the system and charging Grant with direct participation. This the nation refused to

believe, though it was known that Grant had accepted the hospitality of these criminals. Babcock, his secretary, was their friend; but he escaped conviction, because of Grant's testimony on his behalf. Grant stood by a friend to the end. This clan loyalty was appreciated by Americans, but good citizens grieved over their hero's choice of friends.

Secretary of the Interior Belknap accepted money from agents who in turn defrauded the Indians. Congress was about to impeach the Secretary when Grant accepted his resignation. Criminal charges were not brought. Corruption in high places has friends. Investigations rarely more than touch the surface. Yet they deter further corruption for a time and ruin the political careers of some culprits. Only in the case of the *Alabama* claims could the nation point to an achievement by the Grant administration.

Alabama Claims. America was never more hostile to England than after the Civil War. Both political parties vied with each other in making this feeling apparent. This was evidenced by sympathy in many circles for Irish national aspirations and by a failure to disapprove wholly of Fenian plots against Canada and British rule in Ireland.¹ England refused to treat with Seward, who, along with Senator Sumner, estimated our losses due to British violation of neutrality during the Civil War in "outrageously" large sums. The actual losses for Northern ships destroyed by the *Alabama* and other "escaped" cruisers

¹ The Fenians were a revolutionary brotherhood founded in America by Irish exile-veterans of the Northern armies with the intent of freeing Ireland. The revolt of 1867 ended in failure, but it made clear Irish discontent and hurried the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland. As a movement, it was condemned by the Irish bishops and did not appeal to the Irish people. In America funds were raised and troops enlisted for an invasion of Canada. On account of anti-British feeling in the United States and the refusal of England to settle the *Alabama* claims, Johnson, Seward, and a considerable group in Congress were half in sympathy with Fenian threats. In June, 1866, John O'Neil, an ex-officer who had served in the Union army, led 1200 men across the border and captured Fort Erie. Thereupon Grant was sent to Buffalo, and the raiders, cut off from supplies, were forced to retreat and surrender to an American commander. Fenianism, which was condemned by a number of American bishops, soon disappeared. It showed the powerful anti-British feeling of America, and may have influenced England's growing desire to settle the *Alabama* dispute.

amounted to \$15,000,000. Indirect trade losses were computed at \$100,000,000, and by inference two billion dollars was charged to Britain for causing a prolongation of the war. Seward would have been satisfied with the cession of Canada, regardless of how Canada might feel about a forced union with the United States.

Calmer counsel soon prevailed. Secretary Fish obtained from England in the Treaty of Washington an agreement to refer the claims to an arbitration board sitting in Geneva. England selected Chief Justice Cockburn; America, our former minister Charles F. Adams; and the chosen neutral nations, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland, named able scholars of international law. On presentation of American and British arguments, the tribunal decided that England had failed in her obligations as a neutral nation, in not exercising sufficient vigilance in guarding against the escape of the *Alabama* and her sister ships. America was satisfied that England was forced to admit guilt and pay the nominal damage of \$15,500,000, even though claims for indirect damages were rejected by the tribunal.

Campaign of 1876. Old Line Republicans were anxious to bring about the nomination of Grant for a third term, but a vote of protest by the House nipped the idea in the bud. When the Republican convention met, James G. Blaine of Maine seemed the likely candidate, but reformers were numerous enough to eliminate a man of such doubtful political honesty. Hence Oliver P. Morton too was passed over, and the choice fell upon Governor Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, a moderate Republican without a character blemish and with a conciliatory attitude toward the South. The platform stressed the war services of the party, aid for soldiers as well as for farmers, an interest in labor, anxiety for business, desire for reform, and an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the application of any public funds to schools under sectarian control. Grant's war career was eulogized as well as the success of the State Department under his administration in settling the *Alabama* claims.

The Democrats named Governor Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, both excellent candidates. Tilden, one of our greatest lawyers, had won general commenda-

tion in his prosecution of the corrupt Tweed Ring (1865-1872)¹ and as a reform governor of New York. Republicans were put on the defensive. Grant's administration and corruption in high places were flayed. The party pledged general reform of the tariff, currency, immigration, and civil service. It would discourage further Federal centralization of power. It would not interfere with education, but would leave the schools to the states which had established them. It would protect American labor and preserve the coast from Chinese immigrants. Democrats were in high glee. The break in Republican ranks, the panic of 1873, and the aroused national conscience at the scandals of the Grant administration indicated a Democratic year.

The Disputed Election. When the votes were tabulated, Tilden had a slight popular majority, and had carried all the Southern states in which there had been no interference with the election machinery, as well as New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Connecticut, and Indiana. The Far West, including the new state of Colorado, whose admission into the Union had been hurried for the sake of its vote without much thought of its population, voted for Hayes. Tilden was assured of 184 electoral votes while Hayes had but 165 undisputed votes.

¹ In the national orgy of corruption, while Northern agents were stealing millions of bales of Federal cotton in the South, Tammany Hall was at its worst. William Tweed, Mayor Hall, and their tools, Connolly and Sweeney, were in control of the Tammany machine and used their power to defraud the city out of at least sixty million dollars and possibly three times that amount by indirect means. They were in close association with John J. Astor, New York's richest man and heaviest real-estate owner, and the Gould-Fisk group, whose schemes they aided. Their thefts were brazen: \$300,000 was paid by the city for carpets which were sent to a hotel owned by Tweed's son; over \$1,000,000 was spent for repairing courthouse fixtures; forty chairs and three tables cost the city nearly \$200,000; a single carpenter's bill was \$360,000; a plasterer was paid bills amounting to nearly \$3,000,000, all of which went to the conspirators; Tweed confessed to bribing members of the legislature. Newspapers and reporters were controlled, but finally an investigation was forced. Tweed died in prison, and his fellow plunderers served short sentences or escaped abroad. The money could not be recovered. Tammany shortly revived, however, under Honest John Kelly and his associates.

In Pennsylvania politics has been controlled since the Civil War by such leaders as the Camerons, Matthew Quay, and Boies Penrose. All our cities at one time or another have passed epochs of corruption, for in city government and administration America has been least successful.

In Oregon there were two sets of electors. Which was legal? In South Carolina, where the troops supervised the polls, the carpet-bag government certified Republican electors. Democratic electors met and voted for Tilden. In Florida, where election frauds were notorious, the governor certified Hayes electors and the supreme court Tilden men. In Louisiana there were two rival state governments; the unofficial Democratic government, representing the white population, backed Tilden electors, while the carpet-bag, negro, and official government approved the election of Hayes men. The board of review offered to sell the state's vote to Tilden for a million dollars. This would have meant the presidency. This same board cast out enough Democratic votes to give Hayes a popular majority in the state. How would these disputed votes be settled?

Investigation committees, official and unofficial, visited the disputed states, but brought back partisan reports. Republicans refused to see anything irregular. What would be done by Congress? If the "twenty-second joint rule," passed by Republicans in the interest of their reconstruction policy, held, all the disputed votes would be thrown out, as either House of Congress could so order. The Democrats had a majority in the House, while the Senate was Republican. A compromise was necessary. By a nonpartisan vote an electoral commission of fifteen men was empowered to decide the disputed cases. The Senate named three Republicans and two Democrats; the House three Democrats and two Republicans; and the law named the five justices with the longest service in the Supreme Court. Two of the justices had been Republicans and two Democrats, and the fifth, Justice Davis, on whom everything hinged, was an independent. But soon after, Davis resigned from the Court to accept the senatorship from Illinois. The sixth justice was a staunch Republican.

The disputed votes were assigned to Hayes in every case by a strictly partisan vote of 8 to 7. The justices had not forgotten their old party ties. On March 2, only two days before inauguration, the decision was announced: Hayes and Wheeler 185; Tilden and Hendricks 184. Democrats were furious. To them

it was a "stolen election." It is so referred to in Democratic literature. Wilder spirits would challenge the decision. Tilden accepted defeat with resignation and retired to his huge legal practice. Grant needlessly strengthened the military forces about Washington. Southern representatives counseled acceptance; the nation wanted no strife. Hayes himself was known to be fair and honest. To refuse election to the presidency because of party corruption was more than could be expected of a human being long in politics.

The election carried a lesson.¹ America was no disordered republic where a party defeated by a narrow vote refuses to accept defeat and appeals to its supporters to rise in its behalf. Sectional loyalty caused a war, but party attachment failed to breed disorder, large as the grievances appeared to ardent Democrats.

Hayes as President. Hayes was most unpopular. He was too honest for an era in which "the get-rich-quick bacillus had entered every man's blood, and had poisoned the brain and destroyed the conscience of too many." His election could never be forgiven by Democrats, who labeled him in print and in cartoon as "8 to 7." He selected an unusually able cabinet, headed by William Evarts, the learned lawyer, as Secretary of State, and John Sherman, the financial authority, in the Treasury. He named Senator Key, a former Confederate general, as Postmaster-General, and would have appointed General Johnston to the War Department if Republican leaders had not disapproved. The President was anxious to heal the sectional wounds.

The Old Line Republicans were antagonized; Hayes would reform the government. He would appoint honest officials, not

¹ In 1886 a law was passed providing that in the event of the death or resignation of the president and vice president the cabinet members in order of the time of the creation of their posts should succeed to the presidency, provided they had the constitutional and legal qualifications for the office. About the same time it was provided that in case of a disputed state vote, the state must determine which set of electors has legal authority. In case no decision can be made, either House of Congress can throw out the vote of the state in question. Under some circumstances Congress retains the right to reject the returns of a state if obviously irregular. This law makes impossible another situation like that of 1876.

politicians. He favored civil-service reform. He ended carpet-bag rule in the South. He checked the powerful spoilsman Chester A. Arthur of New York. He did not hesitate to veto popular measures which he regarded as unwise. Hayes was not a politician and hence was cast aside by the machine in 1880. Only of late years has his work won sympathetic consideration.

References

W. L. FLEMING, *The Sequel of Appomattox* (Chronicles); P. L. HAWORTH, *Reconstruction and Union*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 445-500; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. I, pp. 378-401; W. A. LINN, *Horace Greeley*.

Bibliography

There are a number of advanced college texts for the period since the Civil War: P. L. HAWORTH, *The United States in our Own Times*; C. A. BEARD, *Contemporary American History*; C. R. LINGLEY, *Since the Civil War*; L. B. SHIPPEE, *Recent American History*; J. C. MALLIN, *Interpretation of Recent American History*; F. L. PAXSON, *Recent History of the United States, The New Nation*; MUZZEY, *The United States of America*, Vol. II; and E. P. OBERHOLTZER, *History of the United States since the Civil War*. RHODES, Vols. VI-VII; DUNNING, *Reconstruction, Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction*; W. L. FLEMING, *Documentary History of Reconstruction, Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*; C. C. PEARSON, *Readjuster Movement in Virginia*; E. M. COULTER, *Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky*; C. H. MCCARTHY, *Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction*; the late Professor Dunning's students have treated the war and reconstruction for the various states (Columbia Studies); *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*; D. M. DEWITT, *Impeachment and Trial of Johnson*; ALLAN NEVINS, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*; A. B. PAINE, *Thomas Nast*; C. SCHURZ, *Reminiscences*; J. G. BLAINE, *Twenty Years of Congress*; J. W. BURGESS, *Administration of President Hayes*; JOHN SHERMAN, *Recollections of Forty Years*; G. F. HOAR, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*; BOUTWELL, *Reminiscences*; H. MCCULLOCH, *Men and Measures*; T. W. BALCH, *Alabama Arbitration*; E. D. ROSS, *Liberal Republican Movement*; J. P. NICHOLS, *Alaska*; J. BIGELOW, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*; W. THOMPSON, *Andrew Johnson*; G. C. GORHAM, *Edwin M. Stanton*; J. W. GARNER (Ed.), *Essays on Southern History and Politics*; C. F. ADAMS, *Lee at Appomattox*; J. A. WOODBURN and S. W. MCCALL have written lives of Thaddeus Stevens; there are lives of Grant by HAMLIN GARLAND and L. A. COOLIDGE; C. R. WILLIAMS (Ed.), *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*; lives of Blaine by G. HAMILTON and E. STANWOOD; W. D. FOULKE, *Oliver P. Morton*.

3. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION

Industrial Expansion. The Civil War marked a break with the past and the introduction of a new era. Prior to 1860 the history of the United States dealt with the formation and development of the government, with territorial expansion, with political, social, and constitutional questions, with the rise of parties, with the coming of the immigrant, and the beginnings of an industrial advance. Economic development was but an incidental in the story of the nation's progress. Since the Civil War, American history has centered around the material development of the country. It has become essentially economic history, with political, constitutional, social, and diplomatic policies holding a secondary place. They become of primary importance where they explain the development of America as a world power. Our history emphasizes big business and politics, the rise of capital and big fortunes, the labor question, the immigration problem, the protective tariff, the growth of industry, the rise of corporations and trusts, railroad-building, westward expansion, the exploitation and conservation of natural resources, the growth of trade, inventions revolutionizing industry, monetary questions, and agricultural problems.

National-Banking Act. The financial situation and monetary system in the period of reconstruction were distressing. In 1863, under the guidance of Secretary Chase of the Treasury, Congress passed a national-banking act. A group of men with sufficient capital (\$25,000 to \$100,000, depending on the size of the town in which the bank was to be located) could obtain a national-bank charter. National banks so founded had nothing in common with the earlier First and Second National Banks. They were independent of each other but under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency, an officer of the Treasury Department, and subject to examination by national-bank examiners. In case of failure, stockholders were liable for double the amount of their stock holdings. Banks were compelled to keep a certain reserve fund on hand to protect depositors and holders of their notes. Smaller banks might deposit part of this reserve at interest with

a larger regional bank, which in turn might deposit some of this enlarged reserve with a big New York bank. Thus New York City (Wall Street) was made the nation's banking capital. Later this feature aroused much criticism. A national bank was to invest at least a third of its capital in interest-bearing bonds, which were deposited in the Treasury vaults. It could then issue its own bank notes to the extent of 90 per cent of the deposited bonds. These notes were thus guaranteed by the government.

A national bank, for instance, with \$100,000 invested in bonds, drew about \$5000 a year interest, and issued \$90,000 worth of bank notes which also netted the current interest of 6 to 10 per cent, depending on the time and locality. Thus the bank won double returns on its capital. The government sold its war bonds, which otherwise would have been difficult to market. In 1865 a 10 per cent tax was levied on notes issued by the 1600 state-chartered banks then in existence. State banks found it no longer profitable to issue notes, and those with sufficient capital became national banks. Based on bonds, almost \$350,000,000 in national-bank notes were in circulation, but in the eighties the amount declined by half, as banks found it more profitable to sell their bonds which had risen above par and curtail their note issues. This contraction of paper would have caused a fluctuation in prices and values if cheap silver money had not met business requirements. On the whole the national-banking system satisfied the country, and it remained unchanged until the recent establishment of the Federal Reserve Banks.

✓**Greenback Money.** Paper, or fiat, money was not issued after 1789. Only gold and silver had been coined, with baser metals such as copper and nickel for fractional currency. The only paper money in circulation was in the form of state-bank notes, which were not legal tender. Their value depended (as in an individual's note) on the issuer's reputation and credit. As a means of supporting the war and increasing circulating money, the Federal government issued about \$450,000,000 in paper money, — greenbacks, as the notes were popularly called. The legality of the measure was doubted, save under an implied war power. Thus the government virtually taxed the nation this amount, for the

paper cost the Treasury nothing. As business was at high tide, the greenbacks were absorbed together with the new national-bank notes, but not without overturning prices and values, as government paper soon depreciated far below its stamped value in gold.

By the end of 1861 the government unwisely ceased specie (gold and silver) payment. Gold was driven out of circulation by cheap money. Gold alone was acceptable for purchases abroad. Banks and individuals hoarded it, knowing that its intrinsic value guaranteed its worth, regardless of the monetary condition of the country or the increased volume of depreciated paper. Wise men were aware that gold would rise in terms of paper money and net its holders a neat profit.

Depreciation of Greenbacks. By 1862 greenback dollars were worth 98 cents in gold. As their number increased and as the government's credit fell with the fortunes of war, greenbacks continued to decline week by week. In 1863 a paper dollar was worth about 68 cents in gold; 63 cents in 1864; 46 in 1865; 70 in 1866 (where it remained for a few years); 89 in 1872; and finally (1877-1879), 100, or par value. This depreciation caused a rise in prices of all products of farm, mine, and factory. Military supplies were doubled in cost, with a resultant loss of a half-billion dollars to the government; for only part of the rise in prices could be accounted for by the increased demand.

If one takes 100 as the standard of living costs in 1860, a rise to 150 would be noted by 1863, to 190 in 1864, to 216 in 1865, and back to 191 in 1866. Shrewd men invested in real estate and cornered living and military supplies which could be sold later at tremendous profits. Huge fortunes were made in this legal form of profiteering. Manufacturers, mine-operators, munitions-manufacturers, railroads, and iron and steel smelters made huge profits by selling at ever increasing prices and paying relatively less for labor as paper depreciated. Wages in terms of living costs were still 100 in 1861, but sank in 1862 to 87, in 1863 to 74, in 1864 to 66, remaining in 1865 at 66, with a rise to 79 the following year. Gross wages increased about 50 per cent, while the cost of living doubled. Wages by their very nature are the last form of return to increase in a time of rising prices and first

to decline when a depression follows. Hence in this time of uncertain money values and reckless speculation, the laboring man, clerk, minister, teacher, professional man, and persons living on interest from long-standing investments suffered severely, as their incomes rose but slowly or were standardized at a time of mounting costs of clothes, food, and rent. In the meantime the capitalist, manufacturer, and contractor reaped large rewards in the form of war profits, while the common soldier's pay was increased only from thirteen to sixteen dollars a month.

Should the Greenbacks be called in? When the war was over, Secretary McCulloch of the Treasury commenced to call in paper money by selling bonds. This policy of gradual contraction was opposed by as great a financial authority as Senator John Sherman. McCulloch also cut the national debt by a half-billion dollars by paying off bonds with the Treasury surplus and refunding high-interest-bearing bonds in new bonds carrying a lower interest. Contraction of currency was opposed by the Western Greenback party, which gained sufficient strength to impress its views on the Republican organization.

The Greenbackers favored an enlarged issue of paper, and opposed contraction with considerable reason. The West had borrowed heavily during the war years to increase its acreage and equip its land with stock and machinery. Prices were good. The government encouraged such expansion. Raising more grain, cattle, and hogs was a matter of business and patriotism. The West mortgaged its farms to bankers and Eastern money-lenders at a time when paper money was cheap. If a farmer borrowed \$10,000 in 1864, he paid 10 to 14 per cent interest and only obtained \$6000 in gold-purchasing power. Now when his mortgage was coming due in five or ten years, he saw the price of agricultural products fall, while the value of paper money was rising. Its rise would be more rapid if the volume in circulation continued to be lessened. He would find himself paying 30 or 40 per cent more than the net value of his mortgage. And, what with the high interest, he would have toiled for the mortgageholder and fed the Eastern consumer at less than the cost of grain production.

The Greenbacker was right as far as the debtor-West was concerned. In the long run he was probably wrong from a national as compared with a sectional viewpoint. But the plight of the farmer, rancher, and the West in general was bad, and to remedy this condition the Greenback party was formed. Congress in 1868 stopped any further contraction, leaving the amount in circulation at about \$382,000,000. Grant vetoed an act to increase this amount to \$400,000,000, for he had been won to the sound-money program by his Eastern Secretary of the Treasury, who also continued the gradual reduction of the debt despite a lowered national income as war taxes were abolished.

Resumption of Specie Payments. In the meantime there was a growing demand that the government bring greenbacks to par value by paying gold on their presentation at the Treasury; for the government paid gold for war bonds and interest on bonds as they fell due, although the purchasers had originally bought them with paper. The Black Friday episode, which could only occur when legal-tender paper was so far below gold in value, gave strength to the resumption movement. Again, the panic of 1873 was also charged to the unstable monetary condition.

In the meantime the constitutionality of paper money was questioned. Chief Justice Chase, who as Secretary of the Treasury issued the greenbacks, had a change of heart. With four other justices out of the eight on the bench, he declared (*Hepburn vs. Griswold*, 1870) that paper money was constitutionally unsound, as it was confiscatory and permitted a partial repudiation of prior contracts. For instance, if a man borrowed \$10,000 in gold in 1860, he might later pay his creditor the principal in depreciated paper worth sixty cents on the dollar. Republicans were outraged. The Supreme Court was viciously attacked by conservatives for repudiating a war measure. One of the justices soon died and, as there was another vacancy to fill, Grant appointed two orthodox Republicans known to favor the legality of paper money. In 1872, in new cases (*Knox vs. Lee*, *Parker vs. Davis*) the Supreme Court reversed itself by a vote of 5 to 4. Therewith the court was assailed by liberals as packed by the administration in the interest of a party policy. One can trace

the origin of later radical assaults on the Supreme Court to these contradictory legal-tender decisions.

Panic of 1873. The nation was taken unaware by the panic. Times had been prosperous. Depreciated paper money bred extravagance and speculation. There had been a general boom in railroad-building, agricultural expansion, mining developments, export trade, and manufacturing. There had been overdevelopment all along the line. Two or more billion dollars had been invested in railroad construction and mine operations. Yet Western railroads could not be expected to pay dividends until the country was settled. Eastern roads by cutthroat competition were driving each other to the wall. Dishonest manipulation of the prices of railroad stocks frightened away investors. Stock scandals were frequent. Unsettled conditions in Europe as a result of the Franco-Prussian War and the establishment of both the German empire and the Italian kingdom caused European investors to stop buying American securities. Indeed, they were selling American railroad and industrial stocks and bonds to such an extent that there was a heavy fall in the stock market.

American farmers who had expanded during the war now found their mortgages due, and they were unable to pay. In 1872 wheat dropped from \$2.00 a bushel to \$1.38 in gold, and finally below a dollar. Selling grain at less than the cost of production brought desperate times in the grain-raising states. Farms were sold for taxes or taken over by banks which held the mortgages, often at a figure less than their loan. Thus Western banks were burdened with land which could not be sold at any price.

In September, 1873, Jay Cooke and Company failed. The banking house, which had sold Civil War bonds, was wrecked in building the Northern Pacific Railroad through a wilderness of plains, mountains, and hostile Indians. This was the signal. The stock exchanges closed for a time, as well as clearing houses. Banks suspended payments or failed, as did thousands of brokerage concerns, grain and cotton buyers, and industrial companies. Holders of railroad securities were receiving no dividends, for half the railroad mileage was in the hands of receivers. Fortunes were lost on all sides. Only capitalists who could retain their holdings

and buy cheap securities profited when, a few years later, prosperity returned. Manufacturing plants, mines, and construction concerns laid off their employees, until 3,000,000 men were idle. Winter saw soup kitchens and bread lines in industrial towns.

The panic was similar in many ways to that of 1857, but more severe and lasting. Political discontent was marked in the agricultural states. Radicalism of noticeable extent appeared for the first time in labor circles. In the West there was a demand for cheap money with which to pay debts. In the East there was insistence that the government redeem paper money in gold, that is, resume specie payment. In industrial centers, the retention of the high protective tariff was demanded.

The Resumption Act. In 1875, when paper money was gradually approaching par as national credit became sound, Congress passed the Resumption Act, effective January 1, 1879. It provided that the amount of paper money be left at about \$350,000,000, and that the Treasury accumulate and maintain sufficient gold (\$100,000,000) as a permanent safety fund to assure the conversion of paper on presentation into gold. When 1879 arrived the Treasury was well stocked with gold, but so confident was the nation that only \$125,000 worth of paper was presented for cash. Since then, save for a short time during the panic of 1893, greenbacks have passed at par value.

The Silver Issue. Meanwhile the silver question had become a leading issue. From the establishment of the government, all the gold and silver metal presented at the mint had been coined into money. At no time was the supply equal to the demand for circulating medium. In 1837 Congress defined a dollar in gold as 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, and a silver dollar as 412.5 grains. This gave silver a value in terms of the rarer yellow metal of one sixteenth. Silver was slightly under-evaluated. Indeed, the amount of silver in the dollar was worth slightly more than a dollar on the commercial market. Suddenly the amount of the world's gold was greatly increased by the newly found deposits in California and Australia. Gold declined in terms of silver, or silver became more valuable measured in terms of gold, for the ratio is determined by the world's supply and demand.

By 1850 the silver in the dollar was worth 1.02 cents, and no more silver was brought to the mint for coinage, because silver bullion could be sold at a higher price to jewelers and silver-smiths. During the war silver like gold went into hiding, or was hammered into ornaments and utensils which were popular with the growing class of "new rich." Gold or silver coins, it must be remembered, have a certain intrinsic worth determined by their commercial value, regardless of the credit of the government or its stamp. Paper money has no intrinsic worth and its stamped value depends solely on the credit of the issuing government. Our gold was acceptable to European exporters, for it could be recoined into pounds sterling without loss if our government's credit failed. Our paper money had a fluctuating, unstable value. Again, hoarded gold retained its value, while paper money put in a safe in 1862 would have lost half its purchasing value in 1864. A gold coin of the date of Cræsus would be worth today the value of the gold contained. Paper currency of the Revolutionary period would have no value save as a curiosity. This then is the essential difference between specie, or hard, money (gold and silver) and fiat, or paper, money. One must bear in mind that money has little value in itself, in the last analysis, save as a convenient yardstick to evaluate the prices of the necessities, luxuries, and comforts of life and as a medium for their exchange.

The "Crime of 1873." In 1873 Congress passed an act demonetizing silver and putting the country on a gold standard. The law was passed in the usual way, with little opposition in Congress and with little popular interest in the country. The owners and miners of silver were not excited, for the commercial market demanded more than the current supply. Soon a revolutionary change in the relative values of silver and gold took place.

The new German Empire established its coinage on a gold basis and sold the huge volume of silver which had been in circulation. The Scandinavian nations and Holland followed suit. The Latin states of Europe limited silver coinage. Thus the market after 1870 was flooded with silver, at the very time when

the huge output of the Nevada, Colorado, and Montana mines was reaching the East by way of the newly constructed railroads. By 1873 our silver production reached an annual total of \$36,000,000 in bullion. The price of silver dropped, and continued to fall. The commercial demand was no longer sufficient to absorb the product. Mine operators sought the mints, with the expectation of selling silver at the current commercial rate. They were confronted with the law of 1873, of whose existence it would seem that they should have known. A clamor was set up. Silver producers and their Western friends in the Granger party, who wanted a greater volume of cheap money, condemned the law as the "Crime of 1873."

Bland-Allison Silver-Purchase Act. In 1876 the silver in the dollar dropped to ninety cents and continued to fall. Hence, only the government's credit would keep silver dollars at par, with this shrinkage in their actual value. The Western "cheap money" men, financed by silver operators, continued a hot agitation for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1. They would have the mints coin all silver offered for sale, charging only the cost of its mechanical coinage into money. They won sufficient support in the West and South to force the issue on the country and compel Congress to compromise. "Silver Dick" Bland of Missouri introduced a bill for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, which passed the House. In the Senate, under the guidance of Allison of Iowa, it was amended to call for the purchase by the Treasury of not less than two or more than four million dollars worth a month. The act was passed over President Hayes's veto.

As bulky silver dollars were not favored in the East, the Treasury issued silver certificates in denominations from one dollar up, redeemable in silver on demand. In the West silver coins became prevalent. During the twelve years in which the act was in force, \$400,000,000 in silver dollars or certificates was put in circulation. That there was no depreciation was due to the substantial credit and marked prosperity of the country, and the tremendous business expansion at a time when national-bank notes were declining in volume. Hence, the country was

ready to absorb the increased silver. On the other hand, while the government paid only the current price for bullion it was buying on a declining market, and hence its stored silver dropped in value month by month. For instance, silver purchased in 1878 lost a third of its market value by 1890. The compromise temporarily satisfied the discontented West, but the demand for the free coinage of silver broke out anew.

Railroad Building. In 1860 there was a railroad mileage of 30,626; in 1870, about 53,000; and in 1880, over 93,000, which in turn was more than doubled by 1900. The Southern railroads were rebuilt in the first two decades after the war. The New York Central, Erie, Baltimore and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Grand Trunk were all running into Chicago and competing for Western traffic. Single track in the East was replaced by double track. By 1880, expensive all-steel rails were replacing iron rails. Locomotives were much larger, as freight trains were longer and the capacity of the average freight car increased from eight or ten tons to twenty. Stock cars, oil tanks, and refrigerator cars were soon in general use. In 1864 George Pullman built his first palace and sleeping car, which incidentally was used for the funeral cortège of Lincoln when his remains were carried from Washington for burial in Springfield (Illinois). Soon sleeping cars were in ordinary use, and the great Pullman corporation was established. In 1872 George Westinghouse invented the automatic air brake, which made railroad travel much safer.

The Union Pacific Railroad. Gold discoveries in California and the settlement of Oregon caused enterprising railroad promoters to plan a transcontinental railroad. The war prevented action, though Congress passed a land-grant act which guaranteed ten square miles of land to the construction company for every mile of track laid, along with the privilege of using stone and timber from Federal lands for construction purposes. As the government retained alternate square miles within this strip of ten miles on either side of the rails and raised the price of such lands from \$1.25 to \$2.50 an acre, there was not actual loss. This liberal grant of land encouraged California railroad-builders (Leland Stanford, Collis Huntington, Charles Crocker, and

Mark Hopkins) to construct a road from Sacramento eastward. Likewise the *Crédit Mobilier* company commenced to build the Union Pacific from Omaha westward. Great was the competition and the rush of laying rails (first a mile or two a day and finally as high as ten miles from sunrise to dark), for each group of promoters was anxious to obtain a large share of the public



THE LAST SPIKE, UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD

From a painting by Stanley M. Arthurs

land. Land on the right of way would become valuable when a through rail connection was made. In addition the government as a further incentive lent huge sums of money to the construction companies.

The whole nation watched the enterprise. The coast division was built by Chinese coolies who were imported by the shipload. It was this cheap labor which made the swollen fortunes of the builders. The Union Pacific tracks were laid by Irish veterans of the Northern armies. It was dangerous work, for the Indians

were on the warpath. Every man was armed. Usually half the crew was ready to repel attack while the other half laid rails across the prairies and along the mountain trails. Never were railroads constructed in so forbidding a land. Finally the rival lines met (May 10, 1869) near Ogden, Utah, where President Sidney Dillon of the Union Pacific drove a golden spike into the last tie.¹ The Union Pacific had laid 1038 miles and obtained 12,000,000 acres, and the Central Pacific, which laid 638 miles, was awarded 8,000,000 acres. It was a gala day. Distinguished guests were there from the East and from California. From the surrounding heights the overawed Indians looked on the joined rails and puffing engines, half realizing that the white man's civilization was about to crush them. Throughout the land the completion of the transcontinental railroad was celebrated with mass meetings at which rhetorical oratory surpassed all bounds.

Significance of the Transcontinental Railway. The railroad service to the coast ended the pony express, the freighting business by wagon, and the immigrant passage on foot, horse, and Conestoga wagons over the famed Oregon and Platte River trails. The Pacific coast was brought within a few days of the East. No longer was it a dangerous passage of weeks. No longer was the coast isolated. No longer was there any possibility of a new nation being established across the mountains, since rails bound the distant land firmly to the nation.

Over the Union Pacific immigrants and settlers went in increasing numbers. The railroad ended the day of the buffalo on

¹ Bret Harte described the picturesque celebration at Promontory Point near Ogden:

"What was it the Engines said,
Pilots touching, head to head
Facing on a single track,
Half a world behind each back?

.
You brag of the East! You do?
Why, I [the Western engine] bring the East to you!
All the Orient, all Cathay,
Find through me the shortest way;
And the sun you follow here
Rises in my hemisphere."

the plains. Thousands were killed for sport; the herds were broken. The era of cattle-raising commenced. The Indians, seeing their bison preserves destroyed, went on the warpath in a last effort to hold back the encroaching white man. As branch roads were built from the Union Pacific, tapping the mining country, the mines of silver, gold, and copper were worked with renewed vigor, for the ore could more easily be carried to the Eastern market. The success of the builders and the award of the great grant of valuable agricultural, timber, and mineral lands encouraged further railroad construction in the Far West.

Western Railroads. The Northern Pacific, projected in the fifties, took advantage of an even more favorable land act. About 500 miles had been built when Jay Cooke and Company collapsed. Ten years later it was completed by Henry Villard, a German immigrant, with German capital as far as Helena, Montana, and later to Puget Sound. The Kansas Pacific was constructed as a main trunk connecting with the Union Pacific. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, along the old Santa Fe Trail, was completed by 1881. Soon it obtained an independent outlet to the coast. The Southern Pacific, connecting San Francisco, Los Angeles, Yuma (Arizona), El Paso (Texas), and New Orleans, was in service by 1881. The following year saw the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy completed to Denver. After 1878 James J. Hill, a self-made Irish Canadian, gained control of the bankrupt St. Paul and Pacific Railroad and commenced a line which ultimately reached the coast over a northern route (1893). Hill's line relied on French and Belgian capital to a large extent. In 1885 British capital under the direction of Lord Strathcona completed the Canadian Pacific to Vancouver. The railroad builders were fast developing the Far West, and despite some scandals and land frauds they earned the 200,000,000-acre donation of the national domain. In all, they were given an area more extensive than France. Yet without such rewards the necessary roads could not have been built in the Far West, ahead of population. It was a wise use of the public domain, for the railroads rushed the development of the plains and the mountainous country in a fashion without precedent.

Railroad Combinations. Commodore Vanderbilt, who had made a fortune in steamboats, turned to railroad promotion on the eve of the Civil War. He conceived the idea of combining numerous small roads into his New York Central system. In 1869 he controlled a through road to Chicago. The day of the independent, small railroad had passed. Hundreds of them were merged into larger roads. The Pennsylvania, under Thomas Scott, soon became a huge system, as did the Erie under Gould. Through service was highly desirable. It did away with long delays due to poor connections, and frequent shifting of freight from car to car and road to road. With standard-gauge track and unified management, trains could be run direct from Boston and New York to Chicago. Freight cars of one company might be seen on the distant rails of another road. A better spirit of coöperation existed, despite fierce competition. Rates were lowered; time was saved; and larger corporations were able to improve their roadbeds, bridges, equipment, and rolling stock. The success of railroad combination led to general combinations of business in the following decades.

Decline of Canals and River Navigation. The rise of railroads marked a rapid decline in water transportation. Railroads running along old canals and river valleys afforded a cheap, speedy, and convenient form of transportation with which slow-going canal and river boats could not compete. Then, too, railroads cut rates until river traffic was ruined, only to raise them when river competition was removed. River towns declined, with the rise of railroad centers as the coming cities of the future. By 1880 about half the canal mileage (2000 miles) was abandoned. Even the Erie Canal was unable to compete with the New York Central, although tolls were abolished. Packets and barges gradually disappeared from our 18,000 miles of navigable rivers. At the end of this era few were the boats on the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers. Passengers no longer journeyed by tedious steamboats, and only the heaviest and most bulky freight was consigned to water transportation. In a sense the abandonment of our internal waterways was a tragedy, which men appreciated when, in lust for earnings, railroads greatly increased their rates.

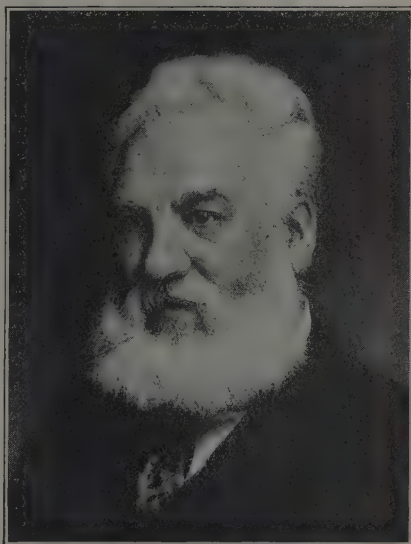
At present there is a strong movement to revive river traffic as a supplement to railroad transportation, and as a means of cheaper carriage for such heavy freight as machinery, coal, lumber, and grain. Only on the Great Lakes did shipping increase. Even the coast traffic was lessened by the Atlantic Shore Line and the transcontinental railroads.

Great Lakes Shipping. Coast shipping showed no increase in tonnage from 1860 to 1880. American tonnage in foreign trade fell off: in 1861, 2,500,000 tons; in 1880, 1,352,000; in 1900, 800,000, of which hardly 300,000 was suitable for ocean carriage. Confederate cruisers had taken their toll; capital found other fields of investment more profitable; English competition could not be met; and Congress would grant no financial aid such as European nations give to ocean shipping-lines. Only on our inland seas was progress made. The Great Lakes empire was developing rapidly — Michigan mines, Wisconsin and Michigan lumber, the grain fields of the Northwest, and industrial cities like Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo. There was heavy traffic in coal, lumber, iron ore, copper, grain, flour, and machinery from one Lake town to another. In addition, there was some through shipping to Montreal and thence to the open seas. The connecting canals had been widened. Shipping increased several fold from 1860 to 1880, and during the next twenty years to a greater extent. By 1880, sailing ships had generally given way to steam, and wooden boats were being replaced by iron ships and steel "whalebacks" strong enough to withstand the severe Lake storms. During the open season of seven months the Great Lakes were dotted with shipping, and their ports were thriving trade-centers.

Improved Communications. The whole country was connected by telegraph within a decade after the war. Thomas A. Edison, the electrical genius, greatly perfected telegraphy. Small concerns were merged into the Western Union Telegraph Company, another of the earliest examples of successful consolidation. It gave cheaper rates over long distances and better service than several independent companies could. In the end the Western Union charged monopoly prices, until lower rates were

forced by the foundation of the Postal Telegraph and Commercial Cable companies (1884) by two Irishmen, John W. Mackay and James Gordon Bennett. Europe was brought nearer to America as larger steamships cut the time of passage to ten days. Business and pleasure trips abroad became more general.

Professor A. G. Bell, a teacher of deaf mutes, invented the telephone, and astonished the world with this "machine that talked," which he exhibited at the Philadelphia World's Fair of 1876, where America celebrated the centennial of the Declaration of Independence. Americans were proud of the progress made in government, business, inventions, and education; but none of our exhibits attracted as much attention as Bell's telephone. Many improvements have since been made and, guided by Theodore N. Vail, a tremendous business was built on sound, honest service.



ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL

In a few years the telephone won a place in the business and social world, as it became a convenient necessity in office, factory, and home. Telephone poles and wires were soon as far flung as those of telegraph companies. In a dozen years men were talking over long-distance telephones, even from New York to Chicago.

The postal service was vastly improved. Postage, reduced to three cents in 1850, was lowered to two cents in 1883, with a corresponding decrease in second-class rates. Free city delivery was instituted in 1863, money orders in 1864, postal cards in 1873, and finally special and rural delivery (1885, 1896). Mail deliveries were speeded, with railway mail-clerks sorting the mail in

transit from city to city. Cheaper and better service benefited business concerns, especially in sending advertising matter. Office work was made lighter when the typewriter, as invented by C. L. Sholes of Milwaukee (1868), was improved and manufactured in quantities by Remington of New York and his numerous competitors. Another industry had commenced and new capitalists were created. Newspapers and magazines widened their circulation. The New York publication was delivered at the door in frontier Helena. The 400 newspapers of 1860 increased to 10,000 in 1880, and to as many more by 1900.

Better transportation and quicker methods of communication aided in nationalizing America, in breaking down sectionalism and rural isolation. The press had greater educational value. It carried national and international news, in addition to merely local happenings.

Rise of Manufactures. The Civil War demand and the high tariff gave an impetus to manufacturing.¹ After the war the tariff was retained, for business had become powerful enough to prevent any reduction. With a continued supply of cheap immigrant labor, low-priced raw products, helpful inventions, increased use of machinery, an enlarged output of iron and coal, and better transportation, manufacturing grew at an astounding rate. Small concerns became huge plants, and partnerships became large corporations. Soon numerous small companies engaged in the same business were merged into large corporations. Concentration in industry was becoming usual by 1880. Certain industries were localized, because of the nearness of raw material, suitable labor, or water power, or an early start in a locality. With the rise of large-scale production and huge factories, cities

¹ The growth of manufactures is seen in the following approximate table :

YEAR	VALUE OF MANUFACTURES	CAPITAL INVESTED	EMPLOYEES
1850	\$1,000,000,000	\$500,000,000	950,000
1860	1,886,000,000	1,009,000,000	1,311,000
1870	4,232,000,000	2,118,000,000	2,053,000
1880	5,370,000,000	2,790,000,000	2,733,000
1890	9,372,000,000	6,525,000,000	4,251,000
1900	13,000,000,000 (about)	10,000,000,000	5,316,000

grew rapidly in number and in size. Whereas in 1860 there were 141 cities with a population of 8000 or over, in 1880 there were 286 such cities, with a fifth of the nation's population.¹ The larger industrial and shipping cities grew with tremendous strides.

The Protective Tariff The average tariff rate of 1857 was 19 per cent. As a means of financing the war, tariff rates were increased in 1862 and 1864 until the average was 47 per cent. On some articles, rates were as high as 100 to 150 per cent. The chief English wares were taxed 70 per cent. This protection gave an artificial stimulus to American manufactures, for foreign competition was almost removed. With the end of the war, adherents of a tariff for revenue only hoped for a decline in rates, but they were doomed to disappointment. The Republican leaders favored a continuation of protective duties, and big business demanded it. The manufacturers were sufficiently entrenched in Congress to prevent any reduction, and the Republican party accepted the high-tariff principle as a cardinal plank. The South was powerless to protest, and Western agricultural interests were divided on the issue. Agriculture alone of the big industries was politically helpless and unaided by protective legislation.

In 1867 the rates on wool and woolens were raised, thus benefiting sheep-raisers and textile manufacturers. Steel rails in America cost as high as seventy-seven dollars a ton, though they could be bought in England for half the price. This enabled the iron and steel business to expand at a phenomenal rate, though some Western railroads managed to buy English rails without

¹ With the development of urban population and increased wealth, America sought a wider field of amusements. Interest in the theater grew. Wealthy men collected art treasures and founded libraries and museums. Shore resorts and mountain retreats became popular. Rowing, football, track, and baseball were engaged in by colleges after the war. Lawn tennis was introduced from England about 1875, and golf came in the next generation. The bicycle became popular in the seventies. Baseball was on a professional basis with the establishment of the National League (1876), and soon became the great American game with its first World Series (1884). Prize-fighting won even greater attention after the war. Gymnasiums were built everywhere. Hunting, especially for big game in Maine, Canada, and the Far West, became a rich man's sport. America was learning how to enjoy herself. She had traveled far from early Puritanism, which frowned upon innocent recreation.

paying the normal tariff duty. By 1872 the tariff produced a surplus revenue of \$100,000,000 a year, which was applied in part to payment of the war debt. A cut of 10 per cent was made in the tariff, under Liberal Republican influence; but the old rate was restored in 1875, for business conveniently ascribed the panic of 1873 to this reduction as well as to depreciated paper currency.

Industrial Progress. The rise in the iron and steel business was most remarkable. In 1860 the United States produced about 10,000 tons of steel, as compared with 1,397,000 tons in 1880. The puddler with his hand process gave way to the Bessemer-Kelly method of converting ore into steel. The innumerable small plants in Pennsylvania and Ohio were merged into a few large concerns. America was rapidly catching up with Germany and England. The demand for rails and the manufacture of locomotives, cars, and machinery created a heavy demand which stimulated iron mining and steel production, which in turn forced greater activity in the coal mines. By 1880 the annual value of iron and steel products was about \$300,000,000, as compared with \$40,000,000 twenty years earlier. Yet this was but a beginning.

In 1860 the value of agricultural machinery was \$246,000,000, but in 1880 the output had increased to \$406,000,000, only to be again doubled by 1900. Thrashers and reapers were being replaced by complete harvesters. Mowing machines, twine-binders, stackers, horse-rakes, ditching machines, feed-choppers, silos, potato-planters, and the like revolutionized farming. Grain elevators were erected throughout the West. Agriculture was put on a machine basis, with a 500 per cent increase in efficiency and a trebling of production.

Shoe machinery, power-knitting, and power looms made possible enlarged production of shoes, stockings, cloth, and carpets. A thriving silk business commenced in Paterson, New Jersey, and South Manchester, Connecticut. The New England textile concerns vied with those of the north of England in size and production. The making of ready-to-wear clothes became a huge business, first with Irish and later with German and Jewish labor.

New York, Rochester, Baltimore, and Chicago were becoming the centers. Large-scale production of cement, brick, and clay products was well scattered throughout the states. The demand for building-materials was heavy. Cheese and butter factories were replacing the farm-made product. New industries were springing up on every hand.

While slaughterhouses were found everywhere, the packing business was concentrated in Chicago, which had taken precedence over Cincinnati, with lesser centers at Kansas City, Omaha, and St. Louis. A few great corporations were gaining control of the business. Western cattle and sheep and hogs from the Middle West were packed in tremendous quantities for domestic trade and export. The big packer could buy live stock more cheaply, and by utilizing every bit of the animal could cut the cost of production and undersell, and thus destroy, small competitors. In no business did monopoly control come earlier. Meat, however, became cheaper. With the discovery of refrigeration processes and the invention of refrigerator cars, meats, fruits, and perishable goods could be sent long distances. No longer was the national diet restricted to salted meats. With the discovery of canning processes, meats, preserves, and fruits could be packed and shipped abroad. Thus Chicago packers were putting meat, fresh and tinned, on the tables of the working classes here and in Europe. Ultimately their export trade aroused European nations to restrict the importation of American cattle and meats, lest their own stock-raisers be ruined.

Western grain, coming down the Great Lakes, caused the building of huge elevators in the Lake ports and developed milling centers like Buffalo, though it was not long until the largest flour business centered in Minneapolis and other cities of the grain-growing belt. As the accessible timber of northern New England, northern New York, and Pennsylvania was being rapidly cut, the lumbermen of the East were moving their sawmill equipment and crews to attack the standing (often government-owned) timber of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. On a new scale was lumber milled, and lumber kings were created.

Rockefeller and the Oil Business. No business was more typically American in its sudden rise than that of oil-refining. Oil in a small amount was long known in Pennsylvania. A Moravian missionary wrote in 1769: "It is used medicinally for tooth-ache, rheumatism. . . . Sometimes it is taken internally. It is of a brown color and burns well and can be used in lamps." Oil was



ROCKEFELLER

skimmed from streams and sold as a patent medicine (Seneca Oil) in pre-Civil War days by enterprising individuals who reaped large fortunes from a credulous public. At Titusville, Pennsylvania, oil was struck in quantity (1859), and a Yale chemist (Silliman) made a profound study of its properties. Within three years millions of barrels were being refined. The field was crowded with hundreds of producers and refiners when John D. Rockefeller, his brother William, and his partners Harkness and Flagler entered the business. In 1870 they char-

tered the Standard Oil Company of Ohio with a million dollars' capitalization. This organization soon obtained control of the bulk of the oil business by shrewd management, favorable railroad rates, and illegal rebates on shipments gained through unfair practices, and by a ruthless destruction of smaller competitors. As the concern grew, it transported refined oil in its own tank cars, its own Great Lakes ships, and finally through its own pipe lines. In addition, the company handled its own retail business. Standard Oil selling-stations and tank delivery-wagons were a common sight in all parts of the country. By 1880 the Rockefeller

interests controlled 90 per cent of the oil business and were able to determine prices. With pipe lines to the coast, they entered the export trade. Kerosene oil lighted the buildings and homes of the nation. Candles and whale oil disappeared. The whaling business of New England towns was at an end. Soon, with the development of gasoline engines, oil was used for power. The Standard Oil Company became a standing example of the success of combination in industry, and the butt of all attacks against big business by radicals. It was our first corporation with monopolistic control of a national business, and its leaders took a commanding place among America's greatest capitalists.

New Land Policy. A glorious era in Western expansion was inaugurated by the Homestead Act (1862). There had long been an unsuccessful agitation to give small landholdings in the unsettled area to actual settlers who would develop the national domain. The Civil War saw the removal of Southern opposition to a liberalized land policy. A settler who was native born or had expressed his intention of becoming a citizen could take up 160 acres of free arable land. On completion of five years' residence and some improvements, in the course of which he made his living on the land, he was given full title to the land. Soldiers were allowed an easier residence term of three years. Never in the world's history was a poor man given such an opportunity. The Homestead Act brought thousands of poor Easterners as well as immigrants into the West, where they saw an opportunity to improve their condition and obtain land on easy terms. The new states appealed for settlers by actually allowing unnaturalized foreigners the right to vote. The region of Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas was settled rapidly. Between 1860 and 1880 the number of American farms doubled and over a half billion acres of new land were cultivated.

Homesteads improved in value, and it was the original homestead which gave the well-to-do farming family of the West its first start. Thereafter the successful homesteader might acquire more land by purchase, for many a homesteader proved a poor farmer and was glad to sell his land to a neighbor, or was compelled to give it up when hard times and crop failures brought

bankruptcy. And, of course, the government continued to sell land at \$1.25 an acre to those who cared to buy outright. Then, too, the railroads were marketing their highly desirable lands at from \$2.50 to \$10 an acre. Their publicity departments left no stone unturned in advertising the advantages of the West, in an effort to boom the region.

Dishonest land agents and corrupt land and lumber concerns defrauded the government by filing on timber and mineral lands on the score that they were arable, or obtained large tracts of land through agents and "dummies" who posed as legitimate homesteaders, only to acquire 160 acres by fraudulent means and turn the quarter section over to the employing corporation. But while there was considerable fraud, this is the least important feature. The Homestead Act was a farsighted piece of legislation. It was administered with far greater honesty than might have been expected. It hurried the settlement of a vast agricultural empire. And, as an instance of its worth, the law in modified form has been copied by Canada, some of the South American countries, and Australia, in their endeavor to put people on the land and attract immigrant colonists.

In self-protection the government limited to 160 acres individual purchases of timber and stone lands at \$2.50 an acre. By corrupt means through fraudulent filings by employees, great holdings were acquired and enormous wealth obtained by powerful land and mining corporations. Government lands were stripped of timber. Lumber companies obtained lands on both sides of a stream and then proceeded to cut off access by water to the back country. Thus they acquired on easy terms or by seizure vast timber holdings. The government was lax; the West was far away; and the lumberman and miner were hard to restrain. In time, but almost too late, the nation learned that it must conserve its natural wealth, and not allow invaluable timber and mineral lands to fall into the hands of avaricious corporations.

In 1862 the Railroad Land-Grant Act was passed, by which the government gave land directly to the railroad and construction companies to encourage building. Earlier the Federal government had made grants to the states to aid canal or railroad

building within the state, but with the decline of state rights the Federal government dispensed with this formality. The same year saw the passage of the Morrill Act, which allotted to every state 30,000 acres of Western land for every senator and representative in Congress, for the establishment of agricultural and mechanical colleges. Unfortunately most states did not hold the land, but sold at the current low figures. Indeed, the heritage was too often wasted by corrupt state officials. Otherwise these colleges would be well endowed today, if not self-supporting. The old states assigned the proceeds to established colleges which added agricultural and engineering departments, while the Western states founded separate colleges of agriculture and engineering which were affiliated with the state-supported universities. Despite administrative shortcomings, the government did its best to encourage settlement, expansion, railroad-building, and education, by a liberal disposal of national lands.

Mining Development. Not until after the war were fire-boxes of ships and locomotives improved so that coal could be burned. About the same time, anthracite as well as soft coal came into extensive use for heating purposes. The output of the mines of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and West Virginia increased from 14 to 71 million tons a year between 1860 and 1880. The next ten years saw the latter figure quadrupled. America was second only to England in production. The use of coal increased the demand for stoves and iron ranges, and hence built another great industry.

Pennsylvania, with an output of 3,000,000 tons of iron ore in 1860, doubled its production by 1880, far surpassing New York and other mining states. Yet in turn it was passed by Michigan, where the ranges of the Upper Peninsula were yielding ore in quality and quantity far beyond any mines theretofore known. Northern Michigan too was supplying a fair share of the world's copper. The existence of copper was reported by early Jesuit missionaries, but not until 1850 did Boston capitalists send prospectors to locate the copper deposits and engineers to undertake mining operations. In 1866 the famous Calumet and Hecla lodes were discovered. Along with other mines about Houghton, they

were the chief source of supply until the working of the Arizona and Montana deposits on a big scale in the eighties. In 1860 America produced 16,000,000 pounds of copper and in 1880 over 60,000,000, or a fourth of the world's supply.

Opening the Western Mines. Gold was discovered in the region of Pikes Peak, and later both silver and gold were found in the Gregory lode, in Colorado. Soon prospectors were everywhere seeking the hidden deposits, and placer miners were busy with shovel and pan and sluice-boxes. Denver, Leadville, and Boulder became centers. The men were hardy and the times rough — worse if anything than in the California fields — bad men, deserters from Union and Confederate armies, refugees, and adventurers. Armed men drove prospectors from their staked claims; road agents robbed the express of its valuable freight; Indians killed stragglers; murders were common in the rough mining towns, which sprang up overnight only to decline into "shadow towns" when the mine failed or the expected gold strike did not materialize. Vigilantes arose to maintain order and mob-justice by hangings. Such was life in the Western gold and silver fields. Weak men failed; prospectors were often lucky and became millionaires; but most seekers searched in vain for the elusive pot of gold which would bring a home on "easy street" back East. Strong self-made men emerged and became the financial and political leaders of the new territories and states. It was a land of true toleration. It was the frontier at its worst and at its best. No one was asked concerning his race or creed. Embarrassing questions would have been dangerous in this country of two-fisted, armed men. If a man was "white and twenty-one" and could do a man's job in the diggings, and if he was not under suspicion of turning a card in poker, jumping staked claims, or stealing horses, no one questioned his past.

In 1859 the rich Comstock lode was opened in Nevada. In thirty years it yielded \$350,000,000 in silver bullion. Virginia City became a boom town. Settlers straggled into the camps — hardened adventurers, and "tenderfeet" from the East who sought wealth in the "golden West." Of those who won, local and state histories tell; but of the majority who failed nothing is written

— hardship, broken hopes, gold-craze, and death in avalanches or through starvation, while lost in the trackless hills. Few of the proud-spirited men returned to their Eastern homes (and to men of the Rockies, Chicago is in the East and Omaha is the beginning of the West), unless they had made their strike. Mining for precious metals is picturesque, but the toll in labor and suffering is high. At any rate, Nevada produced gold and silver as vein after vein was discovered. In 1861 it became a territory, and three years later a state. Its population was hardly half the necessary quota, but Republicans needed every vote in the coming election, and the territory was then Republican. Colorado, with fully as large a population, was not admitted until 1876.

Prospectors ranged over the mountains, making gold, silver, and lead strikes in Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona, which were all organized as territories by 1868. Montana provided a rich land — Alder Gulch, Last Chance Gulch, Helena, and Butte — to those intrepid souls of the sixties who followed the Bozeman Trail northward. The territory grew slowly after the first rush, and was not ready for statehood until 1889.

The sixties and seventies saw the opening of the Far West, but actual development did not take place for another decade. Individual miners could only scratch the hills; it took huge mining corporations to extract wealth from the deep hidden deposits of silver, gold, and especially of copper and its by-products. For extensive operations cheap labor, rail transportation, and capital were required. The prospector, miner, freight-driver, and express rider gave way to the railroad, the engineer, and the heavily capitalized Eastern mining-corporation, before production commenced in earnest.

The Cow Country. The wealth of the New West was in ranches as well as in mines. Texan cattle had long been driven northward for summer grazing. After the transcontinental road was built and the buffalo herds were destroyed, the cattle business grew apace. Cattle were bred in the Southwest. About May, the herds were rounded up by cowboys and the young calves were branded with the characteristic mark of their owner. Then a few herders were sent with the various herds on the long trail into the North,

to graze and fatten them on the open, government-owned ranges. Toward fall there was a "round-up." Cowboys "cut out" their employer's animals and drove them to the home ranch. They were then fattened and driven to a cattle town, whence they were shipped to the markets at Kansas City or Omaha, or to the greatest market of all — the Union Stock Yards in Chicago.



© Charles J. Belden

ROUNDING UP THE CATTLE

The business was exceedingly profitable while the open range lasted. Toward 1880 the free range was broken up by railroad lines and homesteaders, whom cattlemen hated as "nesters." Sheep-herders, too, were regarded as interlopers; and there were fierce fights between cattlemen and sheep-raisers, for sheep destroyed pasturage. At times whole flocks of sheep were driven over a precipice to destruction by violent "cow-punchers." The homesteader too had to defend his holding with a rifle. As the free range ended, cattle kings fenced in with barbed wire (a recent invention which actually held even stampeding cattle) huge ranches, without much concern about their legal title. If a man

controlled a spring or salt lick, his cattle could graze a day's distance over the surrounding country. In time he would fence in their feeding ground and assume ownership. Land agents were lax, and the government had little success in destroying such inclosures. Or a cattle king would obtain fraudulent title by having his employees file on joining sections of "arid" lands and, after dishonestly "proving up," turn over the homesteads. Thus some of the most famous ranches were first obtained. Nowhere save in Australia and South America has the cattle business (and later sheep-raising) been done on so large a scale as in our Missouri River region.

Indian Wars: Opening the Far West to the Settler. The post-Civil War years saw unrest among the 300,000 Indians west of the Mississippi, only a small percentage of whom were on reservations. By treaties they had been guaranteed their tribal lands and some annual government aid in the way of food, arms, and blankets. Cheated by agents and half-breed traders, they were further aroused as they saw ranchers, miners, and finally settlers invade their hunting preserves. Americans too often thought of Indians in the words imputed to Sheridan, "There are no good Indians but dead Indians," and treated them accordingly. Scant aid was given their schools; for sectarian intolerance opposed grants to Catholic missionary schools, which alone were successful in civilizing the tribesmen. Liquor was an even worse enemy than sectarianism. Wronged on every side, the Indians rose in general revolt.

In 1862 the Sioux broke out in southern Minnesota in desperate massacres. This was laid to Southern agents, rather than to the general mistreatment of the red men. The sparse settlements were helpless, with the able-bodied men in the army. General Sibley, with volunteers and a detachment of soldiers, restored order. Scores of Indians were court-martialed and executed, and Lincoln's leniency in pardoning a number of the braves was severely condemned by outraged pioneers. Two years later the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes of the Far West were raging. They were goaded on by the rough-and-ready miners who were searching in the foothills of the Rockies for gold

and silver. Under Chief Black Kettle they fought fiercely and with the utmost cruelty. White soldiers did not hesitate to massacre the Indians, whether men, women, or children, whom they ambushed near Fort Lyon. The Cheyennes were forced onto a reservation and given annuities. The mountainous West must be cleared of red men, to make way for mining developments. Neither ethics nor treaties could stand in the way. In 1866-1868 Red Cloud banded the Dakota Sioux, the Blackfeet, and the Nez Percés of Montana into a general alliance. The Indians never produced a greater warrior or a more cunning leader. Under Hancock's officers and soldiers the Indians were finally crushed without mercy. The region of the Dakotas was pacified and the Powder River Trail into Montana was freed of hostile natives, to the relief of the wild mining camps. When there was no more hope, Red Cloud counseled surrender and retired to the reservation, where he aided in founding a Catholic mission. In the Southwest, General Carleton waged an inhuman war against the Comanches and Apaches.

Only for a short time was there peace on the plains.¹ Sitting Bull of the Dakota Sioux aroused the Indians to make a last stand. Gold-seekers were crowding into the Black Hills, which had been guaranteed to the Indians as a hunting range. Massacres and retaliation were again in order. Finally there came the tragedy of the Little Big Horn (1876), where the courageous Custer and two hundred and sixty soldiers were trapped by

¹ There was no better-known or greater man on the plains than Rev. Peter J. de Smet, S. J., (1801-1873), a Jesuit Indian-missionary. Born in Belgium, he came to America at the solicitation of another Belgian missionary, Nerinx, and shortly after ordination he joined the Jesuit missionary band at St. Louis. His life was spent in the Far West, bringing the Gospel to the various tribes. Acquainted with nearly every tribe, soldier, and scout, he was the tried counselor of the Indians. No man did more to prevent wars between the tribes or strove harder to bring about peace in the terrible years after 1864. Largely through his exertions, according to General Sherman, representatives of 50,000 Indians met in a peace conference in Missouri (1868), and concluded a treaty which saved the United States a long and costly war. (*Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*, 1873) De Smet is credited with selecting Salt Lake as the Mormon site, for it was he who advised Brigham Young when the latter was looking for a refuge for his people. He found time to write detailed accounts of Indian missions in the Rockies. Father La Combe (died 1917) proved a worthy successor. (E. LEVAILLE, S. J., *Life of De Smet*)

thousands of infuriated tribesmen. To the last man they died fighting. Then followed a long campaign of ruthless warfare. Sitting Bull escaped to Canada. His braves were crushed. The Indians were forced onto reservations. A proud race was reduced to the status of pensioned wards of the nation. Some of the Northern tribesmen were sent to Indian Territory, where they succumbed to the Southern climate. It was a desperate work. The West was made ready for settlement. The natives were pushed aside by the rush of population. In the East there was a feeling of revulsion at the cruel character of the contest, and little sympathy was shown the soldier on the frontier, who faced as great danger as in the battles of the Civil War. Little honor was given Hancock, Sheridan, Sherman, Crook, and Miles, or such romantic scouts as Cody ("Buffalo Bill") and Jim Bridger. Yet, under orders, they performed a hard and disagreeable service in a thorough fashion.

Rise of Labor Organizations. Skilled workers, like some kinds of manual laborers and clerks of today, were practically unorganized before the Civil War. In the larger cities there were local unions which were little more than medieval guilds in strength and purpose. There were occasional strikes, but these were easily broken by importing mechanics of the same type from a neighboring city. There was no labor problem. The chief difficulty was in obtaining enough skilled workers; hence mechanics were well paid and well treated. The owner and manager worked with the men. There was thus a sympathy between men and masters in this era of small-scale production. Hard work and harsher conditions fell to the immigrant laborer. Of unskilled labor there was a surplus; hence common laborers were not treated so well as artisans, who were ordinarily native-born. *men who has a t*

Labor organizations must be national to be effective. In 1860 there were a score of national unions representing the better trades, but they had only a nominal existence. Only the present Typographical Union (founded 1854) was able to retain its members after the panic of 1857. During the war, trade unionism disappeared. In the flush time of high wages, unionism died out; for labor was without grievances.

At the end of the war there was a marked change. A million workers of one kind or another were released from military service. Hordes of immigrants were pouring into the country. Laborers were more plentiful than work. The introduction of machinery on a large scale threw mechanics out of employment, for common laborers and even women and children could tend machines. As industry developed and factories grew larger, employers no longer knew their employees. Managers and bosses were but hired drivers of labor. Owners were capitalists with little personal connection with the plant. Factories were on an efficiency basis. Dividends and large-scale production were the objectives. Employees became "hands," in time so numerous as to be known only by numbers. Large concerns became huge corporations, with factories in different parts of the country. As business became organized on a national scale, so did labor. As business came to think solely in terms of production and profits, labor sought a greater share, in the form of enlarged wages, easier hours, and better working-conditions.

Growth of Labor Unions. In 1863 a national union of locomotive engineers was formed, and a few years later one of firemen and another of conductors. The pleasant day had passed when the president of a few miles of railroad was acquainted with every employee. Small railroads had combined into systems, owned by numerous stockholders and managed by hired officials whose tenure depended on their ability to make the road pay dividends. Hence the various grades of employees of the system found it necessary to unionize, and finally to associate in national organizations with the workers on other railroads. The same was true of mechanics, building-tradesmen, iron and steel workers, granite-cutters, and cigar-makers. By 1870 there were some thirty-two national organizations, representing as many trades or crafts. Shoemakers were organized (1868) as Knights of St. Crispin, after their patron saint; and well they needed an organization, with the introduction of shoemaking machinery which could be operated by unskilled men. In 1866 the National Labor Union had tried to draw all workers into its ranks; but it failed, as it entered politics and sought to control the votes of its members.

Knights of Labor. Three years later Uriah Stevens, a Philadelphia garment-maker, founded the Knights of Labor, a secret organization which included any man working for a living. Its growth was slow, especially during the hard years after 1873, when so many unions failed. The Knights of Labor urged arbitration of labor disputes, mechanics' lien laws, an eight-hour day, restriction of labor for children under fourteen years of age, weekly pay days, a bureau of labor statistics, donation of public lands only to actual settlers, and protective labor legislation. This program was then considered radical, although there is hardly a plank in it which is not accepted today. In the eighties the Knights numbered over 700,000 members.

"Alarmed at the revolutionary principles which undoubtedly disgraced some members of the trade unions, the more so as many of them were at least nominally secret societies," the Canadian bishops obtained from the Holy See a condemnation of the Knights of Labor in Canada. Cardinal Manning (the staunch friend of English unionism) and Cardinal Gibbons were more alarmed lest the Church be presented as the friend of the powerful rich and the enemy of the poor. Cardinal Gibbons and ten of the twelve archbishops, on consultation with President Cleveland and President Powderly of the Knights, agreed to prevent the papal condemnation of the society. In 1887 Gibbons, aided by Bishops Ireland and



CARDINAL GIBBONS

Keane, pleaded the cause of labor in Rome, pointing out that there was nothing in the society's ordinances which violated decrees with regard to secret societies, that its president and several of its leaders were practical Catholics, that separation of Catholics and non-Catholics in American civil life and associations was undesirable, that the society did not encourage violence, and that the Church must continue to be the friend of the people. Therewith only five out of seventy-five high ecclesiastics desired condemnation of the society. It was a momentous decision. Catholics were thereby encouraged to join trade unions and thus to obtain the same protection as their fellow workers. It paved the way for Pope Leo's later encyclical on labor. Large Catholic membership and numerous Catholic leaders gave American trade-unionism a conservative and Christian tone which it might have lacked if loyal Catholics had been compelled to divorce themselves from organized labor.

With the formation and rise of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights went into a rapid decline, so that now the organization is numerically weak. Its weakness lay in an attempt to draw all men into a big union organized on a national, state, and town basis without consideration of trade. Its membership lacked common interest. A physician had little in common with a lawyer and less with a bricklayer or a hodcarrier, and still less with an unskilled laborer. This lesson the American Federation of Labor learned. It organized on a craft basis, with a close affiliation of national trade unions representing every skilled trade, and eliminated professional men, shopkeepers, and unskilled laborers. Again, the Knights entered politics too actively, thus antagonizing members whose allegiance to their party was stronger than their loyalty to the cause of labor.

Industrial Disorders. The summer of 1877 witnessed the first great labor disturbance. Railroads cut wages without warning. This, together with numerous other grievances, caused the workers to strike. President Hayes ordered out Federal troops, and various governors called upon their militia to quell the disorder. Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cumberland, Philadelphia, Scranton, Chicago, and Reading were the scenes of the worst violence,

with mobs aiding the strikers, and railroad detectives and militia firing on strikers and their sympathizers. The strike and resultant disorders extended over the Baltimore and Ohio, Erie, and Pennsylvania systems. The anthracite roads and coal region were also affected, as were most of the railroads as far as the Mississippi. Victory rested with the railroads, but labor had shown its strength. A breach had been made between capital and labor. Trade-unionism saw thereafter in the army and state militia a dangerous enemy. Only in the South and in New England was there quiet.

The coal fields of Pennsylvania were hotbeds of disorder from 1865 to 1877, when the "Mollie Maguires"¹ were destroyed. Irregular employment, driving bosses, lay-offs, wage cuts, and a surplus of miners were the fundamental causes of the disturbances. Again, there was racial hostility between the English and Welsh miners, who had once made up the bulk of the workers, and the newer and larger Irish element.

✓ **Immigration (1861-1880).** For the years 1861-1880 the Germans headed the list of immigrants, with nearly a million and a half. Over a million people came from England, Scotland, and Wales, with almost another million from Ireland. The Irish were probably more numerous than figures would indicate, as many of them sailed from English ports and were labeled English by inaccurate officials. Over a half-million Canadian-French entered

¹ A small percentage of the Irish belonged to a secret society known as the "Mollie Maguires," which was guilty of violent tactics and murders. The Church, which, as the historian Rhodes points out, has ever been on the side of law and order, condemned the society. No orthodox Catholic could be a member, though all members of the society were Irish by birth or descent and at least nominal members of the Catholic Church. An Irish mine-operator employed an Irish-Catholic detective to investigate the murders and assaults. He joined the society, became a leader in planning attacks, and finally, obtaining sufficient evidence, turned on his unsuspecting friends. The stool pigeon was able to learn the secret plans of defense of the men arrested for murder, thereby helping the states' attorneys to obtain convictions. A number were executed; others were sentenced to prison. The radical society was broken, though the fundamental grievances of miners in the anthracite field still continue despite a series of strikes and efforts on the part of organized labor to correct the abuses under which men work. The "Molly Maguire" episode is the only bad blot on the Irish immigrant. Churchmen and the bulk of the Irish in Pennsylvania condemned the society from the beginning, but the race was long charged with the crimes of this small group.

western New York and the factory towns of New England. Scandinavians commenced to appear in larger numbers, fully 360,000 entering in the two decades. For the most part they found their way to the homestead lands of the Northwest. Minneapolis became a Scandinavian stronghold. In the seventies a new tide of immigration was noticeable, with over 70,000 from Austria-Hungary and 56,000 from Italy.

Incoming aliens numbered 460,000 in the year 1873, but with improved times nearly 800,000 appeared in 1879. As the tide increased, the movement for restriction gained headway, but individual states were taught by the Supreme Court that they could not pass restrictive measures. Organized labor commenced to show hostility to immigrants, especially the Chinese, on the score that a living wage could not be maintained for native-born labor in the face of immigration competition.

Chinese Exclusion. The Chinese were welcomed on the Pacific coast when labor was scarce, prior to the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1868 the Burlingame Treaty with China actually encouraged Chinese immigration. Soon white labor became plentiful, as colonists from the East found their way over the railroad. An agitation against coolie labor commenced. No white man could compete with the Chinese, who worked for about one fifth of the prevalent wage. Their standards of living were extremely low. They were of a different civilization and race. Their morals were Oriental. They were not Christians. They could not be assimilated. As the Chinese became more numerous (about 60,000 in 1870 and probably three times as many before the decade ended) they caused a new race problem. The Chinese quarters of Los Angeles and San Francisco were raided by infuriated white mobs. Chinese were murdered. Their lives were held lightly in a country where violence was not unusual. The cry was soon heard, "The Chinese must go!" Dennis Kearney, an Irish laborer of conspicuous ability as a popular leader and stump speaker, led the movement. Mass meetings were held on the sand lots and addressed by Kearney from the tail end of a cart.

Organized labor espoused Kearneyism, first on the coast and then throughout the land. The movement won the support of

*They don't easily merge
with our race.*

the newspapers of the Pacific coast and of all but the largest employers (like Stanford and Huntington). In the East there was much sympathy wasted on the Chinese by liberals who saw the movement as one of fanatical hostility limited to Irish laborers. Ultimately the nation listened when all the coast states determined to put an end to Oriental immigration. In 1879 Congress passed a bill to abrogate the Burlingame Treaty, but Hayes vetoed the measure. The next year a new treaty was negotiated by which the United States was permitted to "regulate, limit, or suspend" the entrance of Chinese laborers but not to prohibit their coming. Two years later more definite action was taken with the passage of a law excluding Chinese for ten years. At the expiration of this time a rigid and permanent exclusion act was passed which has been broadly interpreted to include all Orientals. The Pacific states won their fight to maintain a white man's country.

The Catholic Church after the War. In spite of the loss of Church property, the disorganization caused by the war, and the loss of men in the service, the Church fathers gathered at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore under Archbishop Spalding could look into the future with hopeful satisfaction. Growth was rapid, as millions of Catholic immigrants came from Ireland, Canada, and the German states. In 1870 there were at least 4,500,000 Catholics, and by 1880 approximately 6,260,000 communicants. In the meantime Archbishop McCloskey of New York had been elevated to the cardinalate, to the satisfaction of American Catholics.

The Church faced a difficult task. She must provide priests and churches for the new peoples and her greatly increased numbers. She must rebuild in the South. She must increase the number of her schools and colleges. She must follow population westward and create new dioceses and extend her ministrations along the frontier in the cattle towns and mining towns and in the rural villages of the agricultural states. She must take over the missions in far-away Alaska. It was a time of herculean exertion, a day of great sacrifices and extensive building. But the people were loyal; there was scarcely a cloud in the sky; and

the new bishops, more of whom were native-born or American-trained, displayed energy and foresight in advancing the Church and the well-being of its membership.

References

In the *Chronicles of America* see B. J. HENDRICK, *The Age of Big Business*, pp. 1-58; EMERSON HOUGH, *The Passing of the Frontier*; S. P. ORTH, *The Armies of Labor*, pp. 1-88, and *Our Foreigners*; JOHN MOODY, *The Railroad Builders*, pp. 121-192. HOUGH, *The Passing of the Cowboy*; L. A. LANG, *Ranching with Roosevelt*; G. A. CUSTER, *My Life on the Plains*; E. L. SABIN, *Kit Carson Days*; C. H. SHINN, *The Story of the Mine*; J. J. WALSH, *Our American Cardinals*; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. II, pp. 1-209, and Vol. III, pp. 92-242.

Bibliography

D. R. DEWEY, *Financial History of the United States*; E. B. ANDREWS, *The United States in our Own Time*; F. L. PAXSON, *The Last American Frontier and History of American Frontier*, pp. 410-544; P. E. BYRNE, *Soldiers of the Plains*; R. N. DASKIN, *Reminiscences of Utah*; W. A. GRAHAM, *Story of the Little Big Horn*; R. M. MCELROY, *Winning of the Far West*; G. M. STEPHENSON, *Political History of Public Lands*; B. H. HUBBARD, *History of Public Land Policies*; W. B. PARKER, *Justin Morrill*; F. FESSENDEN, *Life of W. P. Fessenden*; H. H. BANCROFT's monumental histories of the Western states; R. I. DODGE, *Plains of the Great West*; C. M. DEPEW, *One Hundred Years of American Commerce*; C. F. ADAMS and H. ADAMS, *Chapters of Erie*; T. J. COOLIDGE, *Autobiography*; J. P. DAVIS, *Union Pacific Railway*; E. V. SMALLEY, *Northern Pacific Railroad*; J. G. PYLE, *Life of James J. Hill*; E. L. SABIN, *Building the Union Pacific*; E. P. OBERHOLTZER, *Jay Cooke*; IDA M. TARBELL, *History of the Standard Oil Company*; G. MYERS, *Great American Fortunes*; JAMES O'NEIL, *The Workers in American History*; J. R. COMMONS, *History of Labor in the United States*; F. T. CARLTON, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*; R. F. HOXIE, *Trade-Unionism in the United States*; T. V. POWDERLY, *Thirty Years of Labor*; CHARLES H. WESLEY, *Negro Labor in the United States*; STEPHEN BYRNE, *Irish Emigration*; FAUST, *Germans in America*; G. M. STEPHENSON, *American Immigration*; AMANDUS JOHNSON, *Swedes in America*; R. F. FOERSTER, *The Italian Emigration of our Times*; D. C. BREWER, *Conquest of New England by the Immigrant*.

CHAPTER IX

BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICS

I. POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS (1880-1900)

Grant or Garfield? Grant had returned from a tour around the world, which the American people had followed with absorbing interest. As the public has a short memory, the corruption of his administration was half forgotten. Grant was again the war hero. Stalwart Republicans featured him as a candidate for the presidency, urging that the two-term custom would not be broken as another administration had followed his second term. However, the precedent was too sacred to be treated lightly. The politicians had seen enough of Hayes and reform. The White House had not been the same; there had been little entertaining and no serving of wine even at state dinners. In the convention Grant received 313 out of the necessary 379 votes for nomination. To beat him required the allied opposition of the Blaine, Edmunds, and Sherman delegates. Reformers were just as hostile to Blaine. Finally, on the thirty-sixth ballot, James A. Garfield of Ohio was named. To please the Eastern bosses, Chester A. Arthur, a New York machine politician and spoilsman, was given second place on the ticket. The Democrats named General W. S. Hancock, whom President Hayes described as "through and through pure gold."

It was a bitter, personal campaign rather than one of clear-cut issues. The clouds of former political corruption which hung over Garfield and Arthur were made darker, but the prosperity of the times helped the Republicans. Garfield's impoverished youth, his riding of tow horses on an Ohio canal, his good record in the army and as governor of Ohio, and his presidency of a small college appealed to the voter. "From the tow path to the White House" had a Harrison-Lincoln ring, which won support.

The popular vote was close: Garfield, 4,454,416; Hancock, 4,444,952. The electoral vote of 214 to 155 would hardly indicate that Garfield's plurality was only 10,000. The results suggested a growing suspicion of old-fashioned Republicanism.

Garfield's Administration. Garfield's term was short and troubled. His chief cabinet selections were intended to reunite the party: Blaine as Secretary of State; William Windom of Minnesota, a silverite, as Secretary of the Treasury; and Robert T. Lincoln, the martyred President's son, who was destined for a long business career as head of the Pullman Company, as Secretary of War. He aroused party bosses by investigating the Western mail contracts known as the "Star Routes." In revenge one of his private letters was published, showing his sanction of levies on officeholders as a means of filling the campaign chest. This caused civil-service reformers to doubt the sincerity of Garfield's approval of their program. Shortly afterwards in a patronage fight he broke with the New York "Stalwart" senators Platt and Conkling by appointing a Blaine favorite as collector of the New York customhouse. Conkling and Platt, failing to defeat this important appointment in the Senate, resigned their seats, expecting the legislature to reelect them and thus uphold their opposition to Garfield. The legislature failed them, and their plan miscarried; but they caused a revolt in the party which could not be compromised. Platt later returned to power as a senator and Republican boss. Today the custom of senatorial courtesy gives a senator, if of the president's party, far greater control over Federal appointments in his state than was the case in the eighties.

Garfield was killed by an insane office-seeker (Guiteau) who wished to advance Stalwart Republicanism. His tragic death hurried civil-service reform, for it made more apparent the evils of the sordid patronage system. To satisfy applicants for Federal offices had become a president's chief function during his first year.

Arthur as President. Arthur proved a disappointment to his joyous Stalwart friends, who expected to control him. Power sobered him, and he became popular with the nation. All but Lincoln of Garfield's cabinet soon dropped out, and Arthur was

in a position to select his own advisers, which he did with an obvious desire to administer affairs honestly and well. The mail-route frauds were investigated, and with the dismissal of several prominent officials the combination was destroyed, despite its friends in Congress. Because of a strong Democratic opposition in Congress and divided Republican strength, comparatively little important legislation marked Arthur's term.

✓ **Civil-Service Reform.** Reformers had long condemned the abuses of the spoils system. Politicians overlooked the evils and garnered the spoils. The victorious party in city, state, and national campaigns looked upon offices and contracts as a means of paying workers for their support. The system was deep-rooted. Every holder of a Federal office or even of a menial job expected to be dismissed if his party was defeated. Therefore he worked and contributed money to aid the party's candidates, high and low. On the other hand, men who hoped to gain places labored for the success of their party, and if its candidates won, considered the jobs as their just rewards. The rush of office-seekers broke the strength of William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor, annoyed Lincoln in his most trying days, and seemed to Grant the chief business on hand. Only under Hayes were partisan petitioners for favors coldly treated.

For twenty years Thomas Jenckes of Rhode Island had introduced civil-service bills in Congress only to see them laid on the table. In 1868 he submitted a first-hand report on the European systems. Finally, reformers, aided by Dorman B. Eaton, Carl Schurz, William Cullen Bryant, and George William Curtis, founded a Civil-Service League to conduct an educational campaign in an effort to win political leaders, intellectuals, ministers, and editors to their plan of a purified, efficient, and nonpartisan civil service. Then came the murder of Garfield, the establishment of the model British civil-service system, and the Republican failure in the congressional elections of 1882.

Pendleton Civil-Service Act In the following year the Pendleton Act passed Congress by a nonpartisan vote. The Republicans feared defeat in the coming election and were not averse to the passage of a moderate civil-service act which would

guarantee the permanence of their clerical appointees. There was established a classified service to be applied by the president (and extended at his will) to cover clerks in government departments and in post offices and customhouses with over fifty employees. A commission of three members was empowered to set examinations and make appointments from the three highest candidates on the list. It was further charged with improving the system and enforcing the rule that there be no levies placed upon Federal officeholders for campaign "donations." President Arthur appointed Eaton chairman of the Civil-Service Commission and followed its rulings with surprising readiness for one whose past career had been that of an ordinary city politician.

In 1884 the Pendleton Act was indorsed in the platforms of both parties. Cleveland, however, was in a difficult position on entering the White House. Democrats long out in the cold were demanding places for their friends on the basis of political affiliation rather than of ability. Cleveland, a born reformer, stood solidly against their advances. Before retiring he extended the rules to cover railway mail clerks. Benjamin Harrison refused to accept this ruling, and his Assistant Postmaster-General dismissed about 40,000 clerks in two years. A roar of anger went up from civil-service reformers. Yet when Republicans were safely in place Harrison extended the classification to part of the Indian service and to clerkships in free-delivery post offices. The extension of governmental business gave ample opportunity to place administration friends. Theodore Roosevelt was made chairman and did far more than politicians desired to improve the service and establish common-sense examinations. He actually popularized the commission. Yet it was too much for orthodox Republican congressmen when they saw Southern Democrats selected and an attempt made to attract Southern applicants. They would have cut down the appropriations for the commission, thus restricting its work, if Roosevelt, with the honest ardor of youth, had not threatened to denounce hostile congressmen in their home districts. Cleveland during his second term was even more anxious to reform the service; but McKinley, as a good party man, did little for its advance. Roosevelt, as

commission

was
selected

McKinley
F. D. Roosevelt

showed

that is adherent to

president, was naturally a strong advocate of its extension to cover additional classes of Federal employees, as was his successor Taft. Wilson, on the other hand, had hungry Democrats to satisfy — men who had looked longingly at offices for a generation. He served his friends very well, and the enormous list of war jobs made this quite possible.

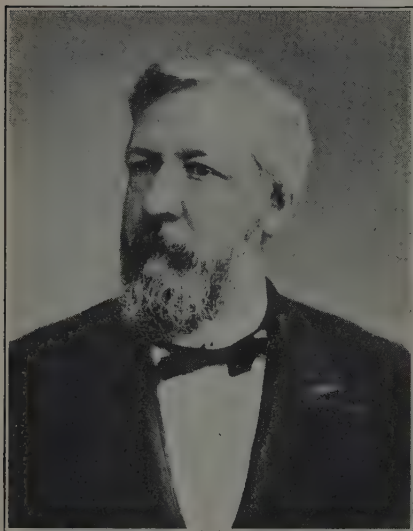
The civil service is not above criticism. Yet it has improved the personnel of government employees; it gives the good employee a sense of security, for he cannot be removed without charges, although it often protects an idle worker to an unreasonable extent. As there is no general turnover with a change of party, there is a greater degree of governmental efficiency. And an astounding share of the Federal work is done by the protected routine clerks, regardless of how much credit may be given to their politically selected superiors. Today fully four fifths of the Federal civil employees fall under the examination rules, leaving only the higher discretionary offices to presidential patronage. This method of selecting employees is now followed in several states and in a large number of municipalities with the commission type of government.

The Tariff of 1883. The high tariff filled the Treasury to overflowing. An annual surplus of over \$100,000,000 was applied to the debt. War bonds (once as low as 52) were selling as high as 121. Liberals believed that the tariff should be lowered and living costs reduced. They argued that the debt need not be paid so rapidly, for the preservation of the Union had been a permanent good, in support of which posterity should bear a greater share. Such a surplus was also an occasion for willful extravagance. In answer to the insistent demand for reform downward, Arthur appointed a commission (made up of business representatives) which recommended a cut of 20 per cent. Congress was in a hurry to pass a measure which would satisfy the general demand and still not injure friendly business; for the next Congress would be Democratic and might make an injurious reduction.

The bill as passed brought no relief, for it was so manipulated by Thomas B. Reed, William McKinley (who represented the Cleveland iron men), and the Democratic protectionists of the

East, led by Speaker "Sam" Randall of Pennsylvania, that there appeared to be lowering of rates without actual reduction. A Democratic attempt at revision during the following year was defeated by high-tariff Democrats. Not until after 1884 did their tariff views mark the essential difference between the major parties.

Convention of 1884. The Chicago convention found Republicans at odds, with Blaine, Logan, Sherman, and Arthur all strong.



JAMES G. BLAINE

Though reformers opposed Blaine, business leaders and politicians preferred him to any man in the field. He was nominated on the fourth ballot with General John A. Logan as his running mate. The platform made protection its chief plank, though there were strong appeals for the support of farmers, trade-unionists, and veterans. Lodge, Roosevelt, Hamilton Fish, and Andrew White of Cornell were among the younger group who opposed Blaine's nomination, but once he was selected they, as good

party men, worked for his election. Schurz, Beecher, the president of Harvard, and a number of Republican editors refused to follow Blaine and turned to the Democratic standard-bearer. It was this group of courageous independents who were derided as "Mugwumps" by regular Republicans.

When the Democratic convention met in Chicago, Grover Cleveland was easily the favorite and was nominated on the second ballot. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, who had little of the reformer about him, was unanimously named for the vice presidency. Cleveland was not popular with Tammany or

the city bosses, but he was recognized as an honest reformer, an outstanding lawyer, a capable mayor of Buffalo, and one of New York's fairest governors. It was believed that he could carry his state and hence his party to victory. The whole platform breathed reform, much as some powerful Eastern Democrats were opposed to tariff reduction.

The Prohibitionists wrote a strong platform which opposed liquor, secret societies, monopolies, and polygamy; while it urged woman suffrage, fair treatment of the Indians and the Chinese, arbitration of industrial disputes, a lower tariff, and the direct election of the president. General "Ben" Butler was nominated by the Antimonopoly and Greenback parties, both of which advocated interesting reforms then held radical. Minor parties perform a service in advocating an unpopular program and conducting a campaign of education, for finally if they win a large enough support, their issues are taken over by a major party and in this way may reach the statute books in a modified and safe form. The great parties are slow in touching a doubtful issue, for their desire is to attract votes. Hence their planks are frequently ambiguous on the vital questions of the day. Minority parties can be frankly honest, for they have no expectation of victory. They have nothing to lose and everything to gain. They can only hope that their issues will be appropriated by a powerful party and that their followers will be absorbed in its ranks to continue the fight for their principles. They conduct crusades, and their members are apt to be idealists or cranks or fanatics. It is well that they cannot rush through their policies as first expressed, for frequently they are radical, dangerous, intolerant, and unworkable, no matter how well-meant. But rare is the third, or minority, party that has not done some good and ultimately seen some of its principles written into law.

The Campaign of 1884. The Blaine-Cleveland campaign was exciting. Big business was behind Blaine and the high tariff. His associations with capitalists like Gould, Carnegie, Philip Armour, Russell Sage, and Rogers of the Standard Oil Company were somewhat too close to please the rank and file; for while Americans glorify the man of great fortune, they have a secret

dread of wealth. Of this parties are aware and never name a business magnate for the presidency. Never has America produced a more magnetic, democratic, and lovable leader than James G. Blaine, "the plumed knight" from Maine. Men were inclined to forget his low tone of political morality in an appreciation of his wonderful family life. As a speaker he had few equals. The Republican organization, outside the reformers, college teachers, and "Mugwumps," was behind Blaine, to a man.

In the last days of the hotly contested campaign Burchard, a ministerial politician, presented an address from a Blaine delegation at a New York rally, in which he spoke of the Democratic party as one of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion." Blaine, worn and sleepless, overlooked the insulting alliteration. Democratic papers did not; it was flashed through the country. The suggestion that Blaine approved the remark could not be counteracted. Nor would Conkling and his friends do anything in New York for Blaine. To this incident Blaine later ascribed his defeat. The popular vote was close: Cleveland, 4,874,986, with 219 electoral votes, and Blaine, 4,851,981, with 182 electoral votes. Cleveland carried New York by 1149 votes, and this, with the solid South and three Northern states, gave him the presidency. There is a lesson in this close election: the importance of voting by everyone properly qualified, as a civic duty.

Cleveland as President. Cleveland's cabinet contained no experienced men, but it was chosen without reference to Democratic bosses. Bayard of Delaware proved an able Secretary of State. W. C. Whitney, who later built up a tremendous fortune in New York public utilities, was Secretary of the Navy. Two Southerners were given places, to the disgust of unreconstructed Northerners. Soon Cleveland broke with the Democratic leaders by refusing their demands for patronage and on account of his fight for a lower tariff. Senators Hill of New York and Gorman of Maryland and Randall in the House led a strong and successful opposition to his most cherished policies. Yet his rugged honesty and independence retained the respect of the rank of the Democratic party and of all liberals. Cleveland came to be loved for the enemies he had made.

Low Tariffs

BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICS

principles
565

Cleveland's Fight for Tariff Reform. As the platform had promised a low tariff, Cleveland was insistent that the pledge be fulfilled. To Cleveland planks were principles, not mere vote-catching devices. A tariff bill was defeated in Congress (1885) by protectionist Democrats. Cleveland's messages of the next two years emphasized tariff reduction almost to the exclusion of all other subjects. Finally, a bill which would reduce the average rate from 47 to 40 per cent was driven through the House, but the Senate substituted a measure which could not be passed. Nothing was accomplished. Cleveland was not a free-trader, but he believed that a tariff for revenue would offer sufficient protection to American business, for even this would call for fairly high rates, so great was the increased annual cost of government in this era of extravagance.

New Indian Policy. Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* (a survey of our unhappy Indian policy) aroused sympathy for the Indian. The reservation system had been rather heartless and unsatisfactory. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Act which enabled the President to terminate the tribal stage of Indians who were willing to live the life of civilized man. The tribal lands would then be allotted to the Indians at the rate of 160 acres for every head of a household with the proviso that the land could not be sold or mortgaged for twenty-five years. This would protect the Indian from sharp land agents. The surplus tribal lands could then be sold and the fund thus created used for the general welfare of the red men. Indians on homesteads were guaranteed the full rights of white men. Over half the Indian and half-breed population have given up the tribal, or blanket, stage. Some of the Indians, especially in Oklahoma, have become very wealthy through the discovery of oil or minerals on their homesteads. The pure Indian is rapidly disappearing through intermarriage with whites, and the Indian question is no longer a critical one.

The Catholic Church established an Indian Bureau to foster Indian schools and missions and to aid the Indian wards in various ways. All Federal aid was taken away from Catholic mission schools about 1896 as a result of an anti-Catholic movement.

Under Roosevelt it was agreed that Catholic Indians could draw their share from the tribal funds to aid in educating their children as they saw fit. The controversy in Congress brought many encomiums for the highly successful work of the missions. However, the schools have not gone into decay but have been supported by the contribution of the faithful and funds supplied by Mother Drexel of Philadelphia, who has also given freely to negro missions and schools. Incidentally the files of the Catholic Indian Bureau contain materials of untold value for the future historian of the Indians.

Railroad Abuses. An ever-growing hostility to railroads marked the eighties and nineties. Rates were relatively high, for no longer was there any river competition. It was not the high rate so much as unfair charges which brought criticism. Rates between points joined by two or more competing roads were low, but freight rates between two points where there was no competing line were high. The rule was to charge all the traffic would bear. Rates were not published. Secret, preferential rates were given to favored industries, to "pet towns" where the road owned industrial sites, to large shippers, and to trust corporations. In addition, favored shippers received better care, a longer time to unload cars, cheaper switching, and freight cars when needed. Rebates were given to large concerns on freight and storage charges. Thus large plants were benefited at the expense of small competitors. Rates were not based on the value of the load or on the mileage. A long haul might actually be cheaper than a short one. Railroads maintained lobbies in the state legislatures, where they were said to "own" members. They contributed to campaign funds. Certain senators were known as "railroad senators." Passes were widely distributed to gain friends. Hence passenger rates were higher for the average paying traveler.

Stock scandals were frequent. Certain roads were actually wrecked and mismanaged to bring down the price of stock in order that the minority owners might be bought or forced out. Railroads were frequently placed in the hands of receivers and then reorganized, with enlarged issues of stock which were sold

to the public with no increase in the actual valuation of the roads and their equipment. The reorganizing groups invariably made large fortunes. Railroads were accused of obtaining Federal land grants without living up to their contracts. During the nineties the Federal government forced the restoration of hundreds of millions of acres. The land departments of Western railroads were frequently charged with unfair practices and collusion with crooked land speculators. Public opposition ended further land grants to railroads.

Railroads were buying rival shipping lines to destroy competition. The railroads virtually owned the anthracite and soft coal fields, thus profiting by both mining and transporting coal. They were associated with every big business activity along their lines, for the railroad directors occupied places on innumerable directorates of city railways, banks, industries, elevators, mills, and mining and lumbering companies. By interlocking directorates business was tightly bound together.

In the West the anti-railroad feeling was most bitter. The farmer facing depression was an aggrieved man when he burned his corn instead of coal. The freight rates on his products were so prohibitive that shipment frequently did not pay. He must take his grain to the nearest elevator and accept its price. And the elevator was a branch of some huge grain-buying concern or controlled by a railroad. Farmers' elevators could not get as favorable freight rates or the cars required, nor could they borrow money as easily at the banks. Hence they seldom succeeded. Local flour mills found that they could not compete with the favored Minneapolis mills. Farmers had to sell their stock in much the same way. Even the large ranchers regarded themselves as victimized by the railroads and packers. It was little wonder that in their bitterness the Greenbackers, Grangers, and later Populists forgot the early service which railroads had rendered in developing the frontier.

The railroads should not shoulder all the blame, however. It was convenient to charge them with the unfortunate plight of the West for which they were at worst only one of the responsible factors. They were often helpless in an age of competition and

forced to give rebates to the great corporations or see a rival get the business. Railroads were supposed to be making more money than they actually were, nor was their stock as largely watered as their opponents believed. They were spending large amounts of money in building steel cars, fifty-ton freight cars, steel and stone bridges, in eliminating dangerous grades and curves, in equipping trains with safety appliances, automatic couplers and air brakes, and in installing signals. True, accidents were numerous; thousands of people were killed annually; strikes of a riotous character were frequent; and the roads were slow to obey legislation ordering safety devices.

The Grangers. The Grangers, or Patrons of Husbandry, were local societies of farmers and their wives for social purposes and mutual benefit. While nationally organized with a membership of over two million, the Grangers were never an important factor save in the Middle West. Soon they entered politics as the only means of improving the lot of the farmer, of gaining redress from elevators and grain-buyers, and in forcing the railroads to grant impartial rates and better service. On monetary views the Grangers agreed with the Greenbackers. They expressed the political discontent of the West, and were soon in control of the legislatures of Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and a power to be reckoned with in other Western and Southern states.

Granger Legislation. In a number of states laws were passed establishing railway, warehouse, and grain commissions. Laws were enacted giving railroad commissioners authority to determine maximum freight and passenger rates and prevent unfair practices. Much of the legislation was unreasonable, passed in a spirit of revenge and with no thought of the service which railroads had rendered. The railroads retaliated by reducing their unprofitable passenger service on short lines, by holding back necessary farm machinery, and by refusing the grain shipments of prominent Grangers. They maintained lobbies and "bought" members of the legislatures to protect their interests. The Federal courts decided that rates could not be made so low as to be confiscatory. Finally in 1886, the Supreme Court (Wabash case)

reserved to the Federal courts all cases concerning interstate commerce. At any rate, the court agreed that the regulation of railways as public-service corporations was legal if in the hands of a properly constituted body. Most of the Granger laws were repealed, but the reform movement led to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act. The Grangers were so strong and hostility to the railroads was so bitter and well founded that Congress could not fail to take action.

The Interstate Commerce Commission. The courts had pointed the way. The following year Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act providing a general regulation of railroads as carriers of interstate commerce. A commission was provided which could not make rates, but was authorized to prevent rebates, polling, and division of revenues by competing lines, discriminations, and the promiscuous giving of passes. As an investigating body the commission did excellent work, but it was powerless to enforce its decisions. Opponents of railroads and trusts blamed the courts for the commission's lack of authority and continued the agitation for more stringent anti-trust legislation.

Nominations of 1888. The Republicans, passing over Blaine (at his own request), Sherman, Senator Alger of Michigan, and Chauncey Depew of the New York Central Railroad, named the slightly known Governor Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for president on the eighth ballot, with the wealthy Levi Morton of New York for second place. It was hoped that as the grandson of "Old Tippecanoe," Harrison would be a popular choice. It proved otherwise, for Americans resented the hereditary idea. The Democratic convention named Cleveland on a tariff-reform ticket. Senator Allen Thurman was selected for the vice presidency. The Union Labor party entered the field with a program calling for public ownership of railroads, postal savings banks, arbitration of strikes, an income tax, an elective Senate, and woman suffrage.

The Campaign. During the campaign Cleveland was denounced as a free-trader, ready to destroy manufacturers and reduce labor to the European standard of living. Republican

campaign funds were large, for Matthew Quay and John Wanamaker of department-store fame were well acquainted with business leaders and were good solicitors. No longer could levies be made on officeholders, but big business offered a richer field. Business houses were asked to contribute unless they wanted to face hard years under a free-trade administration. The amassed gold was spent in doubtful states for speakers, newspaper advertising, and even in buying votes. As few states had the secret ballot, purchased votes could be watched until actually delivered to the ballot boxes. The Republican National Committee did not hesitate to advise Indiana workers: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with the necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away, and that all vote our ticket." This would seem to indicate that corruption was prevalent and barefaced.

Democrats feared that the Irish vote (a large factor in the party) was lost when the British minister was tricked into writing a private letter which reached the press, urging Cleveland as the more desirable candidate from an English point of view. Cleveland lost no time in sending the minister back to England. The results were interestingly close. Cleveland with 168 electoral votes to 233 for Harrison actually had a larger popular vote than his opponent: 5,540,329 to 5,439,853. Cleveland lost New York by 13,000 votes and hence the election, although Governor Hill, a Democrat, carried the state.

Harrison's Administration. Harrison was quite overshadowed by Secretary of State Blaine, who was the real power in the Republican party. Wanamaker of Philadelphia as Postmaster General was an unpopular appointment, for it was generally regarded as a payment for heavy contributions. As yet the nation was not accustomed to see large campaign contributors rewarded with places in the cabinet or in the foreign service. Wanamaker was also held responsible for the breaking down of the civil-service rules. Secretary of the Treasury Windom of Minnesota apparently converted Harrison to free-silver views. The presidency was almost overshadowed by the House, which during the first two years was managed by Thomas B. Reed. "Czar Reed,"

by the drastic control which he exercised over debates and the appointment of important committees of the House, made the Speakership a position hardly second in power to the presidency itself. During his last two years Harrison faced a hostile Democratic and Populist Congress, and could accomplish nothing. It was a time of sharp partisanship, and Harrison was not a capable politician. He was unable to attract friends or hold his party intact. He had none of the Celtic magnetism of Blaine, with whom he was soon at odds. He was an honest man, but neither a leader nor a statesman.

An Age of Combinations. The earlier success of the mergers of small corporations into large combinations with a monopolistic control over their manufactured product led to innumerable consolidations. A few all-powerful men were commencing to control various industries. The Swifts, Armours, and Cudahys were dominating the packing trade. The Rockefellers, Rogerses, Flaglers, and Harknesses were controlling the oil industry, with scores of lesser millionaires managing their subsidiary companies. The Carnegies, Schwabs, Fricks, Garys, and Olivers were commanding the iron industry. The Vanderbilts, Huntingtons, Goulds, Hills, and Harrimans were operating the half-dozen railroad systems, with hundreds of high-priced executives in immediate command. The Morgans, Bakers, Rockefellers, Drexels, Belmonts, Speyers, and Stillmans were becoming the recognized financial powers, with scores of followers, who presided over affiliated institutions, trust companies, banks, and insurance companies. The Ryans, Calhouns, Yerkeses, Wideners, and Whitneys were soon controlling the street railways and the municipal-service concerns of a nation. The copper and brass industry was in the hands of a few men. The innumerable agricultural-implement manufacturers dwindled into a half-dozen and soon were merged in the International Harvester Company. The sugar-refiners were combined into the American Sugar Refining Company; the tobacco business was cornered by the American Tobacco Company; the shoe business was largely controlled by the United Shoe Machinery Company; the tinware trade by the American Tin Plate Company; shipbuilding by the United States Ship

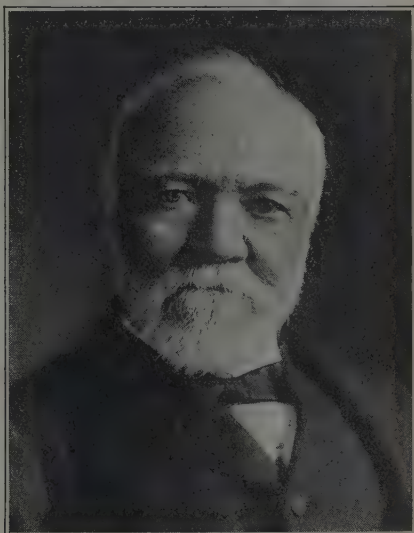
Building Company; shipping by the International Marine Company; the life-insurance business was being consolidated in the hands of a few large concerns, as were fire and marine insurance; and so on.

In 1890 there were twenty trusts, or holding companies. They controlled the merged corporations—former competitors—which were doing the same business. Newly formed trusts were sufficiently large to dominate a particular industry, destroy competitive concerns, and make their own prices. By cutting the cost of production, using the by-products, and obtaining favorable railroad rates, the monopoly-trust increased the dividends of stockholders, made large profits, and often cut the price of the product to the consumer. It could enter and develop the export trade. It made numerous millionaires. It apparently paid but a small and just return on its capitalization, but its paper capital was largely water. For instance, the stock would be increased and sold or turned over share for share to the old stockholders without increasing the actual monetary capital invested in the business. Then dividends would be declared on the total outstanding stock. In 1900 the number of trusts had increased to 150, and these trust-monopolies controlled about every manufactured line of goods and the bulk of the necessities of life.

The Largest Trusts as Examples. The members of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, of New York, of New Jersey, and of Pennsylvania turned over their stock and general management to a holding company of nine men headed by Rockefeller. This group formed the Standard Oil trust. Its existence was long kept secret. The trust managed the properties, determined prices, and paid the stockholders their dividends through the four known companies. With the forced dissolution (1888) of the Ohio Company by the state, the trustees operated under a New Jersey charter with a capitalization of \$110,000,000.

In 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was established with a legal capitalization of \$1,400,000,000, though the combined plants, wire factories, pipe factories, rolling mills, and iron-mining companies were worth only about half that amount. The Carnegie Company was purchased for \$500,000,000 in cash and

stock, though its actual value was less than half that sum. Even American business was astounded at the size of this organization and its tremendous development and profits. Nearly a hundred iron-and-steel millionaires had been created, most of whom started as boy laborers around the plants. Some of the so-called Pittsburgh millionaires attracted unfavorable attention as "new-rich" of an undesirable sort, but the greatest of them, Andrew Carnegie, the immigrant Scot, won national praise by the manner in which he spent his huge fortune — endowing libraries, scholars, and retired professors, and advancing science in numerous ways. His motive was to do good and not die scandalously wealthy. He set an example, and in the past score of years multi-millionaires of vision have given fortunes to libraries and art galleries, colleges, and research institutes, to the advancement of science, to hospitals, and for medical research. Such exponents of great wealth have done much to tone down popular opposition to trusts and the creation of enormous fortunes.



ANDREW CARNEGIE

"Big Business" in Politics. Hostility to large corporations grew general and bitter. American business was no longer on a competitive basis. A man of small capital could hardly start in business and succeed unless it was a new type of industry. Every line of activity was controlled by large concerns which had absorbed competitors and all the business in their line. Only as members of some corporation could able and ambitious men rise to the heights. Opportunity was no less than in former years

but along different avenues. And the avenues were more numerous. America of the pre-Civil War days had only a few millionaires; by 1900 there were at least ten thousand. Most of them were self-made men; many of them were sons or grandsons of immigrants, and a few were immigrants themselves. Their number was increasing. Salaries were startlingly high for capable executives and managers. Fees of corporation lawyers were enormous. The best brains of America were going into business or into the lucrative professions, rather than into the old honorable callings of the ministry, the professor's chair, and politics. The new way to rise high in public service was through business success and campaign contributions. Hatred of wealth grew, not only in radical circles but in labor groups and at the common man's fireside.

As wealth increased, so did poverty. The desperate contrast between Fifth Avenue and Second Avenue could not be overlooked in New York. And New York was but typical of large cities with wealthy suburbs and with slums in the lower and older wards. Politically the nation had become more democratic; but socially there was less democracy. Class distinctions and class contrasts had grown, and hence class consciousness. Socialistic thought was gaining followers. Labor became more suspicious of capital. The West saw an enemy in the banker of the East. The average man placed the blame for the rising cost of living and for his own failure to get ahead on the corporation and the system which created swollen wealth for the few favorites of fortune.

Big business was rightly accused of being in politics. It wanted a high tariff, or if Democrats were in power, it wanted no "tinkering" with the tariff. It had friends in both parties. It contributed to both campaign chests. In Democratic states business donated lavishly to local campaigns. Business leaders were in close association with bosses. The United States Senate was popularly described as a "millionaires' club," as so many representatives of big business had been elected by state legislatures. Charges were frequently made that seats were purchased, and in some instances this assumption was not without

foundation. Business was said to be intrenching itself in the Senate, much as the slave power had done before the war, as a means of gaining legislative favors or of preventing investigations. Radicals cried out for nominations by primary elections and the direct election of senators; and the nation rather generally agreed that trusts should be curbed and railroads regulated.

Sherman Anti-Trust Law (1890). The Anti-monopolists and Grangers demanded further legislation to restrict the growth of huge combinations. The Interstate Commerce Commission had accomplished little save in the way of investigating abuses and educating public opinion. Railroads secretly gave rebates and favored service, showered passes on politicians, and maintained well-financed lobbyists in Washington and the state capitals. Stock-jobbing and watered stock were characteristic of most corporations. Banking combinations were controlling business and railroads. There was relentless warfare against small competitors. Competition in every line was being crushed. Executives refused to show the books of their corporation or testify, on the plea that they might incriminate themselves. Corporations were able to delay action and wear out their opponents by expensive appeals to higher courts. They were using the Fourteenth Amendment as a weapon against state regulation. Corporations were able to retain the best lawyers, while the public was served by lawyer-politicians who, if able, were soon taken over by some large concern. The trusts were politically powerful. They were represented by friends or their own executives in cabinet, Congress, and legislature. Certain railroads were said to control the legislatures of the states through which their lines ran.

To satisfy the anti-trust groups, Congress passed a law without teeth, making illegal all contracts to create monopolies in restraint of trade, with a penalty of a year's imprisonment and a \$5000 fine. The law was passed by a majority friendly to trusts merely to satisfy public opinion and mollify popular opposition. It was not enforced. It did not hinder the further growth of trusts nor the building of greater combinations. But the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was a step in the right direction.

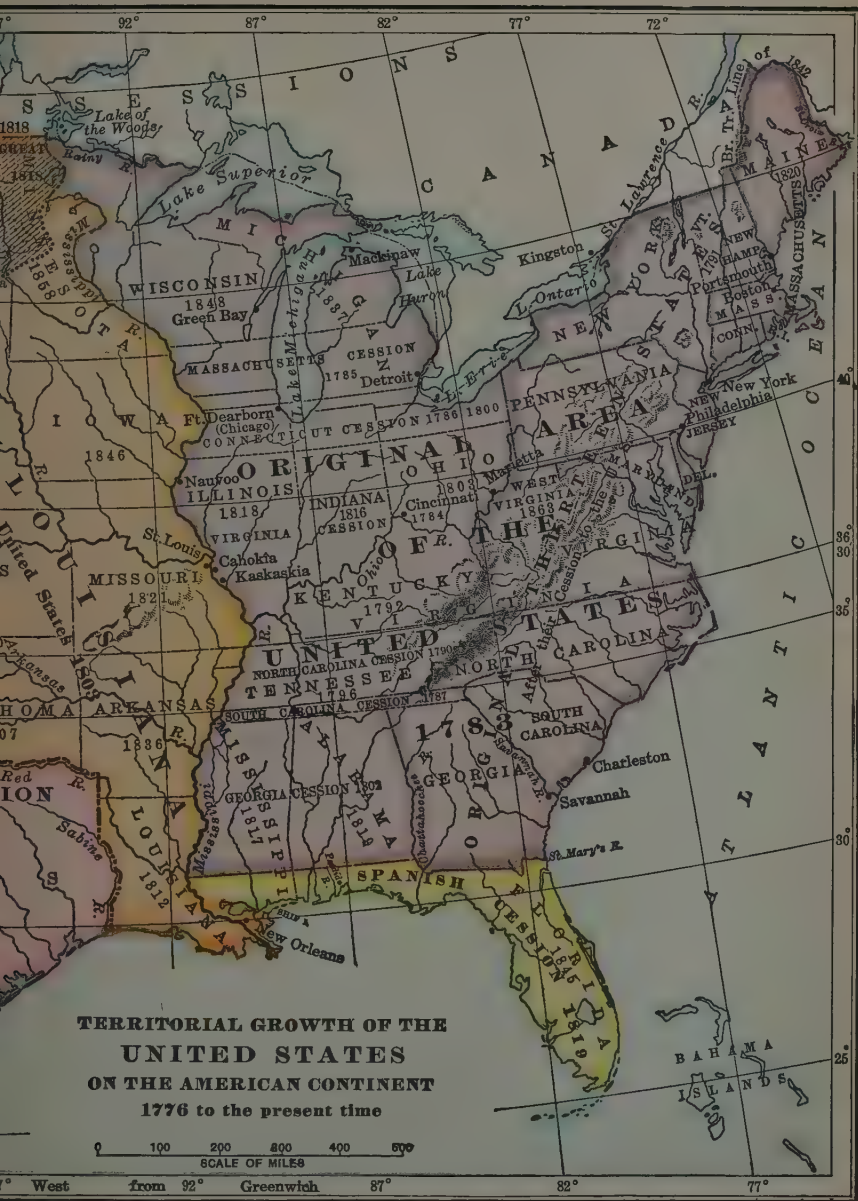
enforced enforced

Within a few years it did enable the Federal government to regulate trusts with a fair degree of effectiveness.

Silver-Purchase Act (1890). During the Harrison administration there was another compromise with the free-silver men. The West had never been satisfied with the Bland-Allison Act, but had continually sought free and unlimited coinage of silver. A free-silver bill failed by a narrow vote in 1885. Six new states increased the strength of the silverites in Congress. In 1890 the Sherman Silver-Purchase Act was passed, providing for the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, to be coined into money or put into circulation by the issuance of an equivalent amount of silver certificates. About \$50,000,000 was thus annually added to the currency until the repeal of the act in 1894. The measure was strictly a compromise to satisfy the West and obtain the votes of Western congressmen for the McKinley high-tariff act, which was demanded by Eastern representatives.

The McKinley Bill.) Harrison, as a stout protectionist elected on a high-tariff platform, was anxious to enact a tariff bill which would satisfy business. This was forthcoming in the McKinley Act (named after the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee), which provided a tariff of about 50 per cent. There was a small increase on agricultural products, but a heavy advance on refined sugar, woolens, cotton goods, clothes, and shoes. Iron products were only indirectly protected, for the steel trade was well established. As pig iron and steel were priced in Pittsburgh, they were sufficiently protected by the high railroad rates on imported steel from the coast to the Pittsburgh center. By a clever arrangement, duties on most articles were higher than they actually seemed. To satisfy Blaine, who was endeavoring to improve our relations with South America, there was a reciprocity clause. Hides, molasses, tea, coffee, and sugar could be admitted without duty if the nations from which these articles were purchased made favorable regulations for the reception of American goods. In this way a number of the Latin-American nations were forced to grant concessions, and France and Germany were inclined to look more favorably on American imports.





Blaine and South America. Blaine was winning the friendship of South America by his reciprocity agreements and his work in fostering the Pan-American Conference of 1889. American trade with South America was rapidly increasing at the expense of English commerce. An untoward event, however, occurred in Chile. Our minister, Patrick Egan, took sides in a revolution



© Harris & Ewing

PAN-AMERICAN UNION BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

all American

which tore Chile into rival factions. Quite naturally, he picked the side which the English minister opposed. Through kindness of heart but contrary to good diplomatic usages, he aided refugees to escape the country, thus saving their lives. The new rebel government was hostile to the United States, and throughout South America our meddling in the international affairs of Chile was condemned. In 1892 American sailors were attacked in Valparaiso by a mob, and several were killed or injured. Through Egan, Blaine took a strong hand, forcing Chile to pay a heavy indemnity. This did not increase Latin-American

love for the United States, but it made clear that the lives and property of our citizens would be protected.

Bering-Sea Arbitration. A minor difference with Great Britain was amicably settled. The United States held, as Russia had previously, that Bering Sea between Alaska and Siberia was a closed sea, and that its seal fisheries were subject to American control. Intruders were captured, and Congress passed laws protecting seals. England protested that outside the three-mile limit all nations had equal rights. In the end the dispute was referred to an arbitration board sitting in Paris, which upheld the British view. America was assessed damages for seizures (1892), though it was hard for some Americans to believe that their country could possibly be in the wrong.

The High Tariff and National Extravagance. High tariff rates brought an excessive revenue, — far more than the ordinary expenses of government required. Yet Republicans and big business insisted on high rates. A large surplus accumulated in the treasury. Holders of gilt-edged war bonds were not anxious to see them retired. If the surplus continued to grow larger and thus withdraw more and more money from active circulation, the value of money was likely to rise in terms of commodities and cause an upheaval in prices and wages. To avoid this, Congress appropriated money lavishly. The surplus must be spent, even if it was wasted! Government expenses increased accordingly. Critics of Congress's billion-dollar expenditure were answered in a grand way by Speaker Reed: "This is a billion-dollar country."

Heavy appropriations were made for pensions, Federal buildings, and river and harbor improvements. Congressmen traded votes (log-rolling), helping each other pass appropriations for their districts. In this way they would satisfy their constituents and assure their own reelections. Such appropriations were characterized as "pork barrel" legislation. Larger appropriations were made for our navy, which was rapidly brought from twelfth to fifth place among the world's navies. The treasury was raided by pension-seekers. Prosperity and accumulated wealth bred extravagance in nation, state, and city, and lavish expenditures increased political corruption.

Civil-War Pensions. After the war both parties appealed to the soldier vote by favoring a liberal pension policy for old soldiers who were disabled or dependent upon others for support. Soon the Grand Army of the Republic (G. A. R.), a national organization of veterans with annual encampments and local "camps" throughout the country, sought to obtain through political action a pension for every veteran (or his dependents) regardless of disability or length of service. A standing pension committee of the G. A. R. aided veterans in obtaining Congressional action on their claims. Finally, a Federal Pension Bureau was created to handle the soldiers' records and ever-increasing claims. The standard general pension of eight dollars per month was soon increased to twelve (at present the average is about \$50). Corporal Tanner of the Grand Army became head of the Pension Bureau. The raid on the treasury was conducted in earnest until Harrison was compelled to remove the over-zealous friend of the soldier. Undeserving applicants, often deserters and men with no service record, were provided for by private pension bills introduced and pushed through Congress by friendly members. Such private bills were often in blocks of several hundred. They were rarely questioned, but were passed by Congress at the end of a session as favors to interested members.

Cleveland attempted to end the raid by vetoing hundreds of private-pension bills as well as some general pension legislation, but without much avail. In 1875 pensions amounted to \$29,000,000 a year, in 1893 about \$159,000,000, and by 1912 around \$180,000,000. In all about \$2,000,000,000 have been paid in pensions to veterans of the Northern armies or their widows and dependents.

Failure of the Force Bill and the New South. In 1890 a Republican attempt to compel the South through the Force Bill to give negro suffrage was defeated in the Senate by a determined filibuster of Southern and Democratic senators. Business wanted no interference in the South, for there had developed a New South in which Northern capital was heavily invested.

The Yorktown centennial celebration, the Atlanta cotton exposition (1881), and the New Orleans Cotton Centennial

Exposition (1884) attracted attention to the growing prosperity of the South. The New South had settled down to business; it had recovered from the depression and despondency of the desperate years of reconstruction. Its planters accommodated themselves to hired negro labor. Negroes worked better than under slavery. They were kept in place by severe vagrancy codes, and bad negroes were intimidated by dreadful mob action. Large estates were broken up and assigned in small holdings to colored tenants on a share basis. Negroes were following trades, and in every way the freedman was developing more rapidly than could be expected. The poor white also made some advance. The coming of factories gave him an economic opportunity, as did more diversified agriculture. With the Populist uprising against the Southern planter-Democratic machine, the poor white was given a political voice. New men of the people and Northern immigrants, not always high-minded or tolerant, found their way to Congress and into state and local positions. The old pre-war aristocracy lost its control over the political and social life of the South. The Old South was giving way to the New South.

The Economic Rise of the South. Cotton production increased. Protection and Northern management developed the rice fields and the Louisiana sugar plantations to their full productivity. Diversified agriculture supplemented tobacco-growing in the upper South and the border states. Stock-raising on a mammoth scale was carried on in Texas. The manufacture of cottonseed oil was a new industry. Refrigerator cars, promoting shipments to distant markets, made fruit-raising profitable. Florida soon became the winter playground of Northern families of wealth. Northern capital and business men invaded the South. A network of railroads was built. A famous engineer, James B. Eads, improved the lower Mississippi levees, thus saving large areas from annual floods with their terrible destruction of lives and property. His jetties and bridges made for improved navigation of the lower Mississippi River.

Trade-unionism was weak in the South. There were few laws restricting the hours of labor even for women and children. Hence, as cotton and woolen goods could be manufactured in the

South cheaper than in New England, branch factories were established. Today the mills of New England show a tendency toward decline, so sharp has been this Southern competition. "Poor whites" afforded good, cheap labor. Cotton was handy and railroad facilities were improved. Charleston and New Orleans offered export advantages as good as those of any Northern port. The Carolinas and Georgia became manufacturing centers. The



THE OCCUPATION OF OKLAHOMA: LAYING OUT A TOWN SITE
NEAR GUTHRIE

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

capital invested increased from \$192,000,000 in 1880 to about \$1,000,000,000 dollars in 1900, with a corresponding increase in the past twenty years. By 1900 the South was using 40 per cent of its own cotton and producing a fifth of our cotton goods.

In North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama rich iron mines were developed. Available coal, limestone, and cheap labor made the production of pig iron and steel cheaper in Birmingham than in Pittsburgh and Cleveland. Birmingham, the "Pittsburgh of the South," became a large city with furnaces, steel plants, and rolling mills. In 1880 only 400,000 tons of pig iron were produced, in 1900 nearly 25,000,000 tons, and the business had hardly

commenced. Zinc, lead, and manganese deposits were developed. Southern pine soon monopolized the Eastern market. Of late years Oklahoma and Texas oil wells have brought untold wealth.

The Northern school system has been adopted. Illiteracy among the poor whites is still high but may ultimately disappear. Some school facilities are given the negroes. State universities are small but growing; and endowed schools like Washington and Lee in Virginia, Tulane and Loyola in New Orleans, Vanderbilt in Tennessee, Rice Institute in Texas, and Duke University in North Carolina are giving the South a new position in educational leadership. Negro-training has been advanced by Howard University in Washington and by the Hampton and Tuskegee institutes, which are doing a splendid work. The South is indeed coming into its own.

The Rise of the Populists. The People's party, or Populists, succeeded the Greenbackers and Grangers, and like them drew its supporters from the Middle West and Southwest. In the elections of 1890 the Populists surprised the country by capturing a number of state legislatures, electing local officials, and sending two senators and nine representatives to Congress. The reforms which the party advocated were then considered dangerously radical by conservative men: a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, direct election of senators, an eight-hour day, government guaranty of bank deposits, secret elections, government ownership of railroads and public utilities, no Pinkerton detectives for strike service, and a decrease in the standing army. An appeal was made to pauperized farmers, to labor, and to Socialists in an effort to bring all the discontented groups into a national party which would advocate all reforms, including the free coinage of silver and means of checking monopolies. But no third party has been able to bring Eastern labor and Western farmers into a close union, for their interests at first sight appear to conflict.

In 1892 General Weaver, the former Greenbacker, was nominated, and received 22 electoral votes and over 1,000,000 popular votes. About 40 Populists were sent to Congress. Reform was forced on the Democratic party if it would gain the West and retain the South.

Election of 1892. Harrison was renominated by the Republicans at their Minneapolis convention, though Blaine and McKinley displayed considerable strength among the delegates. Harrison, through his patronage, controlled the convention, which was composed of numerous Federal officeholders and politicians who preferred the man they knew to some new man. Among liberals and reformers Harrison was unpopular. He was regarded as controlled by capitalistic senators. His failure to live up to civil-service regulations, his appointment of relatives to high places, his break with Blaine, and the use of money in his campaigns — all made enemies of one kind or another. He had been a lonely figure in Washington. Cartoonists pictured him as the little grandson of the great Harrison. Nor did Whitelaw Reid, millionaire publisher of the *New York Tribune*, candidate for vice president, popularize the ticket with the masses. Cleveland again stood for Democracy. The Democratic bosses had been won. Better victory and offices with Cleveland than defeat with a man of their choice, like Governor Hill. Cleveland was the hero of reformers, independents, intellectuals, free-traders, college men, and a surprising number of business leaders. He would draw a heavy vote which was normally Republican. To satisfy the silverites of the West, A. E. Stevenson was named for second place. He was a man more to the liking of "good" Democrats. Cleveland, in his candid way, actually condemned free silver as a fallacious doctrine, regardless of the views of a majority of his party.

The election results were according to the general forecast. Cleveland won with a plurality of about 380,000 and with 277 electoral votes to Harrison's 145. His popular vote would have been much heavier if the Populists had not swept the West. The new Socialist-Labor group polled only about 22,000 votes in nearly 12,000,000. Socialism has an uphill fight in America, opposed, as it has been, by business, organized labor, and the churches, especially the Catholic Church.

✓ **Annexation of Hawaii.** Cleveland's first problem concerned the Hawaiian Islands. American Presbyterian ministers entered Hawaii about 1820 and conducted successful missionary stations. Soon more Americans arrived and invested heavily in

sugar plantations. Encouraged by white settlers, the semi-civilized natives rose in revolt against a despotic queen, who forced the sale of opium for her personal profit. American marines landed and the American flag was raised. Hawaiian independence was recognized by the United States, Germany, France, and England. Americans on the islands, much as in earlier Texas, headed the movement for annexation. President Harrison received commissioners from the islands; a treaty was negotiated, but its passage was delayed in the Senate.

Cleveland, who was no expansionist, sent a commissioner to investigate the whole affair, and on learning that our minister and marines had been too active in furthering the revolution, he refused to permit annexation. In 1897, under McKinley, another attempt failed through the lack of a two-thirds vote in the Senate. The following year, however, Hawaii was annexed by a joint vote of both Houses, following the Texas precedent. It was provided that Chinese on the islands could not enter the United States and that Hawaii was outside our tariff system. In 1900 Hawaii was given a territorial form of government, with a governor and judges appointed by the president and an elective legislature capable of making local laws. Residents of the islands who are able to read English or their native tongue are given the ~~suffrage~~ ^{suffrage}. The islands serve as a stepping-stone to the Far East and give America a more solid footing in the Orient.

Columbian Exposition. The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated in Chicago (1893) at Jackson Park on beautiful Lake Michigan. Never has a greater fair been held. The place glittered with steel and white imitation-marble buildings, brilliantly lighted by electricity. Almost 25,000,000 persons visited the industrial and art exhibits, which made evident American progress with its contrast of early types of machinery, tools, and locomotives with those of most modern invention. All America was thrilled, for our progress since the fair in Philadelphia was obviously greater than that of Great Britain or Germany. The growth of America was typified by the great city of Chicago, where fifty years before there were only unclaimed swamps and a few straggling shanties.

Panic of 1893. Before Harrison retired, the nation faced a panic which endured until Cleveland's successor was elected. European financial centers were disordered; hence they sold American securities to such an extent that there was a collapse in the American stock market. European investments in America ceased. The gold reserve was dropping; gold was at a small premium in terms of paper money, for it was going into hiding or being shipped abroad in payment for imports. The Sherman Silver-Purchase Act had upset the financial stability of the nation. Government income was declining as imports decreased under the high McKinley schedule. Silver had dropped to 61 cents an ounce. Wheat was selling at 50 cents a bushel. Many prairie farmers saw their farms sold under the hammer. Over-expansion had again caught the country. Work grew scarcer, and the arrival of immigrants in droves reduced wages.

The National Cordage Company failed, though it had recently declared a 100 per cent dividend. Even trusts could fail, contrary to ordinary expectation. The Philadelphia and Reading, the Erie, the Northern Pacific, and the Union Pacific railroads were in receivers' hands. A fourth of the railroad mileage was in bankruptcy. Banks, especially in the West and South, closed their doors or suspended payment. Depositors could draw only small sums by giving a long notice. Demand for coal and iron ceased. Wealthy men were reduced to poverty and despair. The army of the unemployed grew. Wages fell to anything which laborers would take, for there was little work. Mills, factories, and shops were closed. Willing workers begged food from door to door as if they were vagrants. General Coxey of Ohio led an army of unemployed to Washington, but it dwindled with the miles of marching and ended in a fiasco when the leader and a few followers were arrested for walking on the Capitol lawns. Only the older generation can interpret the bad years following the spring of 1893. Cleveland took courageous steps to end the depression: he called for the repeal of the Sherman Silver-Purchase Act, the passage of a new tariff, the maintenance of the gold reserve in the Treasury, and suppression of industrial disorders.

Repeal of the Silver-Purchase Law. The President summoned a special session of Congress to repeal the Silver-Purchase Act, which he regarded as a fundamental cause of the financial depression. The House was in agreement, but the Senate filibustered in an attempt to defeat the repeal. The numerically small Western silver states controlled a good minority, which, despite continuous and all-night sessions, drew the debate along for two months. Cleveland used every power of his office to force the bill through by giving social favors to friendly congressmen and holding up appointments of recalcitrant senators. Finally, with the aid of the gold Republicans, Cleveland succeeded, and the Silver-Purchase Act was repealed. The silverites were frantic; Western Democrats looked on Cleveland as a traitor.

Wilson-Gorman Tariff. Cleveland continued his fight for a lower tariff, realizing that his party had come into power because of general dissatisfaction with the McKinley act. The House passed a bill to Cleveland's liking, but the Senate, representing every vested interest, amended it to such an extent that Cleveland refused to sign the bill, which became a law in ten days without his signature. Charges were made that big business, the sugar trust especially, had carried on a lobby against lowering the rates, even to the extent of unduly influencing certain senators. But out of an investigation nothing came. The average rate, however, was reduced to 40 per cent with increased taxes on tobacco and liquor. A tax of 2 per cent was levied on all incomes over \$4000, but this provision was declared unconstitutional by a five-to-four decision of the Supreme Court on the plea that it was a direct tax which was not apportioned among the states according to population. Therewith a movement commenced for a constitutional amendment which would legalize a tax on incomes.

Maintaining the Gold Reserve. Revenues were less than expenses. Imports were greater than exports, and imports were below the usual standard. Gold was scarce. The Treasury faced a deficit of \$7,000,000 a month. The reserve fund had dropped to \$68,000,000. Paper money could not be kept at par if drastic steps were not taken to increase the reserve. Cleveland ordered

\$50,000,000 in bonds sold for gold. Bankers then presented paper at the Wall Street Subtreasury and called for gold. The reserve gained only \$34,000,000 and was rapidly sinking again. Another bond issue of \$50,000,000 was sold, but without avail. The gold reserve dropped to \$41,000,000. Thereupon Cleveland arranged with J. P. Morgan and August Belmont (representing the Rothschilds of Paris) to sell bonds worth \$62,000,000 at 104 (the market price was about 111) for gold, one half of which was to be imported from Europe. Only in this way could the endless chain of bonds for gold and gold for paper be broken. Later \$100,000,000 in bonds were sold for gold to the highest bidder, bringing from \$110 to \$120 on the \$100 bond — so sound was government credit. In these deals Wall Street made money; the Morgan syndicate cleared about \$7,000,000. Yet Cleveland was helpless and could not have done otherwise if he would maintain the gold supply and hold paper money at par. He was attacked as few presidents have been by his own party and every anticapitalist in the land.

The Venezuela Affair. In foreign affairs Cleveland displayed equal courage. A boundary difficulty between Venezuela and British Guiana (obtained from Holland in 1814) became critical when gold was discovered in the disputed region. Venezuela was willing to arbitrate. England took a high-handed attitude with the weak nation and refused to compromise, though both Cleveland and Harrison had offered their friendly services. Cleveland believed that a free interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine would require the United States to protect a small American nation from European aggression. In 1895 Secretary of State Olney dispatched a sharp letter to London, but the British prime minister refused to compromise and proceeded to defy the Monroe Doctrine. Cleveland was not a pacifist. In a message to Congress which startled both nations he pointed out that as England had for years refused to mediate we must accept the issue. He urged the appointment of an American commission, and Congress agreed to determine the boundary line, which would then be enforced. For the moment relations were strained. Americans in Europe hurried home. Lord Salisbury was repudiated

by Parliamentary leaders and the people, who had no relish for a possible war with the United States over a vague boundary in a distant colony which would only profit some mining company. England submitted the question to arbitration by an international commission, which upheld most of the British claims. An agreement for the arbitration of all future disputes between England and the United States unfortunately failed in the Senate.

The American Federation of Labor. Between 1881 and 1886 the American Federation of Labor was established. At first the organization grew slowly, but it gained members rapidly as the Knights declined. By 1910 its membership passed the two-million mark, and when America entered the World War it numbered a few hundred thousand more, representing 110 affiliated national or international unions. The Federation holds an annual convention attended by delegates from local unions throughout the country. Its national officers are elected by the convention, though permanence in office is usual. Samuel Gompers, a conservative but able leader, held the presidency about thirty-five years. The Federation has five main subdivisions: building trades, metal, mining, railway, and union-label trades-workers. Under each are grouped the respective national unions, which have their own national conventions and officers, and reach down into the states and cities where they are organized into locals of that particular trade. The organization follows the American federative system. Through it, all unions in a state are affiliated and all locals in a city. Only workers at the recognized trades are included. A high degree of authority is left with the national unions, and they in turn give wide powers to their locals. On the whole the Federation has steered clear of politics, of radicalism, and of racial or religious intolerance.

In addition to the Federation there are the four powerful railway brotherhoods: locomotive engineers, conductors, firemen, and trainmen, which include most of these railroad workers and are extremely well organized and capably led.

Industrial Disorders. As labor became better organized it sought to improve working conditions by obtaining higher

wages, collective instead of individual bargaining, fairer wage scales, shorter hours, and recognition of the right to unionize. As its efforts were sharply contested by capital, many strikes occurred between 1880 and 1900, until labor and capital came to realize that their mutual prosperity depended on a compromise of their difficulties. There were some 24,000 strikes, involving for longer or shorter periods a grand total of several million men. About half were won in whole or in part by labor. This strife, with enforced unemployment and cessation of industry, was ruinous. Soon business, on the whole, accepted the union and collective bargaining and a restriction of hours. By 1900 the eight-hour day was becoming usual for trades-workers, and the ten-hour "stretch" for unskilled labor. Taking it all in all, there was less violence than might have been anticipated, and when riots did occur they were as much the fault of capital as of labor.

The year 1886 was riotous, with May Day disturbances here and there throughout the country. A sympathetic strike started on the Gould railroads of the Southwest by the expulsion of a union fireman. At St. Louis there was disorder for several weeks between strike-breakers and unionists and between armed guards and strikers. The strike was lost, for public sympathy was alienated by the reigning violence. In Chicago the freight-handlers struck for an eight-hour day. Soon there was a general stoppage of business. Agitators and a radical press encouraged disorder; the authorities were helpless. In a riot at Haymarket Square a number of policemen were killed and injured by a bomb hurled into their midst. Several anarchists were arrested, of whom five were executed and two sentenced to prison for life, only to be pardoned a few years later by Governor Altgeld. America was astounded. It never thought of anarchists in this free republic. Thereafter pains were taken to exclude immigrants who were suspected of dangerous radicalism. The Haymarket affair taught radical European immigrants that the United States was an unfavorable field of action with labor opposed to their objects.

In 1892 the Homestead strike in the Carnegie steel plants near Pittsburgh attracted national notice. The laborers, largely

foreigners, were working under extremely dangerous conditions, for long hours and wretched pay. They lived in company houses and traded in company stores. Work was insecure, depending on the season. The strike was broken in drastic fashion by armed guards and militia, but not without considerable loss of life. Public sympathy was against the company as a protected monopoly. Carnegie, who was abroad, was not in sympathy with the harsh methods of his partner Henry C. Frick who was in charge of works, and always regretted the whole affair. The Homestead strike weaned many voters from the Republican ticket and played its part in preventing Harrison's reelection.

The Pullman Strike. Such was the growth of trade-unionism and labor disturbance when Cleveland took a hand in breaking the Pullman strike. In the spring of 1894 the Pullman Company reduced the wages of employees, 4000 of whom were members of the well-organized American Railway Union. The men struck and were thereupon ejected from company-owned houses and unable to get credit in company stores. In sympathy the railway unions refused to handle trains carrying Pullman cars, and on being ordered to do so caused a general strike on all railroads entering Chicago. Soon traffic was demoralized. There was considerable disorder and looting of trains, which strikers charged to the criminal element attracted to Chicago by the World's Fair and the strike. The railroads introduced strike-breakers and armed guards, thus inviting conflict with strikers, who used every means to prevent the movement of trains. Neither the mayor nor the governor was willing to risk political popularity by calling out special police and militia to quell the lawless element. As some trains carried the United States mail and all trains made a pretext of doing so for the sake of protection, the railroads, through General Miles, who was in command of the Chicago area, demanded protection. Miles rushed to Washington and was told by Cleveland that if it took the whole army to deliver a post card, the card would be delivered.

Federal troops were sent to Chicago. Violence ended, though it was planned, if order could not be maintained, to call 40,000 militia from the South. Governor Altgeld opposed this action on

the part of President Cleveland as unnecessary and contrary to the Constitution. It was an extension of Federal power but one which was approved by the courts and commended by later presidents. According to Rhodes,

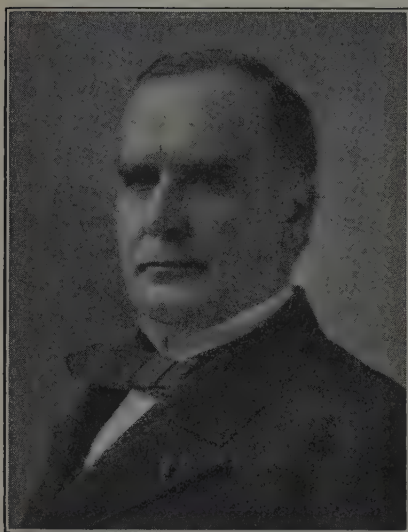
The Catholic Church, true to her conservative record in our country, was correctly represented by Archbishop Ireland when he said: "I approve President Cleveland's course in the strike. His prompt action brought state and city officials, citizens and strikers to their senses."

The use of troops was supplemented by "blanket" injunctions issued by the Federal courts against strike-leaders and posted on cars and railroad buildings. Thereafter men responsible for interference with the free transportation of the mail were guilty of contempt of court and sent to jail without trial. Among the leaders so sentenced was the late Eugene Debs, a socialist but a courageous and unselfish idealist. His radicalism was his only fault. The drastic action of the courts was condemned by liberal-minded men and trade-unionists as "government by injunction." It was also denounced by future Democratic platforms, and finally, during the Wilson administration, an anti-injunction law was passed. Cleveland's use of the troops to break the strike and quell resultant disorders formed a precedent which has since been followed by the use of soldiers to preserve order in various sections of the country where industrial difficulties have arisen. Unfortunately it has made unionists feel that the central government is on the side of large corporations.

The Fight against Polygamy. The practice of polygamy by the Mormons aroused national ire. Party platforms condemned the practice. Finally it was made illegal and subject to punishment by a congressional law of 1882. Immigrants who believed in the doctrine were denied admission. As the law was not enforced in Utah, that territory, despite her large population, could not gain admission into the Union. In 1889 a law was passed which subjected Mormons to loss of full citizenship and the church to confiscation of property if the objectionable practice was continued. Soon the chief elder and the church renounced polygamy, admitting that it was not a fundamental doctrine.

Non-Mormons doubted the sincerity of this action, but Utah was finally admitted (1895) with a constitution forbidding polygamy. Radicals denounced this interference with religious freedom, but it was justified on moral grounds.

McKinley and the Gold Standard. The silver question became the chief issue of the day on the repeal of the Sherman act.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Prosperity

through a conservative platform which featured a high tariff and the gold standard. Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey was named for the vice presidency to satisfy the East. Senator Teller of Colorado, once the gold plank was adopted, led the Silver Republicans from the convention. There was nothing left but entry into the Bryan fold. The silver issue was breaking the country into sections somewhat as slavery had done in the earlier period.

and Time **Bryan's Leadership.** The Democratic convention in Chicago found the silverites in full control. Cleveland was without friends. Hill, a gold Democrat, had few supporters. The radical element wrote a platform which called for the free coinage of

Neither party could evade a pronouncement, for the coming election would hang on that question. Mark Hanna, a retired iron magnate of Cleveland, practically nominated McKinley. Hanna was a business man in politics who knew the use of money. In one way or another he controlled the votes of the Southern delegates to the Republican convention and won business men for his friend McKinley, whom he dominated. When the convention met he had enough votes to name McKinley on the first ballot and force

silver at the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, though the market ratio was about 30 to 1, so sudden had been the drop in relative values. The platform declared for Jeffersonianism, a lessening of Federal power, a tariff for revenue only, arbitration of labor disputes, an enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, economy in government, the admission of Arizona and New Mexico (Democratic territories kept out of the Union by a Republican Congress), pensions, and conservation of Alaskan and other resources. Gold was condemned as English money; Cleveland was denounced as an ally of the Morgan interests; and bank paper was opposed, for good Western Democrats feared banks as agents of capitalism which ruined the plow-holder and enriched the bondholder.

New men of the West and South were in control, young men heading a revolt against Eastern domination. Who would be the candidate? The convention was stampeded by William J. Bryan of Nebraska, a boyish-looking delegate thirty-six years of age, who had served a term in Congress as a free-silver Democrat. A born orator, magnetic, a sincere believer in his cause and in himself, Bryan carried his audience with a rousing address.

Bryan was made the standard-bearer of the new Democracy. To balance the ticket, Arthur Sewall, a rich Maine shipbuilder, was selected for second place. Most of the Populists supported Bryan, who was riding on the crest of their old principles. Many Eastern Democrats turned from the party of their fathers to McKinley and sound money.

The Republican Campaign of 1896. Never has there been a more exciting campaign. Hanna as manager frantically appealed for funds. Business men were asked for donations as an insurance against lean Democratic years. Bryan was portrayed as a dangerous socialist leading an agrarian revolt. The Standard Oil gave a check for \$250,000. The banks were levied on for contributions equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent of their capital. There was no shortage of money. Hanna, a skillful organizer of men, used his millions in an economical manner, making every dollar do its duty. Of buying votes there was little, for the secret

ballot was in use in the doubtful states.¹ Hanna spent no money in "sure" Republican states or in the Democratic South, but he was not miserly in the critical "doubtful" states. They were stumped by spellbinding speakers; they were "educated" by pamphlets and newspaper articles. Newspapers—the country press as well as the city journals—were bought or controlled through political advertising. Cartoons pictured McKinley as the advance agent of prosperity. Hard times were charged to free silver and Democracy.

Industrial managers told their employees that if Bryan was elected they would shut down their mills and factories. Laboring men were ordered to march in the torchlight parades led by business men and carry "full dinner pails" as emblems of Republican prosperity, on penalty of being discharged. As unemployment was general, loss of job was no idle threat. Gold bugs were worn in lapels even as Democrats wore the symbolic figures 16 to 1.

McKinley was a fine-looking man of senatorial appearance but not a speaker to charm audiences. Therefore a front-porch campaign was arranged. Delegates from different states, business men, laborites, racial bosses, and the like were brought to Canton, Ohio, and suitably entertained. The spokesman of the delegation would read a prepared report, and McKinley, from the front steps of his modest cottage, would deliver a prepared speech. The proud delegates returned home to carry on the propaganda, and the "extemporaneous" *time called for such a thing* addresses were flashed through the press of the land. "Bill McKinley and the McKinley Bill" proved an effective slogan among business men and laborers in protected industries, who were told that protection increased wages and preserved them from European *sympathy* pauperdom. Hanna

¹ Commencing with Massachusetts (1889), the Australian, or secret, officially printed ballot came into general use. This ended the gross corruption of buying votes. Corrupt-practices acts were passed by the states in the late nineties. The nomination of candidates in primary elections was introduced in advanced states. Throughout the West the vote was gradually extended to women. Temperance reform was gaining a stronger hold, even though the Prohibition party failed to attract voters. Public conscience was aroused by political corruption, and this in itself resulted in reforms after 1900. Labor laws in behalf of women and children were passed by the more progressive states. As hours of labor were shortened and net wages were higher, there was a noticeable rise in the general standard of living.

had always been fair to labor, for he found it profitable to accept unionism in his mills; so labor gave Hanna considerable support.

Bryan storms the Country. Bryan made a great fight. He was like a cyclone. He spoke everywhere, three and four times a day, during an 18,000-mile tour of the country. Vigorous and young and strong of voice, he knew no fatigue. He carried the message of the new Democracy from coast to coast. He faced hostile audiences who thought him a socialist and a demagogue who would turn class against class; but he swayed his audiences in a manner which frightened Republicans and brought heavier contributions to Hanna's campaign chest.

Bryan had slim resources—donations of dollars from the plain people and a few contributions from the silver-miners. The large Democratic papers, Cleveland, the political bosses, and Tammany were unsympathetic. Gold Democrats worked hard for McKinley. Business leaders who had supported Cleveland turned away; few millionaires remained in the Democratic fold. Bryan faced charges that Democracy bred panics, that Cleveland had betrayed labor, and that he represented only the farmers of the West and South. He was reviled in libelous articles by hired writers, and ridiculed by hired speakers and paid cartoonists.

McKinley's Election. To the last, McKinley's election was doubtful. When the ballots were counted McKinley had 7,111,607 popular votes, carrying 23 states, with 271 electoral votes, to Bryan's 6,509,052 popular votes, with 176 electoral votes. Yet McKinley's plurality was only 600,000 in the heavy vote which the heated campaign had brought out. The nation divided sectionally: the solid South, save Kentucky and Maryland, and the country west of the Mississippi, save California, North Dakota, and Oregon, supported Bryan, while the East and North voted for McKinley. Good Republicans believed that the nation had been saved from ruin.

End of the Silver Issue. Again in power, Republicans were far more interested in the tariff than in the gold question. With the repeal of the silver-purchase act the country was virtually on a gold basis. Not until 1900 was the Gold Standard Act passed, along with a proviso that the gold in the reserve fund

must be maintained at \$150,000,000. In the campaign of 1900 the silver question was not stressed; even Bryan regarded the bimetallic standard of money with silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 as a secondary issue. In the meantime the annual gold production of the world increased from an average of five or six million dollars to nearly twelve million dollars in 1897. The new gold diggings in South Africa and Alaska soon doubled this amount, and gold in terms of silver dropped. With the rise in price of silver bullion Western mine-operators were less aggrieved, and with the coming of prosperity agrarian discontent as translated into a demand for cheaper money grew less aggressive. The silver question ceased to be an issue.

Dingley Tariff (1897). The tariff, however, remained with us. Republicans, regarding the election of 1896 as a mandate from the nation, lost no time in passing the highest tariff act yet known. The drastic rules enforced by Speaker Reed prevented the effective opposition of the minority and forced the bill through the House. In the Senate the tariff was among its friends. The general average was raised to about 57 per cent. The tariff on manufactures was left at the 1890 level, and on iron products at the Wilson-Gorman figures. Raw sugar was heavily taxed to protect Louisiana planters and the newly established sugar-beet industry. Prosperity was naturally returning,¹ but the country gave undue credit to the party in power and to the increased tariff.

Immigration (1881-1900). During the first decade of this period about 5,246,000 immigrants arrived, as compared with 3,844,000

¹ Growth of manufactures is indicated by the following list of industries, in order of importance, with a production of from \$800,000,000 down to \$250,000,000: iron and steel, meat-packing, foundry products, lumber, flour-milling, clothing, printing, cotton goods, woolens, and boots and shoes. Manufactures too were moving westward into Pennsylvania and the states of the Middle West as well as into the Carolinas and Georgia. The chief lumber business was in the South and on the Pacific coast. Inventions gave rise to new industries: the manufacture of typewriters, bicycles, fire-extinguishers, fire-fighting apparatus, steam shovels, hoists, elevators, electrical supplies, glucose, oleomargarine, phonographs, adding machines, cash registers, fountain pens, and street cars. Electric power, electric lights, and electric street railways were revolutionizing urban life, bringing greater comforts and new municipal problems.

during the second, which included the hard years following 1893.¹ Up to 1880, nine tenths of the immigrants came from Germany, the British Isles, Canada, and Scandinavia. In the middle of the eighties a marked change was apparent. The old immigration was dropping off and the so-called new immigrants greatly increased. As the century turned, the large majority of newcomers were from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia.

The immigrant has always faced opposition on the part of the native-born, who is fearful of being crowded out of work or his place in the social scale. Not only nativists but the older immigrant stocks opposed the new immigrants. To the Irish and Germans, the Italians and Russians seemed foreigners. The new groups spoke a strange language, but so did the early Germans and Scandinavians. They were described as from the more backward countries, where there was no self-government. They were said to have a lower standard of living than earlier immigrants. They were charged with coming here to make money with the object of returning later to their native land. The percentage which returned was a rather large proportion. It was said that the new races would furnish more than their share of paupers, radicals, and invalids. Immigrants from the Near East were described as subject to certain contagious diseases. The new immigration was encouraged by aggressive steamship agents scattered through Europe, who sought to fill the steerage with passengers.

Labor saw lower wages if the heavy influx continued, for industrialists were charged with importing cheap labor by the shipload. The new immigrants congregated in the coast cities. It

¹Immigration figures for the decades 1881-1890 and 1891-1900: Germany, 1,453,000 and 544,000; England, Scotland, and Wales, 807,000 and 342,000; Ireland, 655,482 and 403,496; Sweden, 392,000 and 231,000; Norway, 176,500 and 95,264; Denmark, 88,000 and 52,700; France, 50,500 and 36,000; Switzerland, 82,000 and 33,000; Belgium, 20,000 and 20,000; and Canada about 400,000 with a heavy decrease for the second ten-year period. It will be noticed that the nations from which our population had been largely drawn showed heavy decreases. On the other hand, the nations which previously had been represented by few immigrants sent increased numbers: Poland, 52,000 and 170,000; Russia, 213,000 and 424,000; Austria-Hungary (chiefly non-Germans), 354,000 and 597,000; and Italy, 307,300 and 656,000.

was not altogether their fault, for no longer were there free lands in the West. After the Haymarket affair Americans had a dread of radicals, and the new foreigners seemed to have a dark look. Some feared the foreign press, which they could not read. Some were opposed to the Jew. Some thought the people from southern Europe too largely Catholic. Some thought the newcomers could not be assimilated and would not make good citizens.



IMMIGRANTS TO AMERICA

Some saw the hordes of foreigners as a source of wealth for big business which could obtain labor at starvation wages; while others saw the native-born Americans reduced to the Continental standard of living.

Aroused by one cause or another, opposition was real. America, some argued, was growing crowded and could no longer serve as an overflow land for Europe's despairing masses. There was little attempt to understand the new peoples. They were actually looked down upon by older immigrants and their sons, who had forgotten the cold welcome given their fathers and their dire poverty on arrival. They were misjudged by thoughtless

persons who did not realize their inherent capacity to advance and even to make money. So there was a growing movement for a restricted immigration.

A Restrictive Policy. In 1882 Chinese were denied entrance, as were convicts, idiots, and persons liable to become public charges. The head tax was increased as a means of financing the Bureau of Immigration. At least enough cash (later \$25) must be brought by each newcomer to take him to his destination. Attempts were made to send immigrants into the West and South and to discourage their settlement in large cities. In 1885 contract labor was forbidden at the insistence of organized labor, which declared that strikes were broken by imported laborers. Anarchists, believers in polygamy, and diseased persons were debarred. The scrutiny of newcomers at the ports was made more rigid. Congress passed a literacy test in 1897, but Cleveland vetoed the measure. Such a test would not guarantee better immigrants nor indicate that a man would make a better laborer. Not so great a percentage of the pre-Civil War or pre-Revolutionary immigrants could have passed a literacy test, yet they and their heirs made a great nation of America. Liberal-minded men agreed with Cleveland, but the movement for restriction had only begun.

The Centennial of the Catholic Church. A century had passed since the Catholic Church had been organized with Carroll as the first bishop. Astounding progress had been made. The membership of 30,000 had increased to at least 9,000,000 scattered from coast to coast with a priest for every thousand souls. A great school system was flourishing and providing education for the Catholic youth, from the elementary grades through the high schools and academies to the colleges, which were well distributed throughout the land. In a congress of bishops held in 1889 the Catholic University of America was established in the national capital as the capstone of the whole system with the ideal of encouraging higher studies and graduate work in theological and secular subjects. The university was visioned as a true center of higher scholarship surrounded by a cluster of houses of study representing the different religious orders of men and women. The

university has become a national force in Catholic education. Around its campus are over a score of religious houses of study and seminaries, a Sisters' College, and Trinity College for women. The university has affiliated with it at least 300 high schools, colleges, academies, and novitiates. A growing number of prelates, priests, and laymen look back to the university as their alma mater. Time has demonstrated that this was no idle vision of Cardinal Gibbons and his associate founders.

The Church had met and solved many of its problems. Hospitals, asylums for the aged, Indian schools and missions, industrial schools, and orphanages dotted the land. The poor and the dependent were not forgotten. A tremendous Americanization force was the Church in handling Catholic immigrants of all races and aiding them in finding their places in the new land. Western colonization was encouraged by the younger bishops of the Middle West, and the solace of religion was offered in the most isolated places.

Cahenslyism was defeated. This was a dangerous move on the part of non-English-speaking Catholics for priests and bishops of their own race. It would have been bad for the Church and the nation — this step toward racial isolation. The Church was big enough for all races and classes. The bishops did not look forward to the indefinite perpetuation of foreign tongues and a foreign press. Nor did they fear that the loss of a language would result in loss of faith in succeeding generations. Yet they realized the cultural and religious heritage represented by a language. They were aware that love of the old land was a sacred thing which did not conflict with loyalty to the new land of the immigrant's own choosing and his early Americanization. And the Church, as even unfriendly critics observed, was ever on the side of law, of conservative government, and of orderly progress.

By the turn of the century the Church had a membership of over 12,000,000. An apostolic delegate appointed as a papal representative to the Church in America has resided in Washington since 1893. The Church was not without enemies, but their hostility did little more than arouse interest in its teachings and weld into closer union its divergent membership.

The A. P. A. Wave. The astounding spiritual and material growth of the Catholic Church inspired a short-lived nativist movement (1891-1897). Hard times, unemployment, and fear of immigration explain the rise of an anti-Catholic wave which was helped on by political demagogues and exhorters. Little hostility was evidenced against Protestant immigrants, if one can judge from the number of Scandinavians who were enrolled in the lower ranks of the American Protective Association. This society was less respectable than any of the earlier nativist movements. It did not attract known leaders, nor had it any influence in the higher classes. Weak in the South, outside of Kentucky and Tennessee, strong in the Middle West and in parts of Pennsylvania and New York, the movement made little headway elsewhere. It was poorly organized as a party. No candidates were named, but in various localities the faction espoused the cause of candidates of any party who were thought to be anti-Catholic. In this way the semisecret society of the A. P. A. claimed about a hundred members in Congress and a controlling voice in several Mid-Western legislatures and in a number of cities. Hoping to intimidate politicians, it boasted of 3,000,000 members, but it is doubtful if a third of that number was enrolled.

The movement died shortly. Leaders of major parties, following Hanna, Roosevelt, Hill, Hoar, and others, directed stout blows at its proscriptive character. McKinley answered its fears by appointing men like Judge McKenna of California to his cabinet, Terence Powderly as Commissioner General of Immigration, and Bellamy Storer as minister to Austria-Hungary. Then came the Spanish War, in which the adventurous Irish set a pace for nativists in the way of enlistments and valor. Nativism, curiously enough, has never been able to survive an American war; it appeals to self-proclaimed, peace-time patriots.

References

The following volumes in the *Chronicles of America*: HENDRICK, *Age of Big Business*, pp. 119 ff.; ORTH, *Armies of Labor*, pp. 87 ff., *Our Foreigners*; H. THOMPSON, *The New South*; J. MOODY, *Masters of Capital*, pp. 1-134;

and S. J. BUCK, *Agrarian Crusade*. H. N. CASSON, *Romance of Steel and Romance of the Reaper*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 576-625; R. J. DAVIS, *Grover Cleveland*; F. W. ROLT-WHEELER, *Thomas A. Edison; Catholic Builders*, Vol. II, pp. 1-209.

Bibliography

RHODES, *History of the United States*, Vol. VIII, pp. 108-461, and Vol. IX (1897-1909), pp. 1-131; E. E. SPARKS, *National Development*; D. R. DEWEY, *National Problems*; E. B. ANDREWS, *United States in our Own Time*; H. T. PECK, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; C. R. FISH, *Civil Service and Patronage*; G. M. STEPHENSON, *History of American Immigration*; J. R. COMMONS, *Races and Immigrants in America*; P. F. HALL, *Immigration*; H. P. FAIRCHILD, *Immigration*; J. W. JENKS, *Immigrant Problem*; E. A. ROSS, *The Old World in the New*; THOMAS BURGESS, *The Greeks in America*; F. J. WARNE, *Tide of Immigration*; THOMAS CAPEK, *The Čechs in America*; E. G. BALCH, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*; C. S. BERNHEIMER, *Russian Jew in the United States*; C. F. ADAMS, *Railroads, their Origin and Problems*; W. Z. RIPLEY, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations*; E. MEYER, *Railway Legislation*; G. H. MONTAGUE, *Rise and Progress of Standard Oil*; E. JONES, *Anthracite Coal Combination*; M. R. BEARD, *Short History of American Labor Movement*; T. M. YOUNG, *American Cotton Industry*; J. MITCHELL, *Organized Labor*; H. D. LLOYD, *Wealth against Commonwealth*; E. C. ROBBINS, *Railway Conductors*; M. HILLQUIT, *History of Socialism in United States*; W. J. LAUCK, *Causes of the Panic of 1893*; H. WHITE, *Money and Banking*; A. B. HEPBURN, *History of Currency in the United States*; A. D. NOYES, *Forty Years of American Finance*; J. L. LAUGHLIN, *Bimetallism in the United States*; W. H. HARVEY, *Coin's Financial School*; W. E. B. DU BOIS, *The Negro*; C. G. WOODSON, *The Negro in our History*; BENJAMIN BRAWLEY, *Social History of the American Negro*; M. B. THRASHER, *Tuskegee*; SCOTT-STOWE, *Booker T. Washington*; R. M. McELROY, *Grover Cleveland*; G. F. PARKER, *Recollections of Cleveland*; GROVER CLEVELAND, *Presidential Problems*; S. W. MCCALL, *Thomas B. Reed*; ANDREW D. WHITE, *Autobiography*; A. R. CONKLING, *Life of Roscoe Conkling*; L. A. COOLIDGE, *Orville H. Platt*; W. J. BRYAN, *The First Battle, Autobiography*; R. METCALFE, *The Real Bryan*; A. K. McCLURE, *Recollections of a Half-Century*; E. CARY, *George W. Curtis*; T. E. BURTON, *John Sherman*; R. OGDEN, *Life of E. L. Godkin*; HENRY JAMES, *Richard Olney*; HERBERT CROLY, *Marcus A. Hanna*; BOURKE COCHRAN, *In the Name of Liberty* (addresses); IDA M. TARBELL, *Life of Judge Gary*; G. KENNAN, *Life of Harriman*; C. HOVEY, *J. P. Morgan*; F. B. SANBORN, *Recollections of Seventy Years*; SHELBY CULLOM, *Fifty Years of Public Service*; E. S. MARTIN, *Joseph H. Choate*; GAIL HAMILTON, *James G. Blaine*; F. B. SIMPKINS, *Tillman Movement in South Carolina*; C. E. HAMLIN, *Hannibal Hamlin*.

autocratic - ruled by 1 person

✓ 2. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Cuba under Spain. Cuba had long been misgoverned by autocratic Spanish governors whose rule was both corrupt and inefficient. The spirit of revolt in the small, half-educated, mixed-blooded part of the population was ever present after the Spanish colonies of the mainland had established their republics. Cuban exiles and escaped rebels living in New York continued to excite discontent among the peasantry of Cuba and Porto Rico. Up to 1861 Southern expansionists cast longing eyes on the Spanish West Indies; ~~filibusters~~ ^{pirates} made piratical attacks upon the island. Spanish officials and the ruling class saw in America an aggressive neighbor seeking an excuse to seize the island. During the Pierce administration our ministers to England, France, and Spain actually issued a manifesto from Ostend (Belgium) urging the transfer of Cuba to the United States, by purchase if possible, but by force if necessary. Whig and Northern opposition caused an official disavowal, but it was generally understood that under the Monroe Doctrine the United States would not permit Spain to cede Cuba or Porto Rico to any foreign nation. England, it was maintained by some Americans, had designs on Cuba, whose strategic position was such that we could not allow any strong power to gain a foothold there.

After the war Southern interest in Cuba ceased, while that of New York merchants and capitalists increased. American capital entered the Cuban investment field, and plantations were bought by the popularly known sugar trust. American capital wanted law and order on the island and believed that annexation alone could bring this about. From 1868 to 1878 there was a revolt, which the Spanish authorities finally quelled. A number of American filibusters were executed. Some of the rebel leaders were naturalized Cuban-Americans who claimed American protection. General Sickles, our representative at Madrid, almost brought about war. Cubans continued their demands for more liberal government. Americans in Cuba became restive. Spanish rule was not so tyrannical as it was inefficient and extravagant; taxes were high; and disorder was ruinous to business.

Cleveland and Cuba. In 1895 a new rebellion burst forth. The rebels cut down isolated Spanish troops and destroyed plantations. Without uniforms, they easily merged into the population when troops appeared in numbers. The strong-willed General Weyler was put in charge of about 200,000 Spanish soldiers, but could do little in the way of suppressing disorders. Finally he ordered the loyal inhabitants to enter "reconcentration camps," holding all outside the camps in a disaffected district as disloyal and subject to attack. This policy was necessary but severe, for the half-million persons in camps could not be properly housed or fed. The suffering was terrible. Americans were aroused on the score of humanity. Capital was embittered by the ruin of an island whose natural wealth had won it the title "pearl of the Antilles." The Cleveland administration watched events with pained interest and sympathy for the liberals, but the President realized that America had no legal right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Cuba. Yet his position was difficult, for foreign powers whose citizens and property were injured looked to America for redress; for our maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine made it impossible for them to intervene on behalf of their subjects. In 1897 a more liberal ministry gained control in Spain. As an evidence of good faith in its promised reforms, the government recalled Weyler and sent out General Blanco, a less rigorous soldier.

work
g-
McKinley and the War Party. A large section of the American people favored a war of liberation. To idealists it seemed America's mission. Some were imbued with a hatred of monarchies and a hostility to Spain, which could be traced to the old English heritage. Some members of the American Protective Association saw a means of assaulting Spain and the Catholic Church. Yellow newspapers led the clamor, but not without self-interest. Jingoism was rampant. Some Americans saw the long-awaited opportunity to seize Cuba and Porto Rico. Business had vital interests in Cuban export and import trade. Anti-Britishers were worried lest England purchase the island. The sugar trust thought in terms of plantations. And big business, it must be emphasized, was dominant in the McKinley days.

There is little doubt that a majority of the nation would have welcomed war at any time.

McKinley was not a "war hawk," yet he did not discourage young men of his official family like Roosevelt and Dr. Leonard Wood, who were active war men. All but two of his cabinet and a number of the ablest statesmen in Congress favored a moderate policy and approved the pacifist program of the President, who urged Congress to await developments. Unbiased men hoped for the best, especially as Spain promised reform.

Rising Passions. The Spanish foreign office was frank rather than tactful in reviving Secretary of State Sherman's memory of his brother's work in Georgia. Americans were as sensitive to criticism as Spaniards to any reflections which stung their Castilian pride. On February 9, 1898, one of W. R. Hearst's papers published a private letter which was stolen from the Habana post office, written by the Spanish minister in Washington (De Lome), in which he characterized the President as a politician who played both sides of the question. On its publication the minister resigned before his recall could be demanded. Much has been made of the incident; yet De Lome had a right to pen private letters. It was his misfortune that the letter was printed. As to the truth of his characterization men might differ. It was mild as compared with the preëlection charges and countercharges.

The *Maine* Disaster. At the request of our consul the battleship *Maine* was sent to Habana, Cuba, in order to safeguard American interests. On February 15 the *Maine* was blown up. Despite the gallant efforts of Captain Sigsbee and Father John Chidwick, the chaplain, 260 officers and men perished. There was a hush of sorrow. An investigation failed to fix responsibility. The *Maine*¹ may have been destroyed by an internal explosion or a stray Spanish mine in the harbor. It may have been torpedoed by the Cuban insurgents, who saw their only hope of success in drawing the United States into the war. Or it may have

¹ In 1911 the *Maine* was raised, and its dead were given honored burial in the Arlington National Cemetery, but the cause of the explosion could not be ascertained. Yet no unbiased man would contend that it was destroyed under Spanish orders when Spain had everything to gain by keeping peace with the United States.

been blown up by the Spaniards. The American nation preferred to believe the last possibility. It corroborated the inherent suspicion of Spanish perfidy. The war party, with Roosevelt as its most aggressive leader, demanded war, and soon buttons were seen on the lapels of coats throughout the nation with the motto "Remember the *Maine*." The militarists were winning the day.

Moving toward War. Early in March, Congress placed fifty million dollars at the disposal of the President for national defense. Crowding the galleries, the supporters of a militarist policy are said to have exerted a powerful influence on members of Congress, whose main thought was to please their constituents and act in accord with the popular will. Only real statesmen vote according to conviction. McKinley too was less soft-spoken than usual. On March 27 he issued an ultimatum to Spain, in which he demanded an immediate amnesty for Cuban rebels, the abandonment of the "reconcentration" policy, and the recognition of us as a mediator if the trouble was not ended by October.

Foreign sympathy was with Spain. Our minister at Madrid, General Woodford, reported that the Spanish government was desirous of compromise if this could be brought about gracefully without causing the overthrow of the ministry. McKinley demanded an armistice, though his minister counseled that moderation would prevent war and give us all that we asked in a short time. But, as the historian Rhodes has written, McKinley, fearful of a rupture in his party, "had not the nerve and power to resist the pressure for war."

Peace Moves. The queen regent of Spain offered a suspension of hostilities if the rebels would accept (April 5), but failed to make an impression on McKinley. He would have sent his war message to Congress the following day if he had not been advised to give Americans a chance to leave Cuba. Rhodes, after explaining that Spain had revoked the "reconcentration" order, continues:

And now the Pope, assisted by Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, who went to Washington by his order, interfered in the interests of peace. His intervention, supported by that of the six great European powers, induced the Spanish ministry to direct, on April 9, the governor-general of Cuba to grant immediately an armistice.

The ministers of France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and England called in a body on the President in a vain effort to prevent war, which they, as well as the Spanish government, were aware could only result in American conquests and a bootless loss of men and treasure. On April 10 our minister cabled that he believed that Spain would give Cuba complete independence or surrender the island to the United States, and that he hoped nothing further would be done to humiliate the Spanish government. On the same day the Spanish minister in Washington informed our State Department that McKinley's ultimatum had been met and that an armistice had been ordered.

Declaration of War. McKinley surrendered to the war party. He refused to wait until Spain could show her good faith or to allow our minister at Madrid to continue his successful labors for peace. On April 11 McKinley's message was read to Congress: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests . . . the war in Cuba must stop." He scarcely mentioned the all-important Spanish concessions of the previous day. On April 19, the anniversary of Lexington and of the first bloodshed in the Civil War, Congress resolved that Cuba should be free, that Spain must withdraw from the island, and that the President be authorized to enforce this decision. It was added (and this is the one bright spot) that the United States had no "disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island."

The Spanish minister asked for his passports. Finally, on April 25, Congress formally declared that a state of war had existed since April 21. Our minister left Spain, and the "unnecessary war" commenced. The European powers regarded the war as one of aggression by a strong power against a weak nation; hence they were in sympathy with Spain.

Battle of Manila Bay. Commodore Dewey, in Chinese waters with a small fleet manned by 1700 men, was under orders as to procedure in case of war. Immediately he sailed to Manila, which has one of the finest harbors in the world, protected by two high, rocky, fortified islands. During the night of April 30 the fleet steamed by the forts in safety and in the morning made ready to

attack the slightly stronger enemy fleet drawn up under the protecting shore batteries of Cavite, a town some miles from the city. In a short but brilliant engagement Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet and silenced the shore batteries. Only a few



EASTERN ASIA AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Americans were injured, while Spanish losses were heavy. Our sailors at the risk of their lives saved wounded and drowning Spaniards before the battle ended. The Spaniards fought courageously but without hope, for the inefficiency of the home government had allowed the forts to deteriorate and left the fleet unmanned and poorly officered.

Dewey was in an uncomfortable position. Foreign war vessels were appearing, to guard their respective subjects and their property. Admiral von Die-

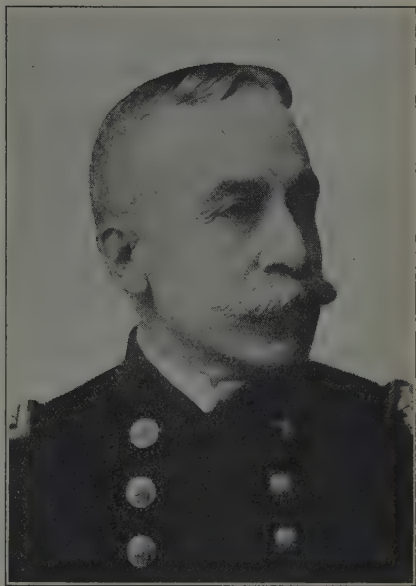
drichs, with a fleet stronger than Dewey's, failed to obey the American blockade regulations and proved annoying. Dewey protested with the final words, "Say to Admiral von Diedrichs that if he wants a fight, he can have it now." Thereupon it appears that the German admiral asked the English commander concerning his instructions and was told: "There are only two persons here who

know what my instructions are. One of those persons is myself, and the other is—Admiral Dewey.” The German obeyed the blockade regulations with scrupulous care thereafter. Much has been made of this incident, especially in 1914, when the Allies were actively seeking American sympathy.

Capture of Manila. During the summer months reënforcements arrived; and aided by a land force under General Merritt, Dewey occupied Manila (August 13), taking about 13,000 prisoners. Incidentally, it was the day after the armistice, which was unknown for some time in the distant Far East. Soon the islands were nominally in our possession.

Lack of Preparedness. Our regular army of 28,000 was poorly equipped. There was a shortage of heavy guns. The commissary was inefficiently handled. Secretary of War Alger, a mere politician, proved exceedingly weak and slothful.

The call for volunteers was answered with alacrity. In three months the army, regular and volunteer, numbered about 280,000. The South, in good evidence of its loyalty, furnished more than its quota. The war was popular. To go was an adventure. There was little evidence of hate even in the war song “There’ll be a hot time in the old town tonight.” It indicated the light spirit with which the nation entered the conflict, for it was generally believed that it would be over shortly. The War Department was unable to equip, officer, and properly clothe and feed the large army so suddenly enlisted.



GEORGE DEWEY

The navy alone, though small, was prepared. For this, Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary, always claimed full credit. Ex-Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts, an able lawyer and business man who made a good Secretary, has written that the excellent condition of the navy was not the work of his Assistant Secretary or of himself, but of practically unknown bureau chiefs like Bradford, of equipment, and O'Neil, of the ordinance. Long thought Roosevelt too aggressive, too anxious for war, and too desirous of seizing the reins of the department. He did not favor Roosevelt's resignation to engage in the actual conflict, and wrote a note in his diary, which is interesting in the light of later developments :

My Assistant-Secretary, Roosevelt, has determined upon resigning in order to . . . take part in the war. He has been of great use; a man of unbounded energy and force, and thoroughly honest. . . . He has lost his head to this unutterable folly of deserting the post where he is of most service. . . . And yet how absurd all this will sound, if by some turn of fortune he should accomplish some great thing and strike a very high mark!

Long complained of the petty politics played when all attention should have been given to war preparations: the desire of Hanna to sell his brother's vessel to the navy; the demands of New England senators for ships to guard their unfortified ports, which were in a needless panic over possible bombardment by an enemy fleet; the insistence of the Pennsylvania delegation that the navy use anthracite coal; Senator Penrose's whining for places for his followers, even in dollar-and-a-half-a-day jobs in the navy yards; and the patronage-seeking of the Connecticut senators. Politics and profits were not lost sight of in the fervor of patriotism. Bad blood between General Miles, commander in chief, and Alger, and the famous controversy between Admirals Sampson and Schley were also injurious to war morale.

The Cuban Campaign. Cervera's fleet had been forced to seek refuge in the harbor of Santiago, though its objective was Habana. Sampson and Schley were both in Cuban waters with their fleets. The then largest American warship, the *Oregon*, arrived after a

remarkable 14,000-mile voyage from San Francisco by way of Cape Horn. The American fleet blockaded Cervera in the harbor, which was partly bottled up when, under heavy fire, the courageous Richard Hobson and a picked crew sank an old collier in the channel. Hobson and his men were captured but well treated by the Spanish commandant, who appreciated valor.



ARTILLERY NEAR PONCE, PORTO RICO, IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Not until the middle of June were 15,000 men landed in Cuba. Many of them were invalids, for Northern soldiers, in winter uniforms, carrying heavy equipment, could not withstand the heat of the malaria-infested port of Tampa, Florida, from which they sailed. Preparations were wretched. Without good rail facilities, Tampa was a poor port of departure. Supplies were piled high and spoiled, while the troops suffered from want. Cannon arrived without carriages, and cavalry horses without saddles, and medical supplies were lacking. There was disorder and confusion everywhere. Finally, additional troops were sent to Cuba, but the war ended without bringing all the

soldiers out of their training camps and before all the volunteers were armed and uniformed.

Battle of San Juan. Among the regiments in Cuba a small detachment of about 500 men under Colonel Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt gained considerable fame. The so-called "Rough Riders" were hardy men — cowboys and a few university athletes — who displayed a fire and dash quite to be expected



THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN

of men who elected to serve under the picturesque Roosevelt. Time has given the outfit a legendary fame enhanced by the future greatness of its leaders; but it is highly probable that the regulars under trained officers carried the brunt of the fighting in a nonspectacular way. The underofficers were in actual charge; for the aged generals Shafter and Wheeler were frequently ill. On July 2, 1898, a general attack was made on the forts and fortifications of Santiago's outer defenses. El Caney was taken, and the fortified San Juan Hill. In a force of 16,000 our losses were only 241 killed and 1400 wounded. The enemy had only

about 7000 men in action; for Santiago was inaccessible by land, and heavy reinforcements could not be provided, although there were plenty of Spanish soldiers on the island.

The Battle of Santiago. Seeing the hopelessness of his position with the fall of the city imminent, Cervera ordered his fleet to make a dash for the open sea (July 3). Schley, who was in immediate charge of the United States fleet, was ready; and in a battle of individual ships the Spanish vessels were captured or sunk one after the other and their crews killed or captured. In spite of the odds Cervera proved a brave man and his sailors did not fear death. Better ships decided the day. It is quite astounding that only one American was killed and one wounded, unless it is realized that our guns were more modern and had a longer range and our protective steel plates were proof against enemy shot. Within two weeks Santiago surrendered to General Shafter, and the disordered island was in our hands.

General Miles with a large force invaded Porto Rico (July 20). As elsewhere, the Spanish authorities were aware of the futility of the struggle, but fought to maintain their tradition of honor and valor. France offered her services as a mediator and, on August 12, a protocol, or armistice, was signed. The war was over. There had been only four months of actual fighting; yet the consequences were momentous.

The Treaty of Paris (1898). Our commissioners (Secretary of State W. R. Day, Whitelaw Reid, and Senators Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, W. P. Frye of Maine, and George Gray of Delaware) negotiated a treaty, which was signed December 10, but barely ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899. Only McKinley's shrewd handling of the Senate and his wisdom in naming three influential senators as negotiators saved the treaty, with its unpopular accession of the Philippines. Under the treaty Cuban independence under American protection was guaranteed; Porto Rico and Guam were ceded to America; and the Philippines were turned over to the United States for a payment of \$20,000,000.

American liberals, Democrats, and others were opposed to the annexation of the Philippines, but business men saw in the

islands a field of investment and a stepping-stone to the Orient with its lucrative trade. Ardent Protestants saw a field of missionary work, though the Catholic Church had done a tremendous service in civilizing and Christianizing the bulk of the natives. Others feared the islands would fall to the Japanese. It was a part of our "manifest destiny" to save the Philippines, and acceptance of them was our plain duty, according to the President's cable to the commissioners.

Lessons of the War. Again the nation learned the costliness of unpreparedness. Our men suffered terribly from disease and unnecessary hardship. Conditions in Cuba were so bad after the fall of Santiago that several army officers, including Roosevelt, wrote a round-robin letter to General Shafter urging that the sick soldiers be removed to a recuperation camp on Long Island. The heavy casualties among the wounded, the lack of hospital supplies, the scandal of spoiled food and bad meat, the failure to supply summer uniforms in the sweltering South, and the epidemic of yellow fever angered the public. It was laid to inefficiency if not corrupt politics, for Congress had appropriated sufficient money. Preparedness in peace time came to be regarded by most men as a necessary insurance against war and as an assurance of success if war occurred. The volunteers had responded nobly, but they were untrained and were led by inexperienced officers. It was well for us that Spain was a weak nation.

Our little navy would not have been able to protect our coasts and engage in sea fighting if the enemy had possessed a first-class naval armament. We were almost without coast fortifications; the garrisons and fortifications at Boston and New York would have been of no avail; we had not sufficient ships to keep a strong fleet in both Atlantic and Pacific waters. California was 14,000 miles from New York. Farseeing men saw the desirability of an interoceanic canal which would cut this distance into less than half. The United States must not only have a stronger army but an enlarged navy and ample coast fortifications. This country was too rich a prey for possible enemies, to be left unguarded. The United States must be made a first-class power in every respect. The war had made it clear that we had

few European friends. Troubles were possible on the Pacific, and our new accessions brought us into the path of world politics. To protect such far-flung dependencies and our expanding commerce would require a navy ranking with those of the leading powers.

The war also demonstrated that the New South had forgotten the Civil War and even reconstruction. Any misgivings held by intolerant Northerners regarding Southern loyalty were wiped out. Again, it was demonstrated that Catholic patriotism did not consider whether Spain was a Catholic nation or not, despite the antique charges which many well-meaning and all narrow-minded nativists insisted on believing. Catholic enlistments were somewhat above the quota that the Church's membership would suggest, which afforded tangible evidence that it was America first, regardless of the creed or race of the enemy nation.

✓ The Results of the War. The little war with weak Spain taught many lessons. It also left in its wake new problems — colonial government, imperialism, Oriental politics. It ended America's former isolation. A new angle was given to the Monroe Doctrine. America had long felt its own strength, and our people thought of the United States as one of the great nations; but now for the first time Europe was aware that the United States had become a world power.

References

HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. IV, pp. 573-594; J. R. SPEARS, *Our Navy in the War with Spain*; C. R. FISH, *The Path of Empire* (Chronicles of America, Vol. XLVI); ROOSEVELT, *The Rough Riders*; BASSETT, *Expansion and Reform*, pp. 71 ff.

Bibliography

RHODES, *History of the United States* (1897-1909), pp. 44-110; E. B. ANDREWS, *Our Own Time*; C. S. OLCOTT, *McKinley*; W. H. GLASSON, *Military Pensions*; J. B. HENDERSON, *American Diplomatic Questions*; A. B. HART, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*; F. E. CHADWICK, *Relations of the United States and Spain*; L. S. MAYO, *America of Yesterday*; H. C. LODGE, *War with Spain*; J. D. LONG, *The New American Navy*; N. A. MILES, *Serving the Republic*; F. FUNSTON, *Memories of Two Wars*; W. S. SCHLEY, *Forty-five Years under the Flag*; ROOSEVELT, *Autobiography*; GEORGE DEWEY, *Autobiography*.

CHAPTER X

AMERICA A WORLD POWER

I. THE ROOSEVELT RÉGIME

Insular Problems. The Spanish War brought in its wake trying insular problems. Military government had been established for Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. The status of Cuba must be determined; a native insurrection must be quelled and a legal government provided for the Philippines; and Hawaii must be given some self-government. Would the nation permit the development of imperialism, the rule of distant dependencies? With our forces maintaining order in China, were we forgetting the old Washingtonian principle of isolation? These were questions which must be answered. Both political parties put the issue squarely before the voters in the national campaign.

The Election of 1900. The election of 1900 lacked the excitement of McKinley's first campaign. The Republicans indorsed McKinley's administration, the gold standard, protection, restriction of immigration, the acquisition and management of the insular possessions, an Isthmian canal, a department of commerce and labor, and regulation of trusts. The platform mildly condemned wicked practices of corporations, as it made a careful appeal to labor. McKinley was renominated, and Theodore Roosevelt, who had served two years as governor of New York, was named for the vice presidency. Roosevelt, as governor, was popular with the masses, but was unloved by the political bosses and the business men, who considered him a dangerous meddler and reformer. "Boss" Platt, at the instance of big business, urged Roosevelt for second place on the ticket, in a cunning move to get him out of New York politics. It was thought that, as vice president, he would be buried politically. Roosevelt at first refused the proffered nomination, but accepted with a heavy heart

when he found the West enthusiastic for him. Roosevelt, however, was destined to defeat the deep schemes of his friendly enemies and rise to the top.

The Democrats again named Bryan, with Stevenson, vice president under Cleveland's second administration, as a running mate. Despite the East the free-silver plank was included though not stressed. The principal issue was anti-imperialism. The platform denounced the Republican insular policy as one of greedy commercialism. The nation, it held, could not exist half republic and half empire. We could not hold Cuba, take over Porto Rico, and fight a "criminal" war of aggression in the Philippines and retain pure republicanism at home. The republics of Athens and Rome had declined when they had gained colonies and imperially ruled them, it was pointed out. Many leading Republicans broke with McKinley on this issue. The Democratic platform charged Republicans with dishonest dealings with the trusts, treachery in not admitting Arizona and New Mexico to statehood, and the "infamous" Dingley tariff. It demanded a department of labor, a canal by way of Nicaragua, liberal pensions, regulation of railroads and trusts, and enlightened conservation of natural resources as well as reclamation of the arid lands of the West.

The nation was prosperous. There was little discontent. There was pride in our extended empire. There was a general feeling that McKinley, while not a strong personality, had made a safe, conservative president. Business gave him full backing and heavy financial support, though money was not needed in large sums to carry the election. Bryan attracted spellbound audiences, but failed to draw their votes. The workers of the nation feared hard times if he should be elected, even though an artificial panic had to be created by big business. McKinley polled 7,219,525 popular votes and 292 electoral votes, to Bryan's 6,358,737 and 155. The combined Prohibitionist, Socialist, Social-Laborite, and Populist tickets drew only 3 per cent of the total vote.

The Cuban Settlement. Cuba's provisional military government under Generals Brooke and Wood accomplished wonders. Disorders were suppressed, roads were built, plantations were

cultivated, schools were established, finances were untangled, and Major Walter Reed (in whose honor the great military hospital in Washington is named) waged a successful fight against yellow fever. In 1900 the island adopted a constitution on the American order. Many Americans were sorry that the war resolution had been adopted, for otherwise Cuba, like Porto Rico, could have been annexed. Yet Congress accepted the resolution of Senator Platt (Connecticut), which was also written into the Cuban constitution, that Cuba can never permit a foreign power to impair its rights as an independent nation, that it cannot incur debts beyond its ability to pay the annual interest, and that the United States shall retain certain naval stations and the right of intervention to preserve domestic peace on the island.

In 1902 Wood retired, and the duly elected president, Palma, commenced his administration. There is no parallel case in history; yet America has received few tokens of gratitude. In 1907-1909 and again, in 1917, America was forced to intervene; but Cubans are rapidly learning the art of self-government.

Porto Rican Annexation. Porto Ricans received Americans as deliverers, not conquerors, but destiny made Porto Rico an American dependency. In 1900 civil government was established. A governor and advisory council were appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. The council (half of whom are natives) served as the upper chamber of the legislature, and the lower assembly was elected. In 1901, despite the American sugar interests, free trade was instituted, but Congress may impose duties on Porto Rican imports. In 1916 the upper chamber was made elective, and Porto Ricans were granted the right of American citizenship. The government is not unlike that of the Massachusetts Bay colony before the Revolution, and the Porto Ricans seem to have about the same grievances as did the inhabitants of that colony. There is at times friction between a representative legislature and an appointed governor. On the other hand, the island is prosperous, educational facilities have been enlarged, and roads and sanitation have been greatly improved.

Philippine Insurrection. Dewey invited Aguinaldo and his fellow exiles in Hongkong to return to the Philippines. Aguinaldo raised a native force and on the capture of Manila occupied part of the town. When American reënforcements arrived he was ordered forth. As soon as the Filipinos saw that Americans had come to stay and that the islands had only changed masters they raised the standard of revolt. The Philippines were



NATIVE HUTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

soon aflame. Reënforcements were sent until the American army of occupation numbered 65,000. Little could be accomplished, for the rebels fought as guerrillas and knew the land. Our soldiers were soon stamping out the revolt in true Spanish fashion and with equal cruelty. Critics of the administration challenged the "savage conduct" of our troops, much as we had arraigned that of Weyler in Cuba. In 1901 Aguinaldo was captured by Funston and a few volunteers. With their leader in prison the rebels lost heart and the revolt was suppressed, but not without a cost of two hundred million dollars.

Government of the Philippines. Judge William H. Taft was made governor of the islands, with powers as full as those of any royal colonial governor. Taft ruled well, selecting his aids with wisdom. He established local government and an American school system. Hundreds of American teachers volunteered for service. Wonderful progress was made in sanitation, public health, and good roads.

Taft's skill as a colonial governor was tested in the settlement of the friars' land claims. The Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who had conducted missions from the early days of Spanish occupation, owned about 400,000 acres of land, which had been seized and occupied by rebels. The friars wanted their lands, while the occupants claimed them by right of possession. Many of the Filipino leaders hated the friars, most of whom were Spanish. Cardinal Gibbons conferred with President Roosevelt and later with Taft, who was sent directly to Rome to conduct negotiations. It was agreed that the government should take over the lands for a payment of \$7,000,000, a fair but not a lavish price. The land was then sold on easy terms in small lots to native farmers. The religious difficulties ended when American priests and bishops were given charge of the Church in the islands.

In 1907 the Philippines were granted a legislature elected by residents who could read English or Spanish and who paid a small tax. This corresponded to the amount of self-government given Virginia in 1619. The islands are not contented. All governors have not had Taft's tact. There has been continuous trouble between the governors appointed by the presidents and the elective assemblies. The small but aggressive group of Filipinos who have been trained in America or in the colleges and higher schools of the islands are intense nationalists who will be satisfied with nothing short of independence. In this they are encouraged by the promises of both political parties. The final disposition of the islands is still an unsolved and critical political question.

Pacific Coaling Stations. In addition to the Philippines and Hawaii the United States owns a number of small islands in the Pacific, some of which are only rocky reefs. However, they are

valuable as coal and oil stations and as ports of refuge for American shipping. Of these the most important is Tutuila, one of the Samoa Islands, about 5000 miles from San Francisco on the route to Australia. We formerly held this jointly with Germany and England and obtained full possession in 1900.

Relations with China. China, unable to protect itself, saw England, France, Germany, and Japan on some pretext seize portions of its territory. They were marking off areas in which each one claimed exclusive trading rights. In time these "spheres of influence" would probably be held as permanent provinces. America was interested, for she would be virtually excluded from the profitable China trade. In 1899 Secretary John Hay sent to the powers diplomatic notes asking that there be no discrimination but that all nations be guaranteed equal trading rights. England, desirous of selling manufactures in all parts of China, agreed, and soon the other nations did likewise. On the whole, Hay was successful in obtaining this open-door policy. China had reason to thank the United States as her most friendly sister nation.

The following year China was in turmoil. The Boxers gained control, winning the support of the army and the secret sympathy of the government. They would save China for the Chinese and drive out all foreigners whether traders or missionaries. They maltreated Christian Chinese, whom they blamed for some of the foreign troubles. A number of foreigners were killed, including the German minister. All foreigners in Peking sought refuge in the fortified British embassy when the city surrendered to the rebels, who besieged the legations. Troops were sent to China by Japan, France, Germany, and the United States. The allies captured Tientsin and commenced the tedious march to Peking to rescue the foreigners, whose massacre was imminent. Our soldiers and marines made a fine showing and were the first to arrive. Peking was taken, the prisoners were rescued, and the Boxers were suppressed.

Secretary Hay again urged fair treatment, and the nations finally agreed to accept a monetary indemnity and a guaranty against further insurrections. The United States was awarded

about \$24,000,000 ; but as the cost of the expedition proved to be less than half this amount, China was given a refund of the balance. In appreciation of American fairness China has since used this fund to send exceptional Chinese students to American universities. These students return to China as friendly emissaries on behalf of closer American relations. Since 1900 Catholic and Protestant missionaries have been more active in China, and several American-endowed colleges and preparatory schools have been established.

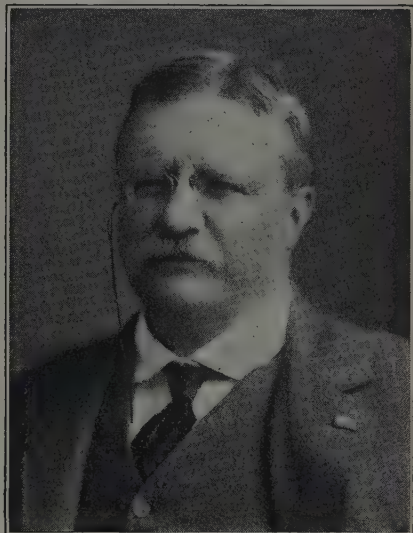
Assassination of McKinley. McKinley, on returning from a prolonged tour of the South, attended the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo and Niagara Falls. He was becoming a more popular figure, for his speeches indicated greater personal independence. He saw the extension of American commerce as the greatest need and urged that the tariff was no longer so essential to protect our industries and might be used as a means of encouraging more friendly commercial relations ; that is, our high tariff bars could be lowered for the products of a nation which welcomed our exports. Apparently McKinley was turning toward reciprocity. His visit ended in a horrible tragedy.

The President was shot down by a crazed foreign anarchist (Czolgosz), who appeared as one of a throng seeking to shake hands. After suffering a few days McKinley died September 14, 1901. The nation grieved ; he became a martyr. Following the trial and execution of the murderer there was a popular outburst against radicalism. Since then presidents have been more carefully guarded by secret-service men. Roosevelt was called from an isolated hunting camp in the Adirondacks to Buffalo, where he took the oath of office and succeeded to the presidency.

Roosevelt as President. Roosevelt declared that he would continue McKinley's policies and asked the whole cabinet to remain in office. Regardless of his intentions, Roosevelt could not bind himself. He was too individualistic, too much of an egoist, too aggressive and too big to continue long in the footsteps of his conservative predecessor. As Taft later wrote, Roosevelt was "the most commanding, the most original, and the most

interesting, and the most brilliant personality in American public life since Lincoln." In some ways he was the most typically American figure in public life.

Roosevelt was only forty-two years of age, the youngest president, but old in experience. Weak in his youth, he fought hard against disease and built a sturdy physique. After his graduation from Harvard he was elected to the New York assembly. It was not the thing for a scion of an old, aristocratic merchant family to break into practical politics, but Roosevelt made ward politics respectable. At Albany he showed an interest in reform. He then bought and worked a Dakota ranch, winning the respect of cowmen for his ability to take care of himself. As police commissioner of New York City he fought corruption and vice in municipal affairs, gaining the good will of reformers and the respect of honest citizens. He wrote



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

valuable historical and biographical books ; for although without professional training, he was deeply interested in historical studies. As we have seen, he was chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a fighting colonel in the Spanish War, a governor of New York, and a studiously quiet vice president.

Roosevelt and the Trusts. Roosevelt was keenly alive to the popular opposition to big business and ready to give official utterance to the feeling. He did not mold but he shrewdly sensed the public mind and acted accordingly. The people liked his direct assaults against the abuses of railroads and monopolies and business leaders whom he considered malefactors. He did

not hesitate to mention names in his messages and innumerable public addresses. His was the "big stick" method. In congressional messages of 1901 and 1902 he pointed out that the increase in fortunes and the rise of trusts and combinations were natural, but that abuses required correction. There must be inspection and governmental regulation; there must be publicity. The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission must be increased and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law made effective. Laws must be enforced regardless of the evildoer. He toured New England, where such views were not popular, striking hard blows which the "plain" people enjoyed. A more generally sympathetic audience was apparent when he journeyed about in the Middle West.

In 1903 the Department of Commerce and Labor was created with the idea of general inspection and systematic collection of information concerning the problems and activities of business and labor. Such a department, it was rightly believed, would benefit industry and labor as well as the nation.

Northern Securities Case. In the autumn of 1901 James J. Hill, who had built the Great Northern Railway from St. Paul to the Pacific coast, joined with J. P. Morgan, who controlled the Northern Pacific Railroad, to pool the stock of these two roads for a unified management. The roads parallel each other to the Western coast.

To secure an entrance to Chicago, they absorbed the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. The stock of these three railroads was held by a company formed under a New Jersey charter. The Northern Securities Company, as it was called, would manage their operation. Such a combination would end railroad competition along the northern route from Chicago to the coast. The shippers of the Northwest protested vigorously to the President against the monopoly, as they feared it would greatly increase fares and freight rates. It came as a shock to business when Roosevelt ordered Attorney-General Knox to proceed against this illegal combination. The President was violently attacked by financiers and the conservative press as a dangerous man "run amuck." Yet he was sustained when

the Supreme Court, by a five-to-four decision (1904), declared the merger illegal. The combination was dissolved, and a great victory was hailed. Yet the Northern Pacific and Great Northern did not become competing lines. Their directorates were closely associated and today they are generally regarded as almost one system. Shrewd corporation lawyers have been able to violate the spirit of the law and yet keep corporations within the letter of anti-trust legislation.

The Coal Strike. Meantime, Roosevelt won public esteem by courageous action in the anthracite-coal strike. The Pennsylvania coal fields had long been quiet; English-speaking laborers were replaced by foreign miners; the old owners had been forced out, and the mines were owned by the Lehigh, Lackawanna, and Reading railroads and worked through their dependent mining companies. The companies owned the miners' shanties and stores. The miners were always in debt. Work was hard and dangerous; accidents were numerous; life was held cheap; wages were low and hours were long. Mine bosses drove the laborers to the limit, for they looked upon them as "only foreigners." Yet coal was high-priced and the railroad profits were large. Anthracite was a monopoly product, as it was found only in northeastern Pennsylvania. Hence the owners charged all the public would pay.

John Mitchell, one of the greatest American labor leaders, had organized the United Mine Workers, which now sought higher wages and the recognition of the union. Union demands were refused; the coal barons would not compromise; they would have nothing to do with organized labor. George Baer, president of the Reading Coal and Iron Company, was their spokesman. The miners, nearly 150,000 in number, went on strike in May, 1902. As months dragged on, there was a coal shortage. Soon it was a famine, with prices rising as high as \$30 a ton. In the fall the cold Northwest and New England were worried. Governors and mayors appealed to the President to do something, lest people suffer and even freeze. The coal magnates hoped that a suffering public would force the miners to surrender. But Mitchell's men were well organized, and the

American Federation of Labor contributed heavily for the relief of the hard-pressed miners and their families.

Roosevelt ends the Strike. Roosevelt invited representatives of the miners and the operators to meet him at a White House conference. Mitchell, whom Roosevelt thought the ablest and fairest man present, offered to send the men back to work and submit all differences to arbitration. The coal barons refused all overtures and even the President's suggestions with a degree of insolence. They were going to run their own business in their own way, regardless of the miners or the suffering public. Roosevelt thereupon arranged with the governor of Pennsylvania to send Federal troops to the mines if necessary. He was without legal authority, but in the crisis he was willing to stretch a point. He intimated that he would take over and work the mines. Elihu Root saw Morgan, the real power behind the mines and coal-hauling railroads, and he in turn brought the operators to time. The strike was ended. Both sides agreed to arbitrate. The mines were soon in full blast. The operators hurried to supply the demand for hard coal in their fear that a nation forced to buy soft coal might continue using it and thus break their monopoly.

A commission was appointed. Mitchell and other leaders wanted a Catholic ecclesiastic on the commission, as most of the miners were Catholics. Roosevelt appointed Bishop Spalding of Peoria, whom he considered "one of the best men to be found in the entire country." After four months' study, this board submitted a report favoring the miners. A wage increase of 10 per cent was granted; the union was recognized. A fair degree of peace reigned in the anthracite field for about twenty years. The nation, proud of the hard-hitting Theodore Roosevelt, overlooked the fact that it paid more for coal. The operators could chuckle at their defeat. Labor was attached to Roosevelt, whose action was contrasted with that of Cleveland in the Pullman strike. His foreign policy was quite as strenuous.

Roosevelt and the Monroe Doctrine. If Roosevelt did not actually extend the Monroe Doctrine as conceived by such statesmen as Fish, Blaine, and Olney, he at least gave it a new

significance. Venezuelan despots had borrowed heavily from foreign bankers, and the nation was unable to pay. Germany, Italy, and Great Britain were ready to collect by force of arms (1901). The following year, Germany and Great Britain declared a peaceful blockade. Secretary Hay protested and urged arbitration. England agreed, but Germany refused. She seemed bent on trying out the Monroe Doctrine, if not desirous of obtaining a foothold in Venezuela. Roosevelt protested to the German ambassador, finally threatening that if the Kaiser did not agree to arbitrate within forty-eight hours, Admiral Dewey, with the whole navy, would proceed from West Indian waters to Venezuela. The Kaiser did agree, and Roosevelt tactfully praised him for his peaceful motives. Dewey was actually under orders, though at the time America was quite ignorant of Roosevelt's drastic action. It is possible that war might have resulted if Germany had persisted. When the foreign claims, including American, were investigated by a commission, they dwindled to a large degree. Drago, a brilliant international lawyer of Argentina, wanted the United States to favor a rule preventing the forcible collection of public debts, on the score that bankers are aware of their doubtful security when making loans to a semi-bankrupt state. To this the United States government gave its support in a Pan-American conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, but it was already serving as a policing and debt-collecting agency in the Caribbean Sea.

Santo Domingo Difficulties. Santo Domingo might have been annexed in Grant's administration, as he was in favor of it, if the Senate had not opposed it strongly. The history of Santo Domingo is a story of revolutions and dictators, and of foreign bankers charging usurious interest and calling upon their governments to aid in their collections. Roosevelt was aware that, if he denied foreign intervention, he must arrange to settle the corruptly ruled republic's just debts. The acting Dominican government agreed to assign its customs to an American receiver who would gradually pay the debt, but the Senate refused to ratify the agreement (1905). Roosevelt carried it out as an executive arrangement, and the debt was soon paid.

In 1907 a convention permitted the United States to protect such a receiver. New revolts and new debts brought another crisis in 1916. Marines were sent to restore order and put down "rebels," who were fighting the "legal" government. The republic was declared under our military administration. Secretary Hughes in 1922 arranged a temporary peace between factions and a withdrawal of our troops, but the marines have since from time to time occupied the island. The Dominicans do not like to be civilized by their neighborly, big-brother nation, nor do they like the "Devil Dogs," as the Germans named the marine corps. At times the United States is at a loss to explain its position, but has displayed remarkable restraint in not taking over the republic as a permanent protectorate.

The Alaskan Boundary. The disputed boundary between the Alaskan "panhandle" and Canada was amicably fixed by a commission presided over by the British lord chief justice, which met in London and represented the United States and Canada. The Englishman agreed with America, to the disgust of Canadians, who considered that their interests had been sacrificed. According to the settlement, Canada was shut off from the Pacific Ocean north of $54^{\circ} 40'$, and America gained control of the routes to the gold fields, the richest of which were admittedly on the Canadian side.

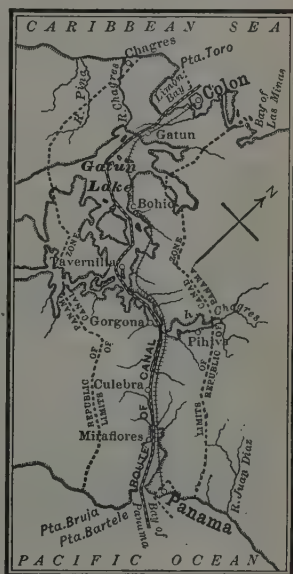
The Panama Canal. The old interest in an Isthmian canal revived in 1881, when a French company under De Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, obtained a charter from Colombia and commenced to dig. But a few years later this company failed. The United States realized the military and naval value of a canal during the Spanish War. It would require two powerful fleets to protect the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. A smaller navy would be sufficient, if the West and East could be brought closer together by a canal which would greatly reduce the long passage by way of Cape Horn. Engineers were detailed to examine the Nicaragua route, and the Panama properties for which the French concern wanted \$100,000,000. The Nicaragua route was nearer the United States, but the projected waterway would be over a hundred miles longer and would cost much more. It was said

to be more subject to volcanic disturbances. Despite all these difficulties, the Nicaragua route was preferred until the French company reduced the valuation of its properties in Panama to \$40,000,000.

Canal Diplomacy. John Hay in 1901 arranged the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with England, by which the earlier Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was abrogated. The United States was recognized as the sole builder and owner of the projected canal, with the right of fortification. It was agreed that the canal should be open on equal terms to all vessels of commerce and war regardless of their flag. It was never to be blockaded or made the scene of a naval combat, though the United States could close it to any enemy power. This treaty cleared the way. In January, 1902, the House passed the Nicaragua bill; but the Senate substituted Panama, which Roosevelt favored. The House after some delay concurred. Throughout the country a sharp controversy raged between people and journals who were probably ignorant of the merits and demerits of either route.

In 1903 a treaty was drafted with Colombia by which the United States agreed to pay \$10,000,000 for a six-mile-wide zone across the Isthmus of Panama, and after nine years a \$250,000 annual rental. The president of Colombia called a session of congress (the first in years), which refused to ratify the treaty, with the expectation of obtaining a higher price. Roosevelt could not be held up, nor would he allow the project to be retarded. The rest of the story is hardly creditable.

Panama was disgusted with Colombian rule and naturally wanted the canal. The Colombian congress had hardly ad-



THE CANAL ZONE

journed, when Panama revolted and proclaimed a republic (November 4, 1903). Roosevelt anticipated the revolt. Indeed, its exact time seemed to be known in advance in Washington. On November 6, Roosevelt recognized the Panama republic; and other powers followed suit. American vessels and marines prevented the suppression of the revolt by Colombian troops.



A BOAT PASSING THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

Roosevelt was severely criticized. Yet, as he explained in after years, it was necessary to take drastic action if the canal was not to be delayed. He would not be forced by a dictator, he observed. A more favorable treaty was drafted with Panama, giving the United States sovereignty over a ten-mile zone across the Isthmus, with the right to improve the towns of Colon and Panama on either end, for a payment of \$10,000,000 and \$250,000 annual rental after nine years.

Digging the Canal. Colonel William C. Gorgas of the army medical corps improved the sanitation of Panama, banishing malaria and yellow fever and making it a healthy living-place.

Colonel George W. Goethals, an army engineer, was in charge of construction. The clerks, foremen, and engineers were Americans, but the 45,000 laborers were foreigners and West Indian negroes. Huge steam shovels worked overtime, cutting the big ditch. As it was found cheaper, locks were decided on, instead of a sea-level strait connecting the oceans. Gatun Dam and the Culebra Cut were the most difficult feats. Much skill was required to prevent landslides. In 1909 President Taft inspected the zone, and in 1914 the canal was finished, at an approximate cost of \$400,000,000. Today the annual tolls amount to about \$25,000,000, but the canal will prove most beneficial in encouraging coast-to-coast trade between our Eastern and Western ports and in the rapid passage of ships in time of war from coast to coast. Transcontinental railroads at once experienced the competition of the canal and lowered their rates on through freight.

Americans were sensitive concerning the iron-handed diplomacy of Roosevelt and desirous of improving Latin-American relations by making an honorable amende. Secretary of State Bryan drafted a treaty with Colombia, which gave the latter certain trading advantages and a \$25,000,000 bonus. The Senate struck out an apologetic note of regret, and then refused to ratify the treaty. To stand by Roosevelt became a Republican tenet. Under President Harding a treaty was ratified which gave the \$25,000,000 grant to Colombia.

Election of 1904. Roosevelt had won his place in the hearts of the masses. He was not liked, but feared, by the bosses of his party. Big business was afraid of him. He "meddled" too much. His "big stick" methods, his "trust-busting" activities, and his interference in the coal strike aroused the opposition of magnates and railroad-operators. Yet they were powerless. Their man, Hanna, had died in the winter, and no other Republican had a chance of beating Roosevelt. There was some vague talk of business turning to Cleveland as a third-term Democratic candidate. The convention, presided over by Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, nominated Roosevelt by acclamation, as it did Charles Fairbanks of Indiana for vice president. The Democrats named,

much to the disgust of Bryan, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, an eminently respectable, conservative, gold-standard Democrat.

Of the result there could be little doubt. Parker's charges that George B. Cortelyou used information acquired as Secretary of Commerce to blackmail corporations into giving large donations fell flat. The nation had become accustomed to such charges. Again Democracy was divided. Roosevelt carried the election by 2,540,000 popular votes and 336 to 140 electoral votes. Parker failed to carry any Northern or Western state; Roosevelt even won Missouri and Maryland from the solid South. Roosevelt stood approved by the nation, and he took its mandate seriously. He was now president in his own right. Henceforth he talked of "my policies" and resented opposition.

An Era of Reform. Roosevelt, like Jackson, thought of himself as the people's spokesman. Like Jackson, too, he freely interpreted his own powers and greatly broadened the authority of the presidency. He thought of himself as a reformer, and he saw a rising demand for reform, to which he gave voice. Reactionary policies were losing caste. Big business must be curbed. Political practices and methods once accepted were now questioned. New leaders were winning recognition. The West, as ever, took a lead in the new progressive movement.

Reforms in the Air. Woman suffrage was gaining ground. The demand for an elective Senate was insistent. The purchase of seats in the Senate was openly charged. Something must be done to eliminate big-business control; direct election of members might reform the "Millionaires' Club." The demand increased for an amendment which would permit a graduated income tax, so that rich men should bear a larger share of the cost of government. Inheritance taxes were agitated, as a means of breaking up accumulated fortunes. Protective legislation for women and child workers was being enacted by the states. Factory-inspection laws were more general. Moral legislation, state and national, was advocated to protect girls from organized vice. The saloon was attacked on all sides. A number of states voted "dry," as did counties where state laws granted local

option. The primary-election method of nominating candidates for office had spread all over the West and was gaining ground in the North and East. It was hoped that popular primaries would break the control of party machines and lessen the power of professional politicians. Bosses were not in favor. Corrupt-practices acts were passed by more Northern states, in an effort to purify primary and general elections. Publication of campaign expenditures was demanded, and parties found it advisable to satisfy public curiosity with more or less accurate figures. There was insistence on both state and Federal laws to compel the filing and limitation of campaign expenses. Trust donations were frowned upon as semi-bribes for future favors.

Led by Oregon, a number of Far Western states provided for direct legislation, by popular initiative and by referring laws to the voters for approval. Legislatures were too often under suspicion. This appeared as a democratic check. As a club to hold elected or appointed officials in line, the same states adopted the "recall." As city councils and mayors were suspected of inefficiency and graft, a growing number of cities followed Galveston, Texas, and Des Moines, Iowa, in establishing the commission form of government, with the recall of elected commissioners and the merit system for appointed employees. Soon the city-manager idea of Dayton, Ohio, took hold. The reform spirit was evident everywhere.

Ending the Russo-Japanese War. In 1904 war broke out between Russia and Japan. Russia was whipped disastrously, but Japan was in no financial condition to continue the war. Roosevelt offered his services to bring about peace, and his offer was accepted. To break the deadlock, Roosevelt suggested that the Japanese commissioners give up demands for a huge indemnity which would saddle the cost of the war on Russia. This was done, and a peace treaty was arranged (August, 1905). America was proud of Roosevelt, and he took no small share of credit for ending the war. For his services in bringing about the Treaty of Portsmouth, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (founded by the Swedish inventor of dynamite). An element in Japan, however, was incensed with her envoys and the American President.

Anti-Japanese Agitation. Angered by the terms of the peace, a portion of the Japanese press became for a time somewhat anti-American. Our "yellow press" lost no time in featuring anti-Japanese news, the danger of Japan in the Pacific, possible Japanese attacks on the Philippines, and the Japanese menace on the Pacific coast. The "yellow peril" was given scare headlines. The old anti-Oriental feeling became acute in California.

In 1894 a treaty between the United States and Japan permitted immigration. At first only students came, but soon laborers arrived. In 1900 there were 10,000 Japanese in California; 40,000 in 1910; and 70,000 in 1920, or only 2 per cent. of the state's population. They were very efficient as fruit-growers; they could live on scant wages; and there were millions in crowded Japan who might immigrate. Japan did not recognize the right of a subject to change his allegiance (until 1924). Hence she looked upon the Japanese in the United States as potential Japanese soldiers. Westerners believed them spies, who would prove our ruin in case of war. San Francisco schools refused to receive Japanese pupils, some of whom were adults, and California passed laws preventing aliens who could not be naturalized from buying or leasing land. Japan's pride as a nation was injured. In bitterness she appealed to Roosevelt, who in turn waved his "big stick" in vain. California could not be coerced, for every state west of the Mississippi was in sympathy with Oriental exclusion. Yet Japan gave more freely to the earthquake sufferers of San Francisco than all foreign powers combined.

In 1906 Secretary Root arranged an agreement by which Japan would refuse passports to coolies. California permitted Japanese children to attend public schools if not over sixteen years of age. The Supreme Court has upheld the cleverly drafted laws of California and her sister states preventing Orientals from buying land. In 1924 Congress passed an immigration bill which excluded all Asiatics who are ineligible for citizenship, despite words of caution from Secretary Hughes, and because of what was hastily deemed a veiled threat from the Japanese ambassador in Washington. Japan cannot bear to be classed with

China and bitterly resents the forced exclusion of Japanese when the "gentlemen's agreement" between the two nations had, through the loyal coöperation of Japan herself, just as effectively prevented immigration.

Around the World with the Fleet. Roosevelt was deeply interested in a bigger navy. If the United States would maintain a world position, protect its distant possessions, and extend its commerce, a first-class navy, he felt, was essential. Before the end of his administration, our navy tied Germany for third place and was surpassed only by England and France. Proud of his accomplishment, the President ordered a fleet of 16 battleships with a complement of 12,000 men on a cruise from Hampton Roads (December, 1907), which ended only when the world had been circumnavigated. Neither English nor German naval authorities regarded such a feat as possible. Timid Americans feared Japan might strike during the absence of the protecting fleet. Some saw in the cruise dangerous navalism. At any rate, it made a world-wide impression and conveyed a stout argument for peace with the United States.

The Pacific coast gained courage when it heard of the fleet steaming around Cape Horn on the long voyage to its ports. Crossing to the Orient, nowhere were our men treated with more courtesy than in Japan. The fleet was invited to Australia and toasted in every port. It returned by way of the Suez Canal, stopping at a number of European ports. Spain gave friendly evidence that the war hatred was passing away. The officers and men had a gala time, as well as splendid experience in maneuvers and marksmanship. The fleet arrived in perfect trim, and was reviewed with éclat and self-satisfaction by Roosevelt on Washington's birthday (1909).

Polar Explorations. The prestige of our navy was further enlarged by the successful polar explorations of Commodore Robert E. Peary, culminating in April, 1909, with the discovery of the north pole. The first hopeless expedition had been financed in 1879 by that eccentric publisher of the *New York Herald*, James Gordon Bennett. All its members perished in the unknown North. In 1881 Lieutenant Greeley of the army led an

expedition, the survivors of which were rescued by Commodore Schley three years later. Other attempts were made, including that of Dr. Cook, who claimed to have reached the north pole and for a time was lionized. He was completely discredited shortly afterward when Peary raised the Stars and Stripes on the very top of the globe, after five weeks of struggling over dangerous ice floes where hardly a polar bear had ever trod. Within two years the Norwegian, Captain Amundsen, a worthy son of the Norse vikings, reached the south pole. The work of Leif the Lucky was finally ended.

Roosevelt's Second Administration and the Corporations. Roosevelt had a freer hand. The American Sugar Company was convicted of evading duties on raw sugar, and fined. Several of its officials were punished. It was the publicity rather than the fines which hurt. The Standard Oil Company was convicted of receiving rebates and assessed \$29,000,000 on numerous counts, but a higher Federal court set aside the huge fine. E. H. Harriman, on refusing to contribute to the Republican campaign fund, in 1906 found his railroad activities subjected to close inspection. Nothing, however, was actually done. Yet the investigation was not without effect on railroad management. The President struck a hard blow at corporation candidates for the Senate, by refusing to stamp with his approval certain Republican aspirants whose only qualification was enormous wealth rather irregularly amassed. At every turn he advertised his activities as no other president has ever done, and hence won wider popular support than his accomplishments actually warranted.

Outstanding Legislation. In 1906 an employers'-liability law was passed which enabled employees of interstate-commerce carriers to collect damages for injuries sustained in the service. The hours of trainmen and telegraphers were limited for the sake of safety. Many railroad accidents were traced to sleepy engineers and switchmen. Another law compelled railroads to equip their trains with safety devices. The Hepburn Act gave the Interstate Commerce Commission authority over pipe lines and express companies. It could reduce unfair rates. Passes were ordered discontinued save to employees. Rebates were made

illegal. Railroads were compelled to publish uniform rates and keep their books in accordance with the rules of the commission. As this law came to be broadly interpreted the railroads found that as far as rate-making was concerned their business was going to be closely supervised by the government.

Through the efforts of Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, a government chemist, there was enacted a Pure Food and Drugs law (1906), which prohibits the misbranding of products or any adulteration of foods and drugs. All package goods must be properly labeled, and the net weight indicated if for interstate trade. State laws have supplemented national regulations. As a result fake medicine concerns which once grew rich at the expense of the sick and ignorant, were practically driven out of business. More rigid mail regulations made easy the prosecution of illegal advertising of get-rich-quick schemes and doubtful stocks. A Federal commission headed by Dr. Charles P. Neill investigated the meat-packing industry and found conditions extremely bad. Therewith a supplementary law provided for rigid Federal inspection of all processes from the slaughtering of animals until the packed meat is placed on the market for sale.

The President displayed keen interest in the life-insurance investigation in New York (1905), so skillfully conducted by Charles Evans Hughes. This resulted in revolutionizing insurance methods and the elimination of corrupt mismanagement. It helped to make Hughes governor of New York in 1906 and a presidential candidate in 1916, and brought the insurance business of the nation under close Federal and state regulation. In turn the business profited, for the public confidence in its financial stability greatly stimulated the demand for insurance. On the whole, wise regulation has aided rather than injured business; it has silenced public opposition and ended suspicion.

Bankers' Panic of 1907. The failure of a huge New York trust company caused a run on the banks in the fall of 1907. There was every indication of a general depression: the gold reserve sank; a hundred million dollars in gold had to be brought from Europe; banks refused to cash checks; money was scarce; interest rates were high; stocks and bonds fell to low levels;

business ceased; and work was hard to obtain. Business men blamed the depression on Roosevelt's "trust busting" activities. Secretary Cortelyou went to New York and held conferences with the Morgan-Harriman-Stillman group of bankers. The nation was surprised to find the President surrendering, like Cleveland, to the "money combine." Apparently by pooling their capital the great financial interests were able to tide the banks over the trying weeks. The depression did not last long, nor did it seriously affect the West and South.

In this connection Roosevelt, at the solicitation of Judge Gary and H. C. Frick, permitted the United States Steel Corporation to buy the unsteady Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, apparently guaranteeing immunity from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They represented that otherwise a powerful bank loaded with the stock of this company would fail and bring allied concerns down in a general crash. Roosevelt was assaulted on all sides. He was not a consistent crusader against trusts, his opponents insisted. Yet later the courts upheld his position. The administration rather drastically supported state suppression of industrial disorders during strikes in the mines of Colorado and Idaho, where the rather radical Western Federation of Miners was strong. The "little panic" caused a revision of the national banking act so that banks could issue notes on approved securities as well as on government bonds, and the appointment of a Federal commission to study the general banking situation.

Conservation of Natural Resources. Conservation of natural resources for the national good was an old theme. Liberals had long raged against the exploitation of water-power sites, mines, and standing timber by powerful corporations. Rights had too often been obtained by corrupt means. The government had not been watchful. Its agents had failed to protect its interests. Meanwhile colossal fortunes were amassed at the expense of the nation, which as a whole should have profited by the God-given natural wealth in timber, precious minerals, iron, copper, coal, and water power. The public was growing more insistent. Minority parties had not written conservation planks into their platforms

in vain. The major parties accepted the issue. Once it was called to his notice by Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forest Service, and F. H. Newell, a noted government engineer, Roosevelt so usurped the whole conservation movement that one almost associates conservation with his name. At any rate, action soon followed.

To afforest the land, tree claims of 160 acres had been given for a time in the prairie West (1873). The scheme was not



SHOSHONE FALLS, WHERE IS SITUATED A LARGE POWER PLANT

effective. A forestry division was added to the Department of Agriculture (1881). Yellowstone National Park (1872) and Yosemite National Park (1890) were made forest reserves. The president was authorized to withdraw from entry certain lands for forest reserves. When Roosevelt became president, about 43,000,000 acres had been so reserved, but by the end of his administration about 180,000,000 acres were set apart. He did not hesitate to use his discretionary power despite the intense opposition of Western senators, some of whom were "lumber kings."

In 1902 Senator Newlands's (Nevada) Reclamation Act passed with the support of the administration. It provided that

the funds procured from land sales in the sixteen semi-arid states should be used for irrigation purposes, building dams, and reservoirs to store surplus waters until needed during the dry season. This was but a beginning, for within a few years the government appropriated huge sums of money to dam the overflow waters of the Colorado, Columbia, and Sacramento rivers, and to build the huge Roosevelt dam in Arizona. Millions of acres of arid land were made tillable by costly irrigation works. In 1908 Roosevelt called a conference of governors at the White House to consider broad policies for the conservation of land and timber, and the protection of national rights over water power, timber, and mineral deposits which had not already fallen into private hands. It was late, but not too late. Conservation had been given a good impetus, and the public was solidly behind the movement.

Roosevelt makes Taft President. Roosevelt's choice of Secretary of War Taft as his successor was long apparent. He did not think that Elihu Root would be acceptable to the West. Taft was Roosevelt's spokesman in the short intervals during which the President was not speaking for himself. As a Yale graduate, an oil inspector in Ohio, a Federal judge, a governor of the Philippines, and a cabinet member, Taft had always stood the test. He was neither a reactionary nor a liberal. He was pleasing to business and conservatives in general. Roosevelt was accused of using the patronage to advance Taft's candidacy and control the convention in his behalf. He admittedly did all in his power to name Taft, who refused an appointment to the Supreme Court in order that he might be more available.

The Republican convention was presided over by Senator Lodge, who described Roosevelt as "the best abused and most popular man in the United States." It adopted a conservative platform: Roosevelt's policies were approved in full; the accomplishments of the party were listed; the coming centenary of Lincoln's birth was exploited; Democracy was pictured as socialistic; monopolies were to be restricted; and, strangely enough, tariff revision was advocated. Taft was named on the first ballot, for the delegates were well instructed. James S.

Sherman of New York was named for second place. The shadow of Roosevelt overhung the convention. Like Jackson, he named his successor.

Bryan was quite as dominant in assembled Democracy. For two years he had been openly campaigning on his own behalf on a lecture tour and in the columns of his organ, the *Commoner*. The convention named Bryan, with John W. Kern of Indiana, an unknown man, for vice president. The platform lacked its old radicalism, though it heartily condemned Republican extravagance and all that made up "Cannonism" in Congress and "Rooseveltism" in the White House. Shall the people rule? was Bryan's new battle cry. All contributions of over a hundred dollars were published before election, while Republicans waited until afterwards.

Bryan outran the last Democratic presidential candidate by about a million votes, yet he fell more than 1,260,000 votes behind Taft. An electoral vote of 321 to 162 indicated that Roosevelt's choice had satisfied the country. The Democratic party, however, made a rather good showing in state and local elections.

Taft's Presidency. Taft's inauguration was marked by a severe blizzard such as Washington rarely experiences. Little did the spectators who witnessed the ceremonies think that the raging storm augured a troubled administration. Roosevelt parted with Taft as with a brother, as he hurried to his home in Oyster Bay, Long Island, to prepare for an extended African hunting and exploring expedition. Taft retained two members of the old cabinet and named several conservative lawyers to head other departments. A change of administration was evident. Congress, which had been dominated by Roosevelt, commenced to reassert its prerogatives. The genial Taft was no man to stand in its way or forget constitutional limitations in assuming new powers. He was a jurist and an administrator, not a "go-getter." He was democratic but not a ready "mixer" with men of all classes. He was not an egoist. He had no talent for advertising himself or "selling" his administration to the general public through newspaper contacts. He was far from radical nor did he pose as more liberal than he actually was. On

the other hand, he was not so reactionary as the opposition painted him.¹ He was honest and tolerant, but failed to call public attention to his ability by flattering self-analysis.

Taft and the Trusts. Roosevelt waved the "big stick," while Taft, with less noise, was quite as active in trust regulation. The President arranged for trade reciprocity with Canada only to

see it overwhelmingly defeated when referred to the Dominion voters. It was a keen disappointment, as was the ruination by the Senate of his treaties of arbitration with England and France. The Mann-Elkins law increased the regulatory authority of the Interstate Commerce Commission so as to include telephone, telegraph, and cable companies, and bridges and ferries. It was also empowered to institute proceedings against a railroad without awaiting action by the Attorney-General. A



WILLIAM H. TAFT

Commerce Court was created to expedite appeals from the commission. Nor did Taft in his appointments pack the courts or commissions in the interest of party, although the impeachment of one of the judges of the Commerce Court gave it a rather bad start. In the three closing days of the administration it was ordered that the Interstate Commerce Commission undertake a physical valuation of the railroads as a basis for later rate-making. In 1911 the Standard Oil and American Tobacco companies were

¹ He elevated Justice Edward Douglas White of the Supreme Court to the Chief-Justiceship, although he was a Catholic, a Democrat, and a Confederate veteran. On White's death (1921) Taft was named his successor by President Harding.

dissolved as combinations in restraint of trade. This did not restore competition in these industries, for the law could be evaded. The trusts were merely broken into "rival companies" controlled by the same group of directors (interlocking directorates). There was a futile prosecution of the so-called "big five" meat packers.

A law creating the parcel-post service was passed and the long-delayed carriage of small parcels as part of the mail service was instituted (1913). Obviously, the express companies were less influential in Congress and no longer able to maintain their monopoly free from postal competition. Credit for much of this legislation was claimed by the Progressives and Democrats, but if the President had been opposed to it, Congress could not have passed it over his veto.

Taft and Conservation. Taft believed in conservation. No less than nine acts were passed in 1910, including an act separating land titles to surface rights from mineral rights. Mineral lands, too, were to be leased and not sold or alienated. Yet popularly Taft was described as an enemy to conservation and depicted as a friend of predatory interests, because of a controversy which rent the Interior Department. Ballinger, a former mayor of Seattle and a Roosevelt appointee to the Land Office, was Taft's Secretary of the Interior. At one time he had been counsel for the Cunningham Alaskan claims. In office he was accused of aiding this group, which was supposed to be backed by the Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate, in obtaining coal grants which were later cancelled. He was exonerated by a congressional investigation. In the meantime he dropped Gifford Pinchot from the Forest Service on a charge of insubordination. Taft stood behind Ballinger until he voluntarily resigned. In Congress the battle raged, Democrats and Progressives seeing in the controversy an opportunity to harass the administration. Pinchot went abroad and interviewed Roosevelt, then in Europe, picturing Taft as an enemy to the former's policies and an opponent of the whole conservation movement. The press took up the cry, for it made wonderful campaign material in the coming congressional elections.

Payne-Aldrich Tariff. Taft called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff. S. E. Payne of the Committee on Ways and Means introduced a tariff measure, which passed the House. Senator Aldrich's Committee on Finance introduced a substitute measure, which passed the Senate despite a filibuster of Democrats and Progressive Republicans. The country was suspicious of the powerful senator from Rhode Island, who was closely



© Harris & Ewing

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

connected by marriage with the Rockefellers and long known as a banking representative. Finally, in conference, a compromise bill of several hundred pages in length was agreed upon and passed by the "stand pat" Republican majority in both Houses. As the bill did not reduce the tariff rates and some charged that the new schedule was higher than the Dingley tariff, Taft did not fully approve of the measure. Yet he signed it as the best act which could be procured at the time (1909).

The new law provided for a Court of Customs Appeals and authorized a Tariff Commission as a permanent body to investigate and study tariff needs. During the same session Congress, at Taft's request, submitted to the states a proposed amendment

which would enable the government to levy an income tax. In 1913 the requisite number of states agreed, and the Sixteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution. For the tariff the administration was bitterly assailed, while for supporting a Tariff Commission, an income-tax amendment, and a proposal to levy taxes on inheritances Taft received little credit.

Elections of 1910. During the campaign Taft shouldered responsibility for the tariff in an attempt to aid "stand pat" Republican candidates for Congress. It proved unavailing. It was a bad year for Republicans. The nation felt that the tariff act was a repudiation of the late platform, that conservation was in danger, and that the government was controlled by reactionaries. There was a widespread revolt. Eight Republican states, including New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, elected Democratic governors. The Democrats won a majority of 66 seats in the House. Milwaukee sent the first Socialist member, Victor Berger, to Congress. Progressive, anti-administration Republicans were elected to Congress and named by Western states for the Senate. Even with these insurgents the Republican majority in the Senate was reduced to ten.

Congressional Reform. Speaker Cannon was dethroned, and the former minority leader, "Champ" Clark, of Missouri, was chosen Speaker. Oscar Underwood of Alabama became chairman of the powerful Committee on Ways and Means. The Speakership was shorn of its assumed powers. The day of Reed and Cannon as types of autocratic rulers of the House was over; "Cannonism" perished. Membership on committees (committees virtually control congressional legislation) was no longer left to the Speaker but controlled by Congress itself through a committee of selection and by party caucuses. Cannon had packed the committees in the interest of party, and especially the reactionary wing of his party. Speaker Clark was satisfied with being merely a presiding officer. In the Senate the "Old Guard" was broken. Some had died and others had been retired. New leaders were forging to the front: progressives like Robert La Follette, who had broken the political control of railroad, lumber, and mining "kings" over Wisconsin, Dolliver and Cummins

of Iowa, Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, and Johnson of California. "Aldrichism" in the Senate was badly shaken. The way was clear for the New Democracy.

References

E. L. PEARSON, *Roosevelt*; A. H. SANFORD, *Story of Agriculture in the United States*; HART, *Contemporaries*, Vol. V; BASSETT, *Expansion and Reform*, pp. 107-187.

Bibliography

LATANÉ, *America as a World Power*; F. A. OGG, *National Progress*; A. C. COOLIDGE, *The United States as a World Power*; LEROY-BEAULIEU, *The United States in the Twentieth Century*; M. SULLIVAN, *Our Times*; ROOSEVELT, *Autobiography*; *American Year Books*; T. DENNETT, *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*; P. J. TREAT, *Japan and the United States*; ASAKAWA, *Russo-Japanese Conflict*; CHARLES LANMAN, *Japanese in America*; C. R. VAN HISE, *Conservation of National Resources*; G. W. JONES, *Reclaiming the Arid West*; CHARLES MCCARTHY, *The Wisconsin Idea*; F. E. HAYNES, *Social Politics in the United States*; B. P. DE WITT, *The Progressive Movement*; R. GITTINGER, *Formation of Oklahoma*; W. D. FOULKE, *Fighting the Spoilsman*; K. H. PORTER, *National Platforms*; S. W. MCCALL, *Business of Congress*; S. J. DUNCAN-CLARK, *Progressive Movement*; D. P. BARROWS, D. C. WORCESTER, and C. F. RUSSELL all have works on the Philippines; *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. III, pp. 375 ff., and Vol. IV, pp. 315 ff.; L. S. ROWE, *The United States and Porto Rico*; CHARLES CHAPMAN, *History of the Cuban Republic*; G. H. STUART, *Latin America and the United States*; C. L. JONES, *Mexico and its Reconstruction*; MARY WILLIAMS, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*; I. E. BENNETT, *History of the Canal*; J. B. BISHOP, CORINNE ROOSEVELT ROBINSON, J. A. RIIS, H. J. HOWLAND, W. D. LEWIS, and LORD CHARNWOOD all have lives of Roosevelt; TAFT, *Our Chief Executive*; J. B. FORAKER, *Notes of a Busy Life*; R. F. PETTIGREW, *Imperial Washington*; F. GREENSLET, *Thomas B. Aldrich*; O. S. STRAUS, *Under Four Administrations*; R. CORTISSOZ, *White-law Reid*; W. R. THAYER, *Life and Letters of John Hay*; H. ADAMS, *The Education of Henry Adams*; M. L. STORER, *In Memoriam of Bellamy Storer*.

2. WILSON'S NEW DEMOCRACY

The Republican Schism. A bitter fight between Taft and Roosevelt upset all Republican calculations. Roosevelt and his friends in the *Outlook* office secretly arranged an inspired appeal asking Roosevelt to lead the Progressive Republicans. Seven

governors signed this appeal, and Roosevelt with due humility agreed to run if the convention named him. His "hat in the ring," Roosevelt explained away his earlier third-term attitude by pointing to the intervening administration of President Taft. He attacked Taft as a friend of the "bosses," a reactionary, and one who had failed in his trust. In his own planks he outlined conservation, an income tax, labor legislation, recall of judges and judicial decisions, restrictions of monopolies, direct primaries, and the "New Nationalism."

When the Republican convention met in Chicago, Taft's managers held the votes of the Southern delegates, even as Roosevelt had in 1908. The bosses and the powerful conservative business interests were behind Taft. Roosevelt won most of the delegates from states where they were selected by the voters in direct primaries. A fifth of the seats were contested, but all contests were settled in favor of Taft delegations. Roosevelt's managers charged that the machine's "steam roller" leveled all opposition. Elihu Root was named chairman over the progressive Governor McGovern of Wisconsin. When he arose to give the keynote speech, the opposition catcalled and hissed him. Turmoil reigned. On the first ballot Taft received 651 votes, Roosevelt 107, La Follette 41, while 344 delegates refused to vote. With the nomination of Taft, the progressives met separately and offered Roosevelt the nomination on a third-party ticket. Arrangements were made to call a Progressive, or "Bull Moose,"¹ convention.

The Progressives met in a convention marked by hymn-singing and religious fervor. They were crusaders. Enthusiasm ran high. The scholarly Senator Beveridge of Indiana presided, and a long, liberal platform with a decided Rooseveltian stamp was issued. Roosevelt was named by acclamation. Jane Addams of Chicago (one of the leading social-workers and suffragists of America) seconded his nomination. Women were conspicuous for the first time in a national convention. Hiram Johnson of California, who had successfully fought the Southern Pacific

¹ Roosevelt, on being asked concerning his health, shouted, "I feel like a bull moose," and hence the popular label for the new party.

Railroad's domination of his state, was selected for vice president. The Republican schism gave Democracy high hopes.

Woodrow Wilson, Standard-Bearer. Bryan was not a candidate, but he dominated the Democratic convention, though the conservative Alton B. Parker was made chairman. Bryan denounced the bosses, and Belmont and Thomas F. Ryan (the wealthiest men in the party), who were present, as men of Wall Street who would force a reactionary candidate upon the people. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House and "favorite son" of Missouri, led the balloting with more than a majority. Had this been a Republican convention, Clark would have been nominated, but he was unable to command the necessary two-thirds vote. Finally the delegates pledged to Oscar Underwood of Alabama and to Judson Harmon of Ohio grew restive. The bosses, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, Thomas Taggart of Indiana, and Charles Murphy of Tammany turned to the virtually unknown Wilson. Harmony was desired, for all men recognized that the Taft-Roosevelt feud made Democratic success more than likely. On the forty-sixth ballot a landslide of votes gave Wilson the coveted nomination. The unassuming Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana was awarded the vice-presidential nomination over Governor Burke of North Dakota. Progressive Democracy, thanks to Bryan, the "Great Commoner," was triumphant.

The Election of 1912. In the heated three-cornered election Wilson was an easy victor. His campaign addresses, published as *The New Freedom*, won the support of college men, intellectuals, the middle class, and organized labor. Wilson polled 6,293,019 votes, Roosevelt 4,119,507, and Taft 3,484,956. The total Roosevelt-Taft vote was less than Taft's vote in 1908 had been, but was more than Wilson's. Debs, the Socialist candidate, attracted more than 900,000 votes. Wilson was a minority president. In the electoral college, the results were more decided: Wilson, 435; Roosevelt, 88 (California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington); and Taft, 8 (Vermont and Utah). Wilson carried the West and South, but if the Republicans had been united he would have lost all the Republican states (including New York) and hence the

election. Roosevelt not only elected Taft in 1908, but he threw the election to the Democrats in 1912. The nation obviously was willing to see Taft retire. In the new Senate the Democrats had a majority of six seats, and in addition to the support of several Progressives could count on a majority of 144 in the House. America was ready to give the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland another opportunity.

Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was a new type, the professor and scholar in politics. Born in Virginia, reared in Georgia and South Carolina, and educated at Princeton and the University of Virginia, he was a son of the reconstructed South. Failing in law practice at Atlanta, he prepared himself as a teacher of political science at Johns Hopkins. He was an instructor at Bryn Mawr and at Wesleyan in Connecticut, rose to a professorship at Princeton, and finally



WOODROW WILSON

became president of that university (1902). Wilson tried to make Princeton an even greater seat of learning, a center of social democracy, and a secularized college. He was at odds with the wealthy alumni, the trustees, and certain powerful members of the faculty. He was encouraged to resign. His chance came. A break in the Republican machine and the falling-out of Democratic bosses gave Wilson the nomination for the governorship of New Jersey, and the election. He had long been a shrewd student of theoretical politics and a writer of books and essays on government and history, and he quickly mastered practical politics. As governor he won local fame

and attracted the attention of progressive Democrats of the East. Yet until his presidential campaign Wilson was not widely known, save in Princeton and in professional historical circles.

As president, Wilson was destined to wield more power than any man in America since Lincoln's time, and to gain an international fame and temporary power such as no other American has ever won and few men in history have ever attained.

Wilson's Inaugural. A vast and tense crowd listened to Wilson's inaugural address, delivered from the east portico of the Capitol. It was the masterpiece of a student, a *littérateur*, and an idealist :

This is not a day of triumph ; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us ; men's lives hang in the balance ; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust ? Who dares fail to try ? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me.

Wilson did more than pen fine lines. He called attention to tariff and banking reform, to the need of encouraging agriculture, developing watercourses and reclaiming waste lands, and to conservation. His was a forward-looking program. As a minority president, supported by a conservative South, he must have realized the hard fight ahead.

The New Cabinet. Wilson's chief cabinet selections were, by many, considered disappointing. He paid off political debts like an old-time politician. Bryan as Secretary of State was without special qualifications or experience, but he had served Wilson well in the convention. William G. McAdoo (Wilson's future son-in-law) was known as the promoter of the Hudson River tunnels, and had been a fair Tennessee lawyer in his earlier years, but financiers were not pleased with his choice as head of the Treasury Department. L. M. Garrison was selected for the War Department post. An inconspicuous North Carolina small-town editor, Josephus Daniels, was made Secretary of the Navy. It would be mild to say that navy men were disappointed.

A Democratic Tariff. Determined to carry out tariff reform, Wilson called an extra session of Congress and in person read his message at a joint meeting of both Houses. Thus he broke a precedent of more than a century, for John Adams had been the last president who personally addressed Congress. Wilson thought that he could exercise a greater influence in this way.



THE WILSON DAM AT MUSCLE SHOALS

The Underwood tariff bill, which had been framed by the minority group in the previous session of Congress, was ready. It was easily steered through the House. In the Senate trouble arose, for, regardless of party, senators were anxious to retain duties on their states' products. Wilson boldly denounced the active lobby. On investigation, it was officially learned (though most people had long been aware of the lobby's existence) that various interests maintained heavily financed offices and agents to look after their "pet" measures or "kill" injurious bills. Lobbyists were often ex-members of Congress, and thus well acquainted with the routine of legislative procedure and with influential members. Wilson's attack weakened the lobbies for

a time and warned the public of their dangerous activities. Lobbies have not been so open since, but it is doubtful if they are less active. Wilson's clever move aided the bill's passage through the Senate.

The Underwood tariff act actually revised the tariff downward to an average rate of about 30 per cent. More than a hundred articles were on the free list: corn, potatoes, flour, meats, lumber, sugar, wool, iron ore, steel rails, and wooden products, among others. On hundreds of articles duties were lowered, especially on woolens, cotton goods, foodstuffs, clothing, and other necessities of life. Big business stormed. A panic was predicted, and times were bad enough for a twelvemonth. To make up the loss in revenue, a graduated income tax in accordance with the new amendment was levied on all incomes over \$3000 (or \$4000 for heads of families).

Federal Reserve Act. The special session had not completed the tariff when Wilson again appeared before Congress to urge a revision of banking and currency laws. President Taft's efforts toward this end had been without avail, because of the Democratic and insurgent opposition which he faced during his last two years. Carter Glass, a shrewd financial authority, introduced a bill which had been outlined in consultation with Secretary McAdoo and other Democratic leaders. On passing the House, the bill was modified in the Senate, but, as the Glass-Owen Act, finally passed. It has proved so great a piece of legislation that a spirited controversy continues as to its actual authorship.

A central Federal Reserve Board, of six appointed members plus the Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency, is in charge of the system, which is made up of twelve regional Federal Reserve Banks, each located in the financial center of its district. A district bank has nine directors, of whom three represent the member banks, three the business and agricultural interests, and three are appointees of the central board. Every national bank of the region must be a member, and all other banks and trust companies may become members on assuming their share of stock. The Federal Reserve system does

business only with banks. On a 40 per cent reserve of gold and commercial paper, it issues notes which can be lent to member banks. It receives deposits from the Federal treasury and from local banks (one half to two thirds of their reserve). In this way the amount of paper money in a region or in all regions can be increased or decreased, depending on the volume of business. It gives elasticity to the currency. Again, one Federal Reserve regional bank can aid other regional banks, as well as member banks in its own district, in an emergency. For instance, this system would have been serviceable in tiding over the critical weeks of 1907.

The Federal Reserve Act was opposed at first by banking interests, on the score of governmental interference in private business. It was regarded as an experiment. Its supporters claim that it will prevent panics and wrest financial control from Wall Street. The new system proved valuable in the dark summer of 1914, and again in the post-war period.

Wilson and Big Business. Wilson did not view combinations in business as unnatural, but argued that big business must be regulated in the interest of the public. Appearing before Congress, he outlined a plan which won the support of all progressives. The opposition was powerless. The Federal Trade Act (1914) gave authority to an independent commission of five men to examine existing and proposed combinations, advise in the reorganization of corporations, and prevent violations of the letter or spirit of the law. All corporations doing an interstate business must submit detailed annual reports to this commission.

The Clayton Act (1914) was quite as important, and the President displayed even greater ingenuity in steering it through Congress. In the form of an amendment to the Anti-Trust Law of 1890, the new law defined accurately what was meant by a combination in restraint of trade. Interlocking directorates, especially in banking and transportation, were forbidden. No corporation could "swallow," by purchase or otherwise, a rival, competitive corporation. For instance, a railroad could not own a competing shipping-line. When rival concerns had been bought out, there could be no discrimination in prices, to

destroy competition. The law was enforceable by the Trade and Interstate Commerce commissions. Combinations were permitted in the case of corporations in foreign commerce. At the instance of a powerful lobby, labor and agricultural groups were exempted from the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, although both Presidents Roosevelt and Taft had opposed or vetoed such provisions. Strikes and picketing were legalized, and injunctions in labor disputes were forbidden unless positively necessary. Liberals viewed this economic legislation with satisfaction, for they agreed with the principle that "the labor of a human being is not an article of commerce." Wilson insisted that all fair-minded business men were in sympathy with this reform, which would prove detrimental only to business consolidations that indulged in unfair practices. Business, at any rate, was no longer left to its own devices without restraint or regulation.

Prosecution of Combinations. A number of cases were pending when Wilson and Attorney-General McReynolds came into power. Suit was brought against the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad for violation of the anti-trust laws, as it had silenced competition in New England by acquiring all the railroads, coast shipping, and even public utilities. A dissolution was forced, and the stock of the railroad has ever since sold far below par. Criminal prosecutions against officers failed, though public sentiment forced the resignations of several (1914). The National Cash Register Company, on prosecution, agreed to cease its unfair attacks upon competitors. The merger of the Eastman Kodak Company of New Jersey with that of New York was dissolved. The Supreme Court by a four-to-three decision declared that the United States Steel Corporation was not guilty under the anti-trust laws of illegal practices, as was also the case in the long-drawn-out prosecution of the Southern Pacific Railroad. The International Harvester Company was compelled to break up into three concerns with no interlocking directorates; that is, each was to have its own independent board of directors. These cases were important enough in themselves, but were chiefly so as object lessons for big business, and as pointed definitions of anti-trust legislation.

Panama Canal Tolls. In 1912 Congress passed a law charging a toll of \$1.25 a ton on all vessels going through the canal, save American coast-shipping, which was given free passage. Great Britain protested that this exemption was contrary to a provision in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and Secretary Root agreed. In Congress and throughout the country it was felt that the United States had dug the canal and should rule it. Both major parties took this stand during the campaign. Yet, on becoming convinced of the justness of the British protest, Wilson repudiated the plank which Senator O'Gorman of New York had written into the Democratic platform. In 1913 he sent an intimate counselor, Colonel House of Texas, to see Ambassador Page at London and Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary. In view of the anti-British clamor which would rise in America if the public thought that our hand was being forced, it was agreed that Wilson should take the lead in removing this special advantage for American shipping, in accordance with our treaty pledge. In March, 1914, he appeared before Congress and asked the ungrudging repeal of the law. After three months of wrangling, the President finally won.

Caribbean Sea Interests. Revolution, attacks on foreigners, indebtedness, and a boundary conflict with Santo Domingo made the negro republic of Haiti a difficult problem. The French, British, and German governments (1911-1914) were threatening forced collections. American marines were sent to maintain order and replace French troops of occupation. Thereupon the United States took over the customs, restricted Haitian expenses, patrolled the country, and paid off the debt. This was all regularized by treaty for a term of ten years (1916). An election was held and a fairly stable government was established. Yet the end was not in sight. Marines see frequent service, and the United States has assumed a virtual protectorate over the little republic.

In 1916 the United States purchased the Danish West Indian, or Virgin, Islands for \$25,000,000, the negotiations having been conducted by our minister, Maurice Francis Egan (a Catholic essayist). With the approval of the inhabitants, the United States incorporated the three little islands in our "empire."

The chief advantage lay in preventing their sale to some strong power, though their ownership will strengthen our naval position in the Caribbean Sea and our canal defenses.

Mexican Turmoil. Mexico was in turmoil before Taft's administration ended. For ten years after the French had withdrawn and Maximilian's empire had fallen, there had been disorder. Juarez and Tejada successively held power as dictators during these years. Finally, an unusually strong man appeared — Porfirio Diaz. He was a dictator and an autocratic ruler. Elections were mere formalities. There was no self-government, but for over thirty years he maintained order. Bandits were suppressed. Roads and schools were built. The vast resources of the land were developed. Foreign capital was given concessions, and foreign investments were heavy. Railroads were built by American promoters and managed by American officials. The Spanish land laws were changed so that purchasers were not restricted to surface rights, but given mineral and oil rights as well. Hence capital found it profitable to develop iron, silver, lead, copper, and gold mines, and English and American rival companies entered the oil business. Pipe lines were laid, and oil tankers brought oil to New York or to the English refineries. Plantations were purchased and exploited with cheap peon labor. The land was prosperous, even though exploited by foreign companies. True, the vast majority of the people, half-breeds and Indians, were poor, landless, and hardly better than serfs. Yet they were not ready for self-rule. The higher class was contented. For this group, it was the happiest period since Spain had been driven forth.

Diaz, growing old, lost control in 1910 and fled as an exile to Europe. An era of revolution followed. Madero raised himself to the presidency, only to be murdered by his enemies, who made the half-breed Indian, Huerta, ruler. Huerta was announced as another strong man who would maintain order and protect foreigners, as well as improve the living conditions of the Mexican peons. The Maderists, led by Carranza and Villa, were in revolt. Our minister, who knew Mexico, believed that, if Huerta was recognized and enabled to buy American arms, he would

maintain his authority. At this point, President Wilson succeeded Taft and fell heir to the Mexican problem.

The Mexican Muddle. Wilson was an idealist. He had little sympathy for foreign investments in Mexico. He refused to follow the old policy of recognizing the acting government providing it could maintain order, regardless of its origin and despotic character. European nations were recognizing Huerta, and threatening to intervene despite the Monroe Doctrine to protect the life and property of their subjects in Mexico. Wilson maintained that Huerta had risen to power through murder, and that he was unfit to govern. Our retired minister pointed out that there could be no free election in a land that had never known one.

Business urged Huerta's recognition. Various men who knew Mexico advised this as the practical solution, but Wilson would not hear. He sent several personal agents to look over the situation, only one of whom was qualified for this mission by training, linguistic ability, and sympathy. Meantime, Mexican business was stagnant; foreign capital was lost; plantations were robbed; mining property was destroyed; foreigners and especially Americans were killed with impunity by bandits. Only the breaking out of the World War prevented Germany and England from forcing matters, for both nations protect their subjects in foreign lands. The United States would in time have been forced to act or allow European intervention. Wilson was criticized on all sides.

Watchful Waiting. Wilson soon picked Carranza, who called himself a "constitutionalist." He removed the embargo on arms, thus aiding the Carranza-Villa combination which controlled northern Mexico. Some American sailors were arrested at Tampa, but released on Huerta's order. Admiral Mayo insisted upon a salute; Huerta refused; and Wilson supported the admiral. Congress appropriated money, and American forces occupied Vera Cruz (April 21, 1914). There was no declaration of war and little loss of life, but Republican critics spoke of war as existing. Huerta was strengthened for the moment, as anti-American feeling was aroused. Had Mexico been a strong power, our invasion could only have meant war. War Wilson did not

want, for he believed strongly in peaceful settlements. Nor was he the aggressive exponent of the Monroe Doctrine that Roosevelt was. In the fall, there was a conference of the "A B C powers" of South America (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) at Niagara Falls, Canada, in the interest of peace. Huerta resigned; in November our forces were withdrawn, but no salute was ever fired.

In answer to criticism, Wilson announced his program of "watchful waiting." Carranza seized the reins. He too was a self-made ruler. There had been no election. Villa now revolted against his old ally and held the north. Wilson apparently realized his earlier mistake, and recognized Carranza as the better of the two chieftains. With his recognition, diplomatic relations were reestablished. Carranza was no match for Villa, whose bandit followers terrorized the north. Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico, killing Americans on American soil (March, 1916). A demand for Villa's punishment arose throughout the United States. A punitive expedition under General Pershing at once invaded Mexico, with Carranza's grudging consent, but failed to catch Villa in the mountainous country. A large army was sent to patrol every inch of the border. Meantime, there was diplomatic fencing between Wilson and Carranza, but the latter, now increasingly unfriendly, backed away from any agreement. In January, 1917, the American troops were recalled. Soon our entrance into the World War withdrew attention from Mexico, though its situation was not improved.

Carranza and Villa were left fighting. The country was in economic ruin. Foreign investments were lost. A new constitution was forced on the nation. New land-laws were used as a pretext for seizing foreign mining and ecclesiastical properties. Governmental administration wrecked the American-built railroads. Many foreigners, were maltreated and killed. Finally, Carranza was overthrown and assassinated (1920), and Obregon arose from banditry to the dictatorship. He pensioned Villa, who was soon killed by an enraged follower. Obregon agreed to a treaty which called for the payment of indemnities (1923),

but nothing was done toward settlement. An embargo on arms was enforced against rebels, while war material was sold to Obregon. Obregon in turn gave way to Calles, a nominally elected president. But disorder has never been ended, and Mexican affairs have been the plague of the Harding and Coolidge administrations. Wilson inherited a bad situation from the Taft administration, but he bequeathed quite as bad a muddle to his successors.

The World War. Mexico, the Monroe Doctrine, and domestic problems dwindled into insignificance, with the outbreak of the European War. Wilson's past problems had been on a small scale in comparison to the difficulties brought by the world-wide conflict. The roots of the war were sunk deep in nineteenth-century history: race hatreds, stolen provinces, boundary-disputes, economic jealousies, dynastic rivalries, colonial conflicts, antagonistic empire-dreams, national expansion, rival trade-zones, militarism, navalism, and the gross materialism of rulers and ruling oligarchies. War had long been imminent. Europe was full of explosives. A half-crazed Pan-Serbian fanatic lit the fuse, when he shot and killed the Austrian heir to the throne.

Within a month Austria, with the backing of the German Empire, made demands on Serbia. Serbia agreed to all the demands except one, and even for that asked for arbitration, which Austria refused. Austria declared war, July 28, 1914. Russia mobilized her troops. Germany thereupon declared war on Russia (August 1). France as Russia's ally would not promise to remain neutral, and Germany declared war on her (August 3). Meantime, Russia invaded Austria, Austrian forces entered Serbia, and the German war-machine forced its way toward Paris through neutral Belgium, which heroically sacrificed itself. England declared war on Germany in defense of Belgium, and also in fear that Germany would conquer France and gain a dangerous hold on the Channel. As an ally of England, Japan declared war on Germany in order to seize German colonies in the Pacific. Italy failed her Teutonic allies, and within a year gave her services for greater territorial gains

to the allied English, French, Serbian, and Russian forces. Turkey, on the other hand, found it more profitable to join the German alliance, as did Bulgaria somewhat later, while Rumania and Portugal adhered to the Allied cause. Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden remained neutral, but were friendly with the Central Powers. Only Spain, Switzerland, and the Papacy maintained an even-handed neutrality. All Europe was engaged in a suicidal war. At the time Germany alone was chiefly blamed, as the war-mad scourge of Europe; but today when men's passions have cooled it is urged that no power was blameless, though Germany could probably have succeeded in postponing war had she been less aggressively prepared for a conflict which her leaders believed inevitable. There was no "cooling-off" time of negotiations, despite some efforts of Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, to maintain peace. The peoples of Europe had no voice; the system of secret alliances hurried on the catastrophe.

American Neutrality. President Wilson issued the usual neutrality proclamations, followed by appeals to the American people, urging neutrality in thought as well as in deed. Americans were largely agreed that the war was a European affair; "splendid isolation" as the greatest neutral nation was our best policy. Yet perfect neutrality proved impossible.

America was a nation of European immigrants. Divisions were quickly marked. Men of German, Austrian, and Hungarian descent were naturally in sympathy with the nations of their origin. Poles hated Russia to an extent which made them pro-Teutonic. Scandinavians for racial and religious reasons were in sympathy with Germany. Many Irish-Americans, through long association with German-Americans and inherited hostility to England were German in sympathy, though some were turned to the Allied cause by suffering Belgium, and France for which Irishmen had a historic love. French-Canadians took little interest. People of English, Scottish, and French extraction, and even from the Balkans and Italy, were ardent supporters of the Allied cause. Yet only the recent immigrants from Russia, Italy, and the Balkans returned in shiploads to serve

in their national armies. The older stocks, which had lost their racial identity with time and intermarriage, cannot be even roughly classified. Dislike of England based on school-books was not unknown, though it was counteracted by as unhistorical a love for France derived from the same source. On the whole, sympathy for France was more widely noticeable in America than love for Great Britain. Intellectuals turned rather easily to England, as did wealth and society. The ties of language, literature, common law, and blood were strong. Yet America, made up of many nationalities, honestly tried to follow Wilson's injunction, as it thanked God that it was far removed from the Old World.

Foreign Propaganda. America was a hotbed of propaganda. Aided by their friends in the United States and innumerable agents, the Allies and the Teutonic powers fought to gain American sympathy. The war pamphlets of all nations were scattered widely. The foreign-language press was active. Working on American sympathy for Belgium, her democratic king and heroic Cardinal Mercier, the Allies had the better of the argument. German wickedness and atrocities were exaggerated, and a large number of men unhesitatingly believed the most astounding stories. Each side extolled the merits of its cause and roundly condemned the enemy, alleging that it had caused the war and been guilty of inhuman conduct. The American press was largely pro-Ally. We were told that, if Germany crushed France and England broke, the German war-lords would strike at America as an easy and rich prey. We were told by both sides that it was a war of self-preservation. We were advised that the Allies were fighting our battle for the cause of democracy, though, while England and France were democracies, Russia and Japan were more absolutely governed than the Teutonic peoples. America knew not where to turn, and her natural leaders were as divided and beset as ordinary men. Failing in the process of "education," the Germans turned to violence and denunciation.

American War-Relief. The United States could turn with pride to the services which our ministers and consuls in the

warring nations were rendering. Under Whitlock, our minister, and Herbert Hoover, Belgian relief was carried on in a glorious way. America did not stint money or supplies. Thousands of our citizens volunteered for Red Cross work, as ambulance drivers, stretcher-carriers, nurses, and physicians. In charitable relief work, Americans recognized only suffering humanity. It is true that thousands of Americans, contrary to the spirit of neutrality, enlisted in Canadian contingents or in the French Foreign Legion or in British regiments, but they were not representative of the nation. America was not mercenary; the starving peoples of Europe could testify that she had a soul.

Troubles with Great Britain. Fighting with her back to the wall, Great Britain could not understand American neutrality. Regardless of neutral rights, she was determined to use her control of the sea to destroy her enemy. She defined contraband of war in her own interest, including foodstuffs and many items which the United States denied. She inspected American ships and detained cargoes of copper, grain, and meats. In various ways, she interfered with our neutral trade to Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, knowing that the merchants of those countries resold goods to the Teutonic powers, thus making her blockade less effective. Wilson, in strong communications, maintained our right as a neutral to trade with neutrals. Great Britain promised full damages, but gave no other relief. She black-listed business concerns which traded with Germany. Her vessels hovered outside our three-mile limit. She delayed our shipping at the Suez Canal and at her coaling and oil stations. She even searched our mails. The United States refused (1915) to recognize the British blockade of Central Europe, pointing out that it was "ineffective, illegal, and indefensible." As late as May, 1916, Secretary Lansing wrote that we could no longer tolerate such practices. Of troubles with England we had plenty, but they were concerned with commercial and property rights. England did not kill our citizens on the high seas.

German Intrigues. The Germans failed as diplomats and as clever propagandists. American detectives easily traced their activities, which were probably magnified by the press. Charges

were frequent that German agents stirred up trouble in Mexico and in the West Indies. Agitators were hired to foment strikes in factories, on railroads, and in munition plants. Sabotage (or destruction of machinery) was practiced by recent Teutonic immigrants. Radicalism was preached, with its class hatreds. Outrages occurred, such as the bombing of plants and bridges. Railroads, munition plants, and shipping wharves had to be patrolled as violence and fear of outrages became more general. The Austrian minister and two attachés at the German Embassy were finally dismissed for encouraging disorders (1915).

Sale of Munitions. American munition plants were running full blast. New shops were opened daily. Cargoes of war supplies, guns, shells, and explosives were sold to the Allies. This was not a violation of our neutrality. Our manufacturers would have sold to the blockaded Central Powers if deliveries could have been made. During the Civil War the North bought munitions in Europe. The great German Krupp munition-manufacturers had never hesitated to sell to either side or both sides in previous wars. Indeed the Allies had German-made guns purchased before the war. Austria protested against our sale of munitions to the enemy, but was forced to accept Wilson's justification under international law. He held that to refuse their sale would be unfriendly to the Allies, who were far less prepared and unable to supply the needed war materials. It was also pointed out that if nations could not buy military stores during a war, greater stores must be amassed in preparation during peace times.

Some Americans who were not pro-German were sensitive concerning the sale of death-dealing materials. It seemed an immoral way to make money. Profiteering in munitions, however, continued, and the business was legal if not highly laudable. Ardent pro-Germans and pacifists maintained that it was unneutral, especially as foreign loans were floated in America to buy such munitions. Socialists roundly condemned munition-makers as allies of international bankers in fomenting wars in their own interest and allowing the people to shoulder the cost in blood, suffering, and money.

The Fight for Preparedness. Led by army and navy men and the National Security League, the agitation for preparedness grew. Germany's advantage, it was emphasized, was due to a scientific preparedness to the last soldier's shoestring. England's navalism was standing her in an equal way. Even little Belgium was better prepared in some respects than the United States. Our army was small. Our navy was in fourth place; and as the warring nations feverishly built, it was growing relatively weaker. Our ports were unprotected. Men realized that the ocean was not so wide when German U-boats landed dyestuffs at our ports and sank British vessels off our shores. We were short of cruisers; we had no air service; we had no modern submarines. Our state militia was disorganized. The ease with which New York could be bombarded by long-range enemy guns was stressed. A certain fear was aroused.

Wilson warned against militarism. Bryan pointed out that in event of war a million yeomen would rise at a day's notice. He was hardly practical enough to think of the necessary equipment and trained officers. Garrison resigned from the War Department because of differences with the President. A Cleveland mayor and avowed small-army man, Newton Baker, took his place. Wilson's warning ended the hysteria, which never affected the West. The interior has never favored preparedness. Yet in 1916 Wilson, realizing how difficult it would be to keep out of a Mexican war, if not out of the World War, was half converted to moderate preparation. Congress made a large appropriation for battleships and cruisers, increased the regular army to 175,000, and put the state militia under Federal control. In the light of future events it was unfortunate that America did not use the period of neutrality for complete preparedness. It would have saved billions in money and probably shortened the war by months.

Submarine Warfare. Germany, with her fleet bottled up in Baltic waters, decided to wage a ruthless campaign against enemy shipping. The submarine was a new weapon in naval warfare. The submarine could fire a torpedo at a warship or merchant ship without being detected. To warn a ship was

dangerous, for a submarine coming up to the surface was easily destroyed; a merchant ship might sink it by ramming or with a shot from a secreted antisubmarine gun. The submarine had no way of rescuing crews and passengers. It was a desperate alternative—to run the risk of being sunk or to leave the passengers on a sinking ship to the mercies of the ocean. The German poison gas (later used by both sides) was hardly as frightful. The Germans justified submarine attacks as their only means of combating British control of the sea. The blockade which brought starvation to their civilian population was quite as cruel, they maintained. For a time it seemed as if the submarine would end the era of battleships and break the sea supremacy of the Allies. But in time the Allies learned how to combat the submarine.

The submarine had difficulty in knowing a neutral ship, for enemy ships flew neutral flags and then rammed unsuspecting submarines. Hence, as the U-boat could take no prize and save no victims, neutral merchantmen fared as badly as an enemy. Weak neutrals could be so treated with impunity if their vessels were in forbidden waters. Would Germany destroy American vessels or vessels on which American citizens were sailing? Would she dare to do this? Was her submarine policy worth more in winning the war than America's neutrality? The German war lords as practical men viewed the situation with cold, unfeeling eyes. To win the war was their sole aim; they cared nothing concerning the niceness of their methods.

The War Zone. England declared the North Sea a war area, despite our protests. Mined by both England and Germany, it was closed to traffic. No attention was paid by either side to the small northern nations. In February, 1915, Germany issued a declaration that the British Isles were blockaded and that its submarines would sink ships within the marked zone. This was no Napoleonic "paper" blockade. The submarine could half enforce the decree. Wilson, through our State Department, protested, saying that Germany would be held to "strict accountability" if American vessels or lives were destroyed (February 10). President Wilson's severest critics

(and they were legion) were pleased with his exchange of notes. He spoke firmly. Would he act?

On March 28 a British ship was sunk and an American passenger was killed. Three days later another ship was torpedoed and two Americans were lost. Had Americans a legal and a moral right to be on a belligerent's ship? Would Wilson act? Would the nation give him united support? The President, even had he so desired, could not rush ahead of public opinion.

Sinking the *Lusitania*. Von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, published a warning in New York papers, advising neutrals not to sail on the *Lusitania*. A few days later the great passenger ship was torpedoed and sunk without warning off the Irish coast (May 7, 1915). Nearly 1200 passengers and sailors were drowned, including 114 Americans, some of whom were nationally prominent. The ambassador submitted a note of apology in which the Cunarder was described as a reserve war vessel carrying munitions and antisubmarine guns. Such frightfulness aroused America. The war party demanded action. Germany was worried. Only the President's steadiness prevented an immediate declaration of war.

Wilson, in a strong note of protest against this breach of international law, declared neutrals had a right to travel in unarmed vessels and called for a disavowal of this felony, reparations, and a guaranty against another occurrence. Germany did not take the protest seriously, but agreed that neutral ships would not knowingly be bombed in the war zone. Secretary Bryan had explained to the Austrian ambassador in Washington that the protest, which nominally bore his name as Secretary of State, was for home consumption and that concessions on Germany's part would be satisfactorily received. His view was known in the German foreign office, when our ambassador, James W. Gerard, submitted the note.

Bryan resigned, for he, like Senator Stone of Missouri (chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) and a large section of the country, believed that Americans should not travel on the boats of belligerents, regardless of their legal right to do so. The President, some held, should so warn them, as he had urged

Americans to keep out of Mexico and hence avoid trouble. Some maintained that there were plenty of good ships under the American flag and that no good citizen should do anything likely to embroil his country in the conflict.

"Too Proud to Fight." In a Philadelphia address in which he considered the European situation, Wilson said a nation "might be too proud to fight." Taken out of its context, this remark was made much of by his critics. Carried abroad, it made Wilson the jibe of British music halls. In Germany it was interpreted as cowardice. Yet few men have demonstrated a higher mental courage — something far above mere physical courage. He knew America, and he knew that the nation was not ready to take sides, but was in doubt, even as he was.

In August two Americans were killed when the *Arabic* was sunk. Germany voluntarily disavowed the act and promised reparation. It looked as though Germany was more anxious than formerly to satisfy the demands of the United States. In February, 1916, the House tabled a resolution warning Americans to stay off ships of belligerents, by a nonpartisan vote of 275 to 135. Apparently, there was a strong minority opposed to drastic steps.

The Sussex Sunk. On March 24, 1916, a U-boat sank the *Sussex* in the English Channel, without warning. This was the first passenger "liner" to be sunk for some time. On April 18 Wilson protested against further acts unless warning was given and the sailors and passengers were saved. This was good international law, but no U-boat could live up to this code. Germany (May 4) agreed to confine its attacks to enemy ships and sink no "liners" without warning and rescuing the hapless passengers. Coupled with this was a demand that Wilson get Great Britain to relax her vicious blockade of German ports. While the President was not in sympathy with the blockade, he refused to mix diplomatic questions or admit that British wrong made German wrongdoing permissible. Germany seemed in earnest. She was more careful. The U-boats were less active. There was a lull in all but legitimate attacks.

American Prosperity. America entered an era of prosperity. Our trade rose to new levels, and gold flowed into America.

Europe sold American securities, which were easily absorbed by our investors. Every line of business thrived. Munition factories, iron-and-steel plants, coal mines, machine shops, and copper smelters could not increase their output sufficiently to fill war orders. Europe would pay any price. American bankers lent freely for supplies purchased here. Railroads were booming, so tremendous was the freight. Cotton, after a bad fall, soared to prices unknown. Ranchers and packers reaped profits. Western farmers extended their acreage and went into debt to buy land and machinery in order to raise larger crops and obtain increased prices. The demands of warring Europe enriched all America.

The Increase in Merchant Shipping. As European ships were withdrawn from our trade and as American commerce increased by bounds, there was a shortage of boats. As America was the strongest neutral nation, flying our flag on the ships of both American and foreign owners became popular and profitable. Congress permitted foreign-built ships to register under our flag and provided war-risk insurance. American shipyards were busy building vessels, and foreign shipping was purchased. England warned that we must not buy the Teutonic ships which were interned in our ports, though American shipping interests longed to use this splendid, idle fleet. America was fast developing a merchant marine. Congress (1916) passed a Ship Purchase Act which created a board with full power over private ships in interstate or foreign commerce. It could also lease, purchase, construct, and operate merchant ships.

The Labor Situation. Labor was never so prosperous as in these neutral years. Wages were high, even though living costs were mounting. Organized labor grew powerful and overbearing in its demands. Every industry needed more men than it could obtain. Immigration was almost shut off and thousands of aliens returned to Europe. Big business was reaping huge profits from the war-worn Allies, and labor obtained its share.

In the summer of 1916 the railroad brotherhoods demanded an eight-hour day and an increased wage scale, on threat of a general strike. Because of old agreements, they had not benefited, as had organized labor in general, from the current rise in

wages. Refusing to arbitrate, they won the support of President Wilson. His opponents said that he was coerced and that he sought labor's support in the coming election. At any rate he favored the Adamson Act, which gave the railroad men about what they wanted, and the threatened strike was called off. Later the Supreme Court upheld this law by a five-to-four decision.

The Federal Farm Loan Act. In an effort to satisfy the farmers of the West and South and enable them to borrow money at business rates, Congress passed an act establishing a Federal Farm Loan Board (1916). Control lies in a commission of five men headed by the Secretary of the Treasury. There are twelve regional Federal Land Banks, which can lend on long-time farm mortgages at a low rate of interest. The idea was good, but the system is far from perfect if one may judge from widespread rural criticism.

A Federal child-labor law which liberals heralded was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Thereupon its supporters called for an amendment to the Constitution, which more than a fourth of the states have refused to ratify.

Political Situation in 1916. Republicans in convention named Charles Evans Hughes for their presidential candidate, with Fairbanks as his running companion. The Republicans had no abler or more popular leader than Hughes. Resigning from the Supreme Court, he threw himself into the canvass in dead earnest, addressing innumerable audiences in his journeys back and forth across the land. Roosevelt declined a Progressive nomination and closed up the affairs of the "Bull Moose" party with the advice that its members support Hughes. The Democratic convention forgot the single-term plank and renamed Wilson by acclamation.

Republicans harped on Wilson's Mexican failure. "Watchful waiting" had no courageous ring. Roosevelt assailed the administration as too cowardly to protect American lives or property in Mexico or on the high seas. Catholics were critical of the recognition of Carranza's proscriptive, anti-Christian régime. Some of the Irish saw in Wilson a pro-English man with no sympathy for Irish national aspirations. Germans were certain that

at heart he was as anti-German as his minister at London. For two years the foreign press had condemned every step which he had taken in connection with the involved European situation. Yet the pro-German elements were uncertain, for while Hughes skillfully dodged the war issues and raised dust by assaults on Wilsonian policies and shortcomings, his chief supporter, Roosevelt, had been wild in his clamors for war against the Central Powers. This neutralized German-American hostility toward Wilson, especially as it was felt that the pro-Ally banking and exporting people were still Republicans.

Wilson and his managers handled the situation cleverly. The South was sure. Democrats believed that they would win the West with the cry "He has kept us out of war." The Central Powers had many friends in this region, where antimilitarism was strong. The war was far away. Wilson's progressive economic legislation was emphasized, but he was primarily known for keeping America out of the war. Wilson's Western campaigners assured the people, especially women voters, that Hughes would put the United States in the Allied ranks.

Wilson or Hughes? The campaign over, the nation was in suspense. Persons who awaited the late returns on November 7 went home thinking that Hughes was victor. The next morning leading Democratic journals admitted that Wilson had been defeated. For several days there was doubt until the great West was heard from. And then the vote of California, a normally Republican state, gave Wilson his second term, though, strangely enough, it reelected Senator Hiram Johnson, a Republican.

Wilson's popular vote was 9,127,748 and his electoral vote 277; Hughes's popular vote was 8,515,765 and his electoral vote 254. The Socialist vote fell off by 25 per cent. Hughes carried the North, except New Hampshire and Ohio, to the Mississippi; Wilson held the solid South and won the trans-Mississippi West, with the exception of Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Oregon. He had the old Democrats, the liberals, pacifists, organized labor, and the Western farmers. Germany misinterpreted Wilson's reelection as a popular mandate against war, and acted accordingly.

Unrestricted U-boat Warfare. Germany's peace proposals were rejected by the Allies (December, 1916), as were Wilson's communications to the warring powers. In January, 1917, Wilson advised the Senate that it must be "a peace without victory." Again his love of a rhetorical phrase brought criticism. Germany saw that it must break the deadlock. Neither line of trenches would give way. The blockade was bringing hardship and famine conditions to the people of the Central Powers. The British must be made to suffer. It was hoped that, in six months, the U-boat, if unrestricted, could destroy enough shipping to make England feel the pangs of want and suffer a munition shortage. The general staff refused to worry about the United States. It would not fight. It could not send troops abroad, for its army was insignificant, and there would be no time to train raw recruits. America was not united. It thought only in terms of profits. In the way of loans, supplies, and munitions it was doing all for the Allies that it could do even if it formally joined them. Such were the arguments and misconceptions of the German war lords. No longer would they allow the United States to prevent an unrestricted submarine campaign in all its horror, come what might.

On January 31, 1917, Bernstorff informed our State Department of the new policy. Contrary to earlier pledges, neutral ships in the war zone would be attacked without warning just as though they were enemy vessels. The submarine could not investigate; its mission was destruction. As a concession, America could send a solitary vessel every week to Falmouth over a marked sea-lane, if the vessel was appropriately painted and carried a characteristic flag and an approved cargo. The German high command was well aware that the United States could accept no such insulting arrangement. The German ambassador was dismissed. The Senate indorsed the President's stand. James W. Gerard, who had served well in Berlin under the most trying circumstances, was recalled. Pro-Germans were falling in line behind Wilson, whose rabid denunciation of "hyphenates" (Irish-Americans, German-Americans, British-Americans, etc.), while hardly fair, conveyed a message to aggressive but small groups among all races.

War Inevitable. Germany was as good as its word. Its U-boats sank anything which they encountered, even relief ships bound for starving Belgium. On February 25 two American citizens went down in an English boat; on February 26 Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm our merchant ships. This would mean war, for Germany threatened to treat armed guards as pirates. The House agreed by a vote of 403 to 13. In the Senate a dozen men, whom Wilson fiercely denounced as "willful," filibustered so that the resolution could not be passed before the session automatically ended (March 3 at midnight). On March 14 Wilson, following an old law, armed vessels without further parley. March 18 saw three American merchantmen sunk, with a loss of fifteen men. In all some sixteen American ships had been sunk, along with several hundred foreign vessels, in these frightful weeks. On April 3 another American vessel was sunk.

In the meantime a dispatch, admittedly authentic, from the German foreign office to the German ambassador in Mexico was intercepted. It urged an alliance of Mexico and Germany and, if possible, Japan, to reconquer our Southwest, which had been taken in the Mexican War. Germany hoped to divert our attention by fomenting a Mexican attack on the border. At last the United States was aroused. It awaited with eagerness the special session of Congress and a declaration of war against the German enemy.

References

C. SEYMOUR, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*; N. A. WEBER, *Christian Era*, Vol. II, pp. 629 ff.; EDITH O'SHAUGHNESSY, *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*; B. J. HENDRICK, *Life and Letters of W. H. Page* (school edition); BASSETT, *Expansion and Reform*, pp. 189-231.

Bibliography

WOODROW WILSON, *History of the American People, The New Freedom, Congressional Government*; J. P. TUMULTY, *Wilson as I knew Him*; W. E. DODD, *Wilson and his Work*; D. LAWRENCE, *True Story of Wilson*; J. KERNEY, *Political Education of Wilson*; R. E. ANNIN, *Wilson, a Character Study*; GEORGE CREEL, *Wilson and the Issues* (of 1916); E. E. ROBINSON and

V. J. WEST, *Foreign Policy of Wilson*; J. B. SCOTT, *Wilson's Foreign Policy*; ROOSEVELT, *Fear God and Take your own Part*; C. W. BARRON, *Mexican Problem*; C. J. CHOATE, *Two Hague Conferences*; S. J. FOGDALL, *Danish-American Diplomacy*; W. C. WESTERGAARD, *Danish West Indies*; LUTHER ZABRISKIE, *Virgin Isles*; CARTER GLASS, *An Adventure in Constructive Finance*; I. M. TARBELL, *Tariff in our Times*; T. R. MARSHALL, *Autobiography*; CHAMP CLARK, *My Quarter of a Century of American Politics*; HENRY WATTERSON, *Marse Henry*; D. F. HOUSTON, *Eight Years in the Wilson Cabinet*; A. E. LANE and L. H. WALL (Eds.), *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane*; E. A. HITCHCOCK, *Fifty Years*; R. M. LA FOLLETTE, *Autobiography*; H. H. KOHLSAAT, *McKinley to Harding*; M. F. EGAN, *Memories of a Happy Life*; A. W. DUNN, *From Harrison to Harding*; J. W. GERARD, *My Four Years in Germany*; BRAND WHITLOCK, *Memories of Belgium under the German Occupation*; W. H. PAGE, *Life and Letters*; VON BERNSTORFF, *My Three Years in America*; W. A. WHITE, *The Old Order Changeth*.

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA IN THE WORLD WAR AND AFTERWARDS

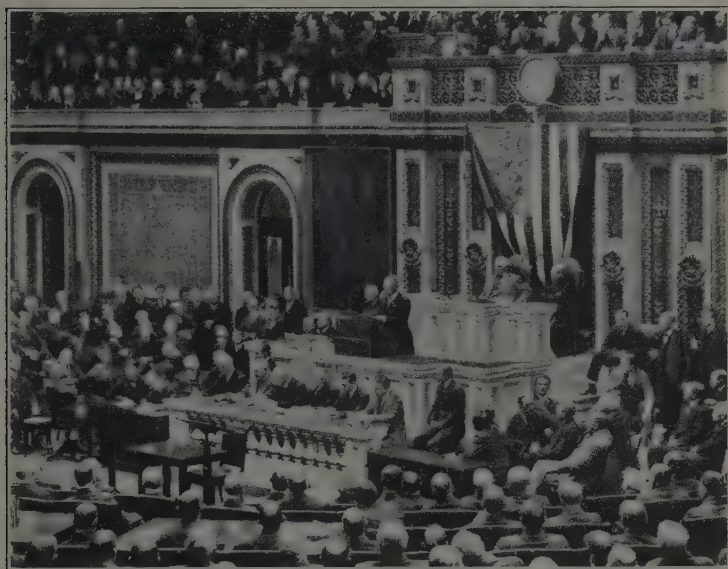
I. AMERICA AT WAR

Declaration of War. The die was cast. Germany had forced the issue. On April 2 Wilson read before a joint session of Congress his famous war message, in which he was at his best as a rhetorician and idealist. The resolution for war against Germany passed the House, 373 to 50, and the Senate, 82 to 6 (April 6). The President immediately issued a proclamation of war.

Reception of the War Message. The nation as a whole agreed. Never did a more united America commence a war. Most pacifists followed men like Bryan and Henry Ford, who offered their services in any capacity. Radical Socialists in convention condemned the war, but many of the most prominent Socialists quit the party, including their last presidential candidate. Organized labor stood solidly behind Wilson. The churches did likewise; the Catholic hierarchy in conference at the Catholic University in Washington pledged unswerving support. The foreign-language press forgot past differences. Only a few offered open criticism. They feared that America had delayed too long. They thought that a less idealistic president would have commenced the fight for democracy much earlier. They asked if, joining the crusade so late, America should claim the right to name the terms of the settlement. Wilson, however, had not been misled by forces which were too willing to bring on the war. In his wisdom he waited until all America was ready.

America's Part. At first Americans thought that their primary if not sole contribution would be material. We would furnish ships, raw goods, munitions, money, foodstuffs, and supplies. Our navy and regular army would serve, along with some volunteers. Few men thought of more direct participation.

But the United States was to play a far more costly and glorious part than men realized in April of 1917. France had been bled white. Even the British were wavering. Italy was broken, and Russia was about to collapse. Japan gave no aid in Europe. Germany, regardless of the failure of her submarine campaign, was winning the war and crushing her ring of enemies by the



PRESIDENT WILSON READING THE WAR MESSAGE

sheer weight and efficiency of her military machine. America had entered none too soon. To rescue the Allies, it must bring all its resources to bear.

Organizing the Nation. This was no ordinary war between armies. It was a war of peoples against peoples. America must be efficiently organized. It must mobilize its fighting men, and it must organize its workers. It must call for the best efforts of every man, woman, and child. The army behind the army was most important. Industries must be forced; farmers must produce as never before; transportation lines must serve the

nation; shipping must be provided; mines must increase their output; capital must be mobilized as well as man power. In a word, the nation must stand united and become for the time being as efficient as Germany itself.¹

A Selective Service. In his war message President Wilson suggested an army of at least 500,000, chosen by some selective means. As a historian, he was well aware of the failures of volunteer systems and of the favoritism of the Civil War draft. Wilson wanted a conscription law, proof against corruption or class discrimination. Such a selective-draft measure was passed May 18. In the meantime enlistments averaged about a thousand a day. There was no such rush as Bryan had once predicted. Among the volunteers an astonishing percentage bore Irish, German, and the so-called "foreign" names. Not all patriots were Nordics. Indeed, Secretary Baker, in the early days of the war, estimated the proportion of Catholics in the service at 35 per cent, though Catholic communicants numbered hardly more than a sixth of the total American population. Yet, at the rate of American enlistments, the war might have been lost before America could have furnished "her associates in the war" with a worthy contingent.

The draft act provided for a national registration of all men between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age. On June 5, without disorder or confusion, 9,586,508 men registered in more than 4500 centers established throughout the nation by state

¹ The growth of war industries for the years 1914-1917 is suggested by this table:

Iron ore	39,714,000 to 75,573,000 tons
Copper	1,150,137,000 to 1,886,120,000 pounds
Manganese	2,630 to 115,000 tons
Soft coal	422,703,000 to 551,790,000 tons
Petroleum	265,762,000 to 335,315,000 barrels

Exports amounted to \$2,364,579,148 in 1914, \$6,290,048,394 in 1917, and \$7,749,815,556 in 1919; imports, \$1,893,925,657 in 1914, \$2,659,355,185 in 1917, and \$3,904,364,932 in 1919. The excess of exports over imports can be seen at a glance. Europe made this up by shipping gold, floating loans, and selling some two billion dollars' worth of American stocks which she held. Meat exports in 1914 were \$143,261,000 and \$593,924,000 in 1918; wheat, \$87,953,400 in 1914 and \$208,179,705 in 1917; and flour, \$54,454,000 in 1914 and \$244,861,140 in 1918. The trade in explosives reached tremendous figures: \$6,272,197 in 1914; \$41,476,188 in 1915; \$467,081,928 in 1916; and \$802,789,437 in 1917.

and local authorities. From this list, according to a lottery in which numbers sealed in capsules were picked by the blind-folded Secretary of War in Washington, men with the same serial registration number were selected in every local district. Local nonpartisan draft boards then picked the physically fit who were not in exempted classes, as ministers, conscientious objectors (given nonfighting employment), men with helpless dependents, or highly skilled employees in some essential war industry. The draftees were then ordered to training camps as fast as they were needed. There was as little unfairness as could be expected. "Draft-dodgers" were comparatively few. As public sentiment was bitter against such men, they were easily detected, for every registrant carried a card of identification. The rich and poor, the native-born and the naturalized, the educated and the illiterate, the Jew and the Gentile, and the employer and his employee, were fairly drafted and gathered into the democratic armies of America.

Toward the end of the war, as the first list was culled over, a supplementary act provided for the registration of all men between eighteen and forty-five years of age, as a further pledge that America was in the war until victory should be obtained. An imposing registration of 23,465,021 men followed, though comparatively few men were selected from this list.

Treatment of Soldiers. Soldiers were paid \$32 a month, or double the old figure. Allotments were made to dependents. The salaries of officers were correspondingly good. Only in the Canadian and in the Australian service (all volunteers) were the common soldiers more liberally treated. The American soldier was a plutocrat as compared with his English or French brother. To prevent a recurrence of the Civil War "pension-grabbing," every man in the service was given the splendid privilege of taking out \$10,000 in permanent insurance at cost. After the war the Federal government gave to each soldier a small bonus, as did some of the states to their citizen soldiers. Ample hospital and recuperation facilities were provided for soldiers totally or partially disabled by wounds or disease. Vocational training schools were operated.

The Cantonments. Provisions were made to receive and to train the huge contingents of raw recruits pouring in from every city, hamlet, and farm. Great cantonments were built at enormous cost by speculative contractors and high-priced labor. The nation could not stop at expense. They were rushed up, these towns of frame barracks, capable of housing 50,000 men each. By November, 1918, thirty-seven camps were in use. Locating most of them in the South aroused Republican criticism. As a matter of fact, Northern recruits did suffer unnecessarily from the heat and disease on account of the unfortunate sites of some of the camps in the Far South and the Southwest.

In addition to being efficient, high-powered factories for turning undisciplined men into fairly well-trained soldiers in the shortest possible time, the camps were centers of democracy and Americanization. Young men of every class, racial extraction, and creed were thrown together as never before. Here were lessons in equality, toleration, and true democracy. Distinctions were broken down in the khaki-clad ranks. All were Americans, and all were destined to go as soldiers in the same dangerous crusade. Even war is not without its advantages.

Officers' Camps. To officer and train these millions of raw recruits was a tremendous undertaking. Officers from the regular army and militia and noncommissioned men would not be sufficient. A number of officer-training camps on the Plattsburg order (the pre-war training camp on Lake Champlain) were established in different parts of the country, where picked men were given an intensive training for three months and assigned commissions up to the rank of major. Similar schools were established for the navy, the largest being the Great Lakes Training School at Chicago. In the fall of 1917 some 200,000 young men were registered in divisions of the Student Army Training Corps, which were established in some five hundred universities and colleges. Had the war lasted, many of these youths would have obtained commissions of the lower grade. The young officers from schools and offices and from behind the counters did very well. Politician generals did not appear, contrary to the case in earlier wars; regular-army men were retained in command.

Council of National Defense. As a link between the government and the people, the Council of National Defense aided in organizing the nation. In addition to the heads of the Departments of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, there were several nationally known business figures: Daniel Willard, a poor boy who rose to the head of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, was chairman of a committee on transportation; Howard Coffin, an automobile-manufacturer, headed a committee on munitions; Julius Rosenwald, a Jewish philanthropist and head of Sears, Roebuck and Company of Chicago, on supplies and clothing; Bernard Baruch, a Jewish financier, on minerals and metals; and Samuel Gompers, an English Jew in origin, on labor. Many dollar-a-year men served on various committees, giving the government advantage of their specialized knowledge. Only in a time of crisis are the outstanding men of America willing or asked to seek an official career.

In the spring of 1918 there was an inner war "cabinet" of advisers: the Secretaries of War and the Navy, heads of the Shipping, War Trade, and War Industries boards, and the administrators of food, fuel, and railroads. E. R. Stettinius, a German-Catholic member of the Morgan company, headed the purchase of munitions. Thomas A. Edison worked quietly with other scientists in his laboratories at New Jersey. A time of national need brought big men to the front: labor-leaders, bankers, industrialists, transportation-managers, and self-made masters of capital. No small share of them were immigrants or sons of immigrants. There were many men who might well be proud of what they had done, but even more of the distance they had gone in forging their way from the bottom. Business has always been more tolerant than politics.

Federalizing the Railroads. As the railroads were breaking down under the strain of transporting men and war materials, it was necessary for the government to take them over and manage them as a unit (December, 1917). Competition ceased, for the total mileage had become a single system operated by Secretary McAdoo as director general. Railroad executives thought of him as an amateur; but through their willing coöperation,

McAdoo's administration proved fairly successful. The government guaranteed to the stockholders a return equivalent to the average income for the previous three years. Experienced railroad-managers who had risen from the ranks were in active charge of the roads as regional directors. The government spent freely in improving railroads and their equipment, and under pressure increased the wages of employees, especially of the better organized groups. Telegraph and telephone lines also were commandeered and placed under the control of the Postmaster-General. These were interesting experiments in Federal ownership which liberals watched hopefully, but which conservative business men feared.

Financing the War. America, the richest nation on the globe, raised \$35,500,000,000 through loans and taxation. No other nation could have done so much; yet there was little evidence of a financial strain. Over two thirds of the amount was subscribed in the four Liberty Loans and the final Victory Loan. Bonds were sold in denominations as low as \$50, which permitted the poorer families to subscribe. Issues were underwritten by banks, investment houses, business concerns, and individuals. The sale of bonds did not cost the government a cent. Newspapers provided free advertising. Thousands of four-minute speakers advertised the loans wherever men congregated. Pressure was brought to bear on persons of means who hesitated to obtain bonds directly from the government but preferred to buy at a heavy discount from purchasers who were forced to sell. Every issue was oversubscribed, though, once on the general market, bonds fell as much as fifteen cents on the dollar. In addition to bonds the Post Office sold savings certificates in five-dollar denominations and war-savings stamps as low as twenty-five cents. Investment brokers did not coin money at the expense of the government, as they had done in the days of the Civil War.

Almost a third of the enormous war cost was paid out of the current income. The income tax was increased to 4 per cent on incomes of \$1000 for single persons and \$2000 for heads of families, and excess-profits taxes on individuals and corporations ran from 15 to 60 per cent. So heavy was the tax that

business men felt that they were practically working for the government. Never was American wealth conscripted to such an extent in any war (yet taxes were higher in England). Excise taxes on liquors, beverages, and tobacco were raised accordingly. Estates of the deceased did not escape, but paid a heavy rate. Every form of luxury was taxed in the wide range of amusement taxes, stamp duties, clothing taxes, and duties on automobiles and accessories. Nothing was overlooked. The internal revenue alone jumped to nearly \$4,000,000,000 in 1918, or almost five times that of the preceding year.

There was little grumbling, though Republican critics of the administration urged that enormous sums were wasted by governmental inefficiency. Some economists feared that the expenses were borne too much by current taxation. Otherwise, men paid "till it hurt," as the quickest means of ending the costly conflict.

Shipbuilding. The navy was put in fighting trim at an enormous cost. Unfortunately, construction had been allowed to lag in the period of cheap material and low wages. Now the country paid the price. A merchant marine must be provided, for ships would be an essential factor in winning the war. They must be built regardless of cost. The great Hog Island shipyard near Philadelphia cost \$66,000,000, three times the estimated figure. Criticism suggested graft as the cause, as in the building of cantonments and the location of camps, but the gross expenditures were due rather to inefficiency and hurry. Other yards were relatively costly. Delay was far worse. A dispute in the Shipping Board over steel versus wooden ships caused an annoying delay. The President was irritated. The resignations of Chairman William Denman and of General G. W. Goethals were accepted, and Edward N. Hurley was appointed chairman of the board and president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. As a leading Chicago manufacturer, a writer on economic subjects, and chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Hurley was competent to force shipbuilding. There was no more delay, and criticism ceased, though costs were terrific.

Charles M. Schwab served several months as director general of shipbuilding. On graduating from a small Catholic college, he had entered the employment of Carnegie as a stake-driver, rising to the presidency of the United States Steel Corporation, and finally to the position of chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Company and other large corporations. Under his supervision, about 600,000 men worked in the government yards (1918). The Hog Island plant alone employed 35,000 men. Private shipyards doing contract work increased from 61 to 137. By 1920 there was a merchant fleet of 3000 vessels (about a fourth were of new construction) with a tonnage of 16,000,000, or eight times that of 1916. Interned German "liners" had been seized, and many ships of foreign register had been bought.¹

Aircraft Production. Though the Wright brothers of Dayton had invented and perfected the airplane (1903), the United States was far behind Europe in 1914, and still farther in 1917, after three years of successful use of aircraft by the warring nations. The Aircraft Board made laudable efforts, but was unable to construct successful fighting planes despite reckless expenditures and inexcusable delays. Our expeditionary army was provided with French planes, of which several thousand were bought. Thousands of mechanics were sent over to work in French factories to turn out airplanes, but not one of American make seems to have been used on the fighting front. Finally, in the face of deserved criticism, John D. Ryan, president of the Anaconda Copper Company and an organizing genius, was placed in charge of aircraft construction. Here was a dollar-a-year man who could show results where political appointees failed. Before the war was over some 12,000 machines were built and, had the conflict lasted, the American forces would have had flying craft of American manufacture. At any rate, the United States was committed to a permanent extension of its air service.

¹ In 1820 American ships carried 90 per cent of our foreign trade, but decade by decade there was a decline until 1910, when 9 per cent of our exports and imports was carried in American bottoms. From 9.7 per cent in 1914 the percentage rose to 36.4 in 1919 and 42.7 in 1920, despite the fact that the volume of trade had increased manifold.

Labor Administration. The American Federation of Labor gave whole-hearted support to the war. There were few strikes of any consequence, partly because skilled labor was at a premium. Mechanics could demand and secure any wage. Even a bonus was paid to get men. Unskilled labor averaged four dollars a day, or more than double the pre-war figure. Workers were scarce and business was booming. Immigration had dropped to 130,000



AMERICAN SOLDIERS BUILDING A BRIDGE IN FRANCE

per year. Millions of men were in service or had returned to Europe. With labor so exceptionally scarce and farm workers impossible to obtain, there was further extension of the use of machinery. Women too were given new opportunities and fitted into new occupations. The National War Labor Board, with Taft as chairman and such able members as Basil Manley and Frank Walsh, was established to settle disputes. The right to organize and of collective bargaining was recognized. Unions could not coerce nonunion men, nor could men be refused work because of union membership. Disputes were subjected to arbitration. Organized labor was king, with a membership of over three million men, and unorganized labor was prosperous.

Food Control. The Allies were becoming more and more dependent upon the United States for food. Shortage of shipping made impossible the purchase of food in more distant lands. Then, too, it could be bought in America on credit. To win the war, food economy became necessary. President Wilson appointed Herbert Hoover Food Administrator under a law (August, 1917) which provided Federal control over food, feeds, fuel, fertilizers, tools, and agricultural machinery. To destroy, hoard, or sell at unfair prices was made illegal. Broad authority was given the President, if necessary, to import, purchase, store, and sell food products and grain. The government guaranteed wheat at \$2 and later \$2.26 a bushel. While this was more than twice the pre-war price, it was a much lower figure than the farmers might have obtained if, as in other lines, the law of supply and demand had been allowed free play in working out the cost. Farmers were exhorted to increase their acreage and raise larger crops.

Hoover was a kind but efficient dictator. Under him there were state and local guardians of the food supply. Under another act grain elevators and distributors of foodstuffs, as well as hotels, bakeries, and restaurants, were licensed and regulated. A grain-buying corporation with a capital of \$150,000,000 was established by executive order to buy and sell grain. The great grain-buyer Barnes of Duluth was placed in charge. White flour could not be bought save along with substitutes. Pure white bread disappeared. Meatless days were advocated. The amount of sugar for every family was rigidly prescribed. Inspectors confiscated and sold hoarded grain, flour, and sugar. A wheatless day every week was prescribed. Grain could not be used for brewing or distilling purposes. Food was not restricted by rations but by unheard-of prices. The poor were actually compelled to tighten their belts. Yet there was little complaint. To win the war, America tolerated an inspection of its kitchens.

Fuel Control. Congress gave the President broad control of the coal industry. If necessary, he could fix the price of coal and coke, as well as establish rules for their sale and distribution.

Operators gladly paid good wages in order to work their mines at full capacity. The Allies required far more coal than the English mines could supply. Dr. Harry Garfield, son of the former president of the United States and himself president of Williams College, was made national Fuel Administrator on a dollar-a-year basis. In each state he had all-powerful directors and in every locality an agent. Coal had to be conserved. Fireless days were ordered and fairly well enforced. Business houses were required to cut their coal consumption; economies were effected. Electric lights were not to be used lavishly for advertising purposes. Daylight-saving was ordered. Clocks were set an hour ahead (much to the inconvenience of farmers) so that the working day conformed more to the period of sunlight — earlier to bed and earlier to rise. Use of gasoline was restricted. Certain Sundays were made "gasless" days, and pleasure driving was curtailed. Whatever inconvenience resulted, the nation accepted with good humor and patience. It brought the war home, even though some of the regulations had little to do with ultimate victory.

Espionage Acts. The loyalty of radical and doubtful groups was enforced by espionage and sedition acts. Secret-service agents were not more watchful than self-appointed informers in every locality who reported acts of disloyalty, interference with the draft, and many minor matters not included in the law. German-Americans were hounded in some neighborhoods. Fanatics set upon them. They were sometimes induced to subscribe for more bonds than they were able to assume. They were at times compelled to take oaths of allegiance and kiss the flag. The immigrant group hitherto rated highest was now lowest in the scale. German societies, papers, churches, and business houses were watched. The German language disappeared from the schools as did the old German songs and music. German-Americans, often of the second generation, were deprived of work. Customers refused to trade at their stores. One hundred per cent Americans were absurdly watchful, for probably no element in the population was more actively loyal than the great bulk of the German population. State councils of

safety and local agents were bitter. Preachers were not allowed to deliver sermons in the German language. Teachers of German descent were dropped from schools or found it impossible to obtain positions. University faculties were culled, and scholars of long service dropped for doubtful causes. Liberals and pacifists were treated likewise.

The Postmaster-General could exclude treasonable matter and journals from the mail. At times this power was used with little reason. The Secretary of Labor could deport aliens who believed in destructive political doctrines. Alien enemies, regardless of their peaceful character, were arrested and held in detention camps. Eugene Debs was among the hundreds of war objectors who were imprisoned. The Federal government was most drastic. There could be no open criticism of the administration or anything connected with the war. A free press and free speech ceased to exist. Radicalism was held as bad as sedition. Only in the halls of Congress could men speak their minds freely, but not without abuse by the press. For the moment the Constitution was set aside. Even Lincoln had exercised less power than Congress delegated to President Wilson as commander in chief of the nation.

War Propaganda. Wilson's superb addresses left little to be said, yet, under George Creel, a publicity bureau was established in Washington. It was part of the plan of war education. The war must be popularized so that the man in the street could understand. The bureau edited a news sheet and provided speakers and columns of print for newspapers. Under this bureau a number of professors and publicists were retained to carry out its research and compile its widely circulated pamphlets. In the heat of the war, American historians, like those of Europe, lost their sense of values and judicial poise. Yet they were primarily Americans, and as such their work can be justified on the score of patriotism.

War Relief. Never has a nation conducted war relief on so extensive and liberal a scale. Millions joined the Red Cross and contributed to its work of providing physicians, nurses, and hospital facilities. H. P. Davison of the Morgan house headed the

council of business-leaders who supervised the general action of the Red Cross and gave counsel and liberal contributions to its managing directors. The Red Cross was everywhere. The Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association were active in collecting huge sums and sending thousands of agents to the training camps and to France, where they established tents supplying creature comforts, reading rooms, and sermons. However, the "Y" was criticized by soldiers, who were better pleased with the "everybody-welcome-and-everything-free" service which was rendered by the Knights of Columbus huts, with the Salvation Army officers and their free doughnuts, and with the Jewish Welfare Workers. The Knights were well equipped with money collected from their membership of about 800,000 and from the general Catholic public. They had gained experience on the Mexican border. The President, Secretary Baker, and General Pershing authorized the Knights, with the approval of the hierarchy, to supervise welfare work for Catholic soldiers, but the Knights drew no narrow lines and recognized all soldiers as American citizens. The American Library Association collected books the country over, and thus supplied hospitals, camps, and huts with reading matter. Everything possible was done to make the soldier's hard life in camp, hospital, and trench more comfortable and happy.

"Drives" were held by all societies and by every relief organization. A willing people gave untold millions before the war was over. However, toward the last, a united war drive was held and the \$170,000,000 pledged was divided among seven of the recognized relief associations according to a prearranged ratio. This stopped doubtful drives, and would have placed war charity on an organized business basis if the conflict had continued.

National Catholic War Council. The Catholic hierarchy established (August, 1917) the National Catholic War Council in Washington. Under its supervision, extensive welfare work was undertaken. Chaplains were furnished the fighting units and the training camps, under the general supervision of Archbishop Hayes of New York. The council's work supplemented the war activities of the Knights of Columbus. Within the council

various departments were created, each in charge of a bishop: social action, including a national social-service school; education, and an employment bureau; historical records; a press service; councils of Catholic men and women, with local societies in many parishes; and a publicity bureau to publish educational and religious pamphlets. Since the war, the council has continued and extended its work as the National Catholic Welfare Conference, under the patronage of the hierarchy.

General Pershing in Command. Roosevelt's offer to raise 40,000 volunteers and assume command of a division was refused. The appointment of General Wood as commander in chief was generally expected, but the President decided otherwise. Many Republicans were annoyed, but there is little doubt that Wilson made a better choice. To army men, John J. Pershing was known as a fighter. He was not a politician, nor was he widely known in civilian circles. He had seen long military service and had never been found wanting. No other living American soldier had his experience with large commands. He and the President were in thorough agreement, and both favored the new policy of placing the control of all the Allied forces under the heroic Marshal Foch as general in chief. Pershing was given the rank of general, hitherto held only by Washington, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan.

In June Pershing was in France. Visiting La Fayette's grave, he is quoted as saying: "La Fayette, we are here." America was indeed to pay the old debt manifold. On July 4 he led a battalion of the proud First Division in parade through Paris. France was given hope and renewed life; the Gallic spirit had not broken. Pershing proved a fine rather than a brilliant soldier; he was a disciplinarian; he worked well with the Allied generals, though he was not a Foch or a Haig; he sought no publicity, and he lacked the romantic character to attract the love of his command as did Napoleon, Lee, or Grant. But Pershing and his Americans turned defeat into victory.

The Army in France. By August, 1917, 45,000 Americans were in France. A large detail of railroad and construction men were erecting storehouses, depots, camps, and railroads in preparation

for the multitudes which would land at Brest. In order not to be a drain on our "associates in the war," the American army prepared to bring everything it needed — locomotives, box cars, motor trucks, automobiles, repair shops, machinery, cannon, machine guns, munitions, lumber, tools, and mountainous stores of food supplies. Soon the rest of the regular army arrived. They



FOCH AND PERSHING AT LATTER'S QUARTERS IN FRANCE

were sent to the front and brigaded with British and French regiments. The first volunteers took their places in the ranks of the regulars. Among the first to reach the trenches were marines. The first drafted men followed in the fall, after a few months of intensive training. By spring, about 350,000 had arrived. The Germans were astounded when they first found Americans holding a line of trenches. To them, the impossible had been accomplished — making soldiers out of green civilians and putting them, within such a short time, on the battle line thousands of miles from home.

A year after the first American regiments paraded in Paris, Secretary Baker announced that our first million was "over there." Thereafter, transports brought about 300,000 men a month. The balance of man power was now with the Allies. Russia's withdrawal was more than made good. When the war ended, America had 2,045,169 men in France, 1,390,000 of whom had seen fighting. Nearly 2,000,000 more were preparing to cross the sea. Our men were holding almost a fourth of the trench mileage. A regiment was on the Italian front, and a few regiments were in Russia and in distant Siberia fighting the Bolsheviki. The race, as Lloyd George, the British premier, put it, between Wilson and Hindenburg had been won.

The Navy in the War. The navy had little opportunity to perform picturesque service, but its work was exceedingly important. William S. Benson, a graduate of the Naval Academy who had risen through the ranks to the position of rear admiral, was chief of naval operations (1915-1919). Next to the civilian Secretary of the Navy, he was in direct command. Admiral William S. Sims was in charge of the fleet in European waters, where our ships and destroyers did joint service with the British in maintaining the blockade, in destroying submarines, and in guarding the shipping routes. Thanks to the vigilance of British and American sailors, the crowded transports bearing millions of American and Canadian fighters found safe passage to France. Our troops were carried across on confiscated German liners, on American vessels, and on leased British transports. We were largely dependent after all on the British navy and merchant shipping.

Americans at the Front. Pershing insisted that his increasing regiments act as an American army, and not be sandwiched permanently with French and English forces. On March 21, 1918, Von Hindenburg ordered a general advance in a vain attempt on Paris before American reinforcements should arrive in strength. After weeks of hard fighting the Germans were checked. On May 28, the American First Division captured the village of Cantigny; three days later they helped block a German drive on Château-Thierry. On June 4 the Americans were forcing the fighting at

Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood. By mid-July the tide had turned, and Marshal Foch ordered a general advance. The Hindenburg line was doomed. Attacking on September 12, the American forces bent back the St. Mihiel salient, which the French had vainly assaulted again and again. These Americans were valiant soldiers; the Allies had no more misgivings.



MAP SHOWING AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN FRANCE

Commencing September 26 and for forty-six days thereafter, the Americans under Generals Pershing, Liggett, and Bullard cut their way through Germany's strongest line in the Meuse-Argonne sector. On November 7 the Americans took ill-fated Sedan, where Louis Napoleon's empire had crumbled in 1870. It was here that an American battalion was lost for three days surrounded by the enemy, but fought its way back to safety. In this terrible campaign 630,000 Americans took part, aided by 140,000 French veterans.

In October Berlin was warned by the general staff that the war was lost. American men and money had turned the day. Bulgaria had collapsed. Austria was seeking a conference to discuss peace terms, and, on November 3, she gave up the contest. The German government (October 12) agreed to evacuate conquered territory and expressed a willingness to accept Wilson's Fourteen Points.

~~✓ Wilson's Fourteen Points.~~ In an address to Congress (January, 1918), President Wilson had outlined his plan for world peace, and security for every peace-loving nation. This came to be popularly known as Wilson's Fourteen Points and stamped the President as a statesman of the new idealistic school of diplomacy. It remained to be seen how far he could enforce his views on the diplomats of the Old World. A large percentage of Americans and oppressed peoples everywhere were in sympathy with the terms he laid down with such precision: open covenants of peace, openly arrived at; absolute freedom of the seas; removal as far as possible of economic barriers and establishment of an equality of trade conditions among the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance; reduction of armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims, with consideration of the interest of colonial peoples; evacuation of Russian territory and an opportunity for Russia to establish her own government; evacuation and restoration of Belgian territory; freedom for invaded French lands and the return of Alsace-Lorraine; a readjustment of the Italian-Austrian border on racial lines; free development for the submerged peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire; evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro; the guaranty of the Dardanelles as an open strait, and local freedom for the subject peoples in Turkey; an independent Poland; and an association of nations, to guarantee the political independence of great and small states alike.

On July 4 the President further urged that there be an outlawry of arbitrary power which can disturb world peace, that nations be governed in their conduct according to the golden-rule principles, which should govern men, and that there be an

organization to promote and enforce peace. Could such a world settlement have been made, a golden age would have resulted. The conflicting rivalries of Europe would no longer disturb the peace. But Wilson was far ahead of his generation.

The Armistice. On November 9, 1918, the Hohenzollerns abdicated; soon the Kaiser fled over the Dutch border in search of a safe, neutral refuge. Now the Allies could treat with the enemy. As President Wilson had said, in refusing the papal peace proposals of August, 1917, on the basis of the status quo in 1914, there could be no peace with the autocratic, irresponsible, and faithless rulers of the Central Powers. On November 11 an armistice was signed, according to terms drawn by Marshal Foch. The cruelest and greatest war of history was ended.

Belgium was evacuated, as well as Alsace-Lorraine. The Germans withdrew behind the Rhine. The Allies occupied the right bank and held the important bridgeheads of Mainz, Cologne, and Coblenz, which would make impossible another invasion of France. Germany surrendered her heavy artillery, machine guns, aircraft, and a great many locomotives, cars, tanks, and army trucks. Her soldiers gladly threw aside their arms. The German submarines were destroyed and, convoyed by Allied battleships, the imperial fleet was taken to the Scottish coast for safe-keeping. Regardless of the provisions of the projected peace treaty, Germany was rendered impotent to renew the war.

The whole world rejoiced. The tension of four years was over. Even in America, which had not experienced the losses, destruction, and overpowering dread that Europe had known, a relieved people let loose in a mad celebration on the night of November 11. It was "over, over there." There would be no more scanning of daily casualty lists. The nightmare had passed. The large cities went wild, but the spirit was splendid.

Cost of the War. The war left Europe mourning the fate of fourteen million of its best men, who were killed or totally disabled. Probably ten million civilians in the war area died of disease, starvation, or undernourishment. Women and children were among the worst sufferers. The nations, whether victorious or conquered, were in a state of financial ruin. Great areas were

devastated. Debts and reparations had mounted almost beyond hope of payment. Generations must struggle in an uphill effort to restore old Europe. In this sense America did not suffer. Yet in the service 135,000 of her picked men died, less than half on the field of battle. Thousands were totally disabled. Many more thousands were physically weakened. The



GENERAL PERSHING LEADING THE RETURNING TROOPS UNDER THE
ARCH OF FREEDOM, NEW YORK

total casualties were 318,316. The total mobilized forces were 4,051,606. The general moral tone of the nation was lowered. In the war years, and in part due to the war pestilence, an epidemic of influenza-pneumonia caused the death of hundreds of thousands. The average cost of the war was a million dollars an hour, expenditure rising in the last weeks to fifty million dollars a day. Our national debt in 1916 was under a billion dollars and in 1919 it reached the staggering total of twenty-five and a quarter billion. Of this amount, eight and a half billion dollars had been lent to the Allied powers. It is doubtful if, without American money, they could have carried on. To

wage a war of 200 days of actual trench fighting had been an expensive undertaking for America.

The Peace Commission. President Wilson experienced a sharp disappointment. On October 26 he issued an appeal for a Democratic Congress, so that he might continue to stand as the nation's accepted representative at home and abroad. He condemned Republican opposition to himself as opposition to the war, in reminding the nation that the election of a Republican Congress would indicate a repudiation of his leadership. The voters did not heed; they resented executive dictation and elected a strongly Republican Congress. It was a political blunder on Wilson's part. Nevertheless he failed to consider himself a repudiated leader.

Despite open criticism and a tradition that no president leave the country during his term of office, Wilson was determined to draft his own peace treaty. He felt that he alone could win recognition for his Fourteen Points and convert the Allied diplomats to his high idealism and cherished plans for world reorganization. As the Senate was Democratic, the President's appointment of himself, Secretary Lansing, General Tasker H. Bliss, Colonel E. M. House, and Henry White was ratified with little opposition. Aside from the President, and Lansing, who had won merited approval as head of the State Department, the commission was not strong. It was believed that the President would so dominate his appointees that it would be a one-man commission. The Senate was unrepresented, and there was no Republican member of high standing. With the President were more than a hundred associates, technical experts of one kind or another, including many close students of economics, law, and European history. If specialized knowledge would avail anything, Wilson was amply fortified by scholarly specialists who were intimately acquainted with European problems.

Wilson's Triumph. President Wilson arrived in France, December 13, about a month before the Peace Conference. He was received by the French government and people as no foreign representative had ever been. His was a triumphant progress, to be compared with Napoleon's on his return from

Elba. Wilson was almost canonized. In England it was the same, and in Italy he received worshipful laudation. America rejoiced with its President. For the moment, factional differences were largely forgotten. Europe was still willing to recognize America as its savior, and the European peoples viewed Wilson as a liberator. Germany, too, saw in President Wilson its protector. He would save the nation from vicious treatment by its foes, who were filled with violent hatred. No living man had come so near reaching the treacherous pinnacle of world popularity.

The Peace Conference. The day of glory soon ended. The conference met, January 18. Twenty-seven nations and the five self-governing British dominions were represented by seventy diplomats. It was too large a gathering to be efficient. Even the five large powers alone (France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States) had thirty-four delegates. Wilson wanted open meetings and frank diplomacy. He would have brought the light of publicity to every problem, but he was already aware that the Allies were primarily bent on making good bargains. The Russian revolutionists had published the secret arrangements entered into by the late Czar, which disclosed the sordid ambitions of the Allies, their desire to partition Turkey and Austria, their anxiety for colonies, their unwillingness to recognize nationality as the basis of statehood, and their determination to ruin the Central Powers. Of these nefarious treaties Wilson had been ignorant. His chagrin was deep. Obviously the powers wanted another Congress of Vienna.

The conference turned to secret diplomacy. An inner council of four practically wrote the treaty. Lloyd George, the dynamic British prime minister, a clever politician and an opportunist, represented Great Britain. Clemenceau, "the Tiger," an aged statesman of the old school of diplomacy, a violent man who hated Germany with a memory of 1870, determined France's position. Orlando represented Italy, and a clever diplomat he proved to be. At times the Japanese representative was called in, but the so-called "Big Four" settled the fate of Europe. Wilson was well-nigh powerless against such trained and canny

diplomats. He was fighting for ideals; they for reparations, territories, and colonies. It was three to one, and that one the most spiritually minded, but far from the most able for the work at hand. Wilson's experts supplied him with materials, but facts played little part in the under-cover negotiations. Special committees reported to the Big Four. Decisions were reached and then reported to the full conference in secret. There were but few open sessions, in which minor matters were considered. Wilson was helpless.

France and Italy were insistent on the fulfillment of prior secret treaties, though willing enough now to cast out Russian Bolsheviks from any inheritance. All Wilson could do was to insist on modifications, on a toning down of outrageous demands on Germany, and on the formation of a League of Nations, which would substitute arbitration for war in the future. To gain anything, Wilson had to threaten to leave the conference and return to America, going so far as to call for his ship, the *George Washington*. This his fellow diplomats could not permit. It might cause popular repudiation of their leadership.

League of Nations. The Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted by Lord Robert Cecil, a British statesman, and Premier Jan Smuts of the Union of South Africa. Wilson was in thorough accord, for he was the real apostle of the League. Indeed, the fundamental idea was incorporated in the series of Wilson-Bryan peace treaties, negotiated with thirty countries before 1916. The President returned to America for consultations with Taft, Hughes, Root, and others. Their suggestions and his own were then partly written into the revised Covenant, which recognized our Monroe Doctrine. The League annoyed European conservatives. They preferred the old diplomacy and a balance of power maintained by armaments. They considered Wilson's Fourteen Points and peace program as hopelessly idealistic. European liberals, on the other hand, thought the League insufficient and were disappointed that Wilson, who promised so much, had apparently obtained so little. They held that the League was unworkable and only a step in the right direction.

The League, with headquarters at Geneva, was provided with a Permanent Secretariat. In its Assembly all member nations had an equal voice, regardless of size. The British Empire would have six votes, as the self-governing dominions were represented. The more powerful Council, however, was representative of the five great associated powers, with four additional representatives elected by the Assembly. The Council would supervise the mandatory power of great nations over the defeated power's former colonies and over backward nations, take steps for limiting armaments, reform abuses caused by private manufacture of munitions, and act as a conciliatory board in disputes which might lead to war. In addition, it was expected that the Council would urge needed international reforms. A Permanent Court of International Justice was later provided, as a sort of international supreme court to consider grievances of nations. In the case of small nations at least, it was hoped that the decision of this court with the moral (and possibly physical) backing of the League would prevent any war of aggression or any conflict over boundaries, colonies, or trade.

The Treaty of Versailles. On June 28, 1919 (five years after the fatal Serbian shot) Germany, faced with a threatened renewal of the war, signed the treaty. It was at Versailles, just outside of Paris, where the peace of 1871 was forced upon France and where the late German Empire was formally proclaimed. The treaty was harsh, but with its terms we are not here concerned. America demanded no indemnity. She wanted no territory. She only hoped (and with much misgiving) that she had helped to dethrone the last autocracy, the last militaristic empire, and that she had made the world safe for democracy. America was losing hope, as she came to know Europe better. She saw the French spirit of revenge, the desire to ruin Germany, the fear of Central European republics, and the hope of stealing the west bank of the Rhine with its mines and industries. She was aware of the smothered rivalries in the Balkans and in eastern Europe. She saw radicalism of the most revolutionary nature in control of Russia. She was aware of the inroads of Bolshevism in neighboring states. The new Poland

was dissatisfied. She saw disappointed peoples, who had suffered unbearable hardships, though not in as bad a political position as before, economically in one far worse. She saw Japan reach for German colonies in the Pacific. Japan had become exceedingly powerful. Of all nations, she had emerged from the war strengthened. America¹ saw the British Empire extended. Small wonder that there came a slump in idealism.



THE AMERICAN POSSESSIONS

Reception of the Treaty. Wilson, however, retained his enthusiasm. He was unaware of the change which six months had made in America. The war fervor had passed away. Idealism was at a low ebb. The problems of reconstruction, dissatisfied soldiers returning to the old niche in which they were no longer happy, unemployment, high cost of living,¹ burdensome taxes, despairing farmers, strikes and lockouts, political hatreds, keen disillusionment — these were characteristics of the America which received Wilson on his return. Men wondered if the war had been in vain. He was not only repudiated, but in wide circles he had become without reason an object of hatred. His

¹ If we use 100 as the unit of general prices in 1913, the cost in 1890 would be 80, in 1918 about 180, and in 1920 about 240.

work was viciously attacked. He was no prophet among his own people. It broke his proud spirit. The League which he cherished was thought a foolish dream, a pious abstraction without practical value. He had gone away with his Fourteen Points and returned with the Covenant, written, his opponents said, by British hands in British interests. In the Senate, personal and political opposition knew no bounds.

Wilson erred in thinking that the people were behind him. He toured the North and into the West in an appeal to the nation, but his reception except on the Pacific coast was strangely apathetic. His day of glory had passed. Republicanism was in the ascendancy; Wilson's *New Freedom* was in the wane. He led the people to expect a new world, and after the war men awoke to find the world no better, no happier, and, except for the political institutions of new European states, little more democratic. On September 25, Wilson collapsed with a paralytic stroke. He was a broken old man and remained a permanent invalid. He was a war casualty, but men failed in sympathy. When there was no news from the sick chamber, there were rumors that his sanity was affected, which had to be officially denied.

The Senate and the Treaty. Wilsonian Democrats under Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska called for ratification of the treaty and Covenant without modification. They stood by the President, who demanded that it be accepted without the crossing of a *t* or dotting of an *i*. In this they were quite unreasonable. "Irreconcilables," led by Senators Borah, La Follette, and Johnson, would have none of the League, with or without modifications. They hated Wilson, who had reprimanded some of their number during the war. He had ignored the Senate during the crisis and ensuing negotiations. He had refused advice. He had appealed to the people over the Senate. He had been granted dictatorial powers during the war. The Senate would now regain its power. The executive must be humbled, even as Congress had humbled and limited the executive after the Civil War. These two groups had nothing in common. No compromise could heal the breach between them.

Senator Lodge, who stood in the place of Sumner of Massachusetts, was deeply hostile to Wilson, but his opposition, and that of his supporters, was presumably based on the historic American fear of entangling European arrangements. As conservative statesmen, they wanted more safeguards. It would have been wisdom for Wilson to have sought the support of Lodge, who was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. The modificationists were strongly situated, for they could count on the votes of all irreconcilables.

Lodge finally recommended ratification of the treaty and Covenant, with some forty amendments and reservations. Wilsonian Democrats argued that these reservations would defeat the League's purpose. Wilson would have none of them. The reservations sought to place further guaranties about the Monroe Doctrine and to modify Article X, which President Wilson described as the "heart of the Covenant." This provided for the political and territorial integrity of nations. It had especially aroused the Irish and German groups in this country, as an obstacle to Irish independence or a new Germanic confederation which would include Austria. It had aroused liberals, for it seemed to guarantee the status quo of foreign nations. One reservation sought to change British representation in the Assembly. In the light of the independence shown by Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, too much was made of the popular argument that England would have six votes to America's one. As a matter of fact, the United States could control more easily the votes of our West Indian "colonies."

In November, 1919, the treaty failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote. Discussion continued; Wilson stood solidly behind every item in the treaty. When it was voted upon again in March, 1920, the Democrats and irreconcilables prevented ratification. Wilson's supporters would have no treaty if not "the Treaty." In April and May, a resolution offered in the Senate by Senator Knox of Pennsylvania was passed by both Houses, declaring the war ended and reserving any rights which the United States would have had under the Treaty of Versailles. The President, condemning a "back-door peace,"

vetoed the resolution. Wilson agreed to a treaty arrangement with France by which the United States would temporarily guarantee French territorial integrity. Referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, this semi-alliance was allowed to die. Its defeat probably prevented the establishment of a dangerous precedent. America remained technically at war. Wilson used this as a club, for with the nation "legally at war," reconstruction and a return to a peace basis were more difficult. The Senate, however, could not be forced. The bulk of the nation was behind it. Wilson would have done well to compromise, rather than demand and risk all.

The League of Nations Organized. Forty-two nations accepted the Covenant during 1920, and the League of Nations was established. It was much weakened by the absence of the United States as a member, especially as neither Germany nor Russia were as yet eligible, and as the greatest spiritual power, the papacy, was not included. Of the invited nations only America refused to join. Europe could not understand the Senate's failure to ratify the Covenant, when our representative had been the very soul of the movement. A memorial was later raised to Wilson in Geneva. It was hoped that America would reconsider; but the slight success of the League in checking a crop of minor wars and despoliations apparently made the ultimate entrance of the United States little more likely, especially as the American people decisively spoke their hostility to Wilsonian policies in the election of 1920.

References

A. E. MCKINLEY, *Collected Materials for the Study of the War*; CHARLES SEYMOUR, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War* (Chronicles); FRANCIS P. DUFFY, *Father Duffy's Own Story*.

Bibliography

J. S. BASSETT, *Expansion and Reform, Our War with Germany*; MCMASTER, *United States in the World War*; CARLETON HAYES, *Brief History of the World War*; A. F. POLLARD, *Short History of the Great War*; R. S. BAKER and W. E. DODD (Eds.), *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*;

R. S. BAKER, *Wilson and the World Settlement*; E. A. POWELL, *The Army behind the Army*; G. B. CLARKSON, *Industrial America in the War*; SHIPLEY THOMAS, *History of the A. E. F.*; W. S. SIMS and B. J. HENDRICK, *The Victory at Sea*; E. N. HURLEY, *New Merchant Marine, The Bridge to France*; M. F. EGAN and J. B. KENNEDY, *Knights of Columbus in Peace and War*; MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *American Catholics in the War*; A. S. WILL, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*; E. M. HOUSE and CHARLES SEYMOUR, *What Really Happened at Paris*; CHARLES SEYMOUR (Ed.), *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*; H. P. DAVISON, *American Red Cross in the Great War*; GOMPERS, *American Labor and the War*; A. W. PAGE, *Our 110 Days' Fighting*; MARK SULLIVAN, *The Great Adventure at Washington*; LANSING, *Peace Negotiations*; CHARLES H. HASKINS and ROBERT LORD, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference*; ANDRÉ TARDIEU, *The Truth about the Treaty*; H. W. TEMPERLY, *History of the Conference at Paris*; S. P. DUGGAN, *League of Nations*; J. B. SCOTT, *United States and France*; H. C. LODGE, *The Senate and the League of Nations*; PERRY BELMONT, *National Isolation an Illusion*; KATHERINE MAYO, *That Damn Y.*

2. RETURN TO NORMALCY

Problems of Peace. The war over, the nation must settle down on a peace basis. The problems of reconstruction were pressing. Within a year the fighting men were disbanded, including the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force. The regular army was put on a peace footing of less than 150,000 officers and men. Places must be found for the returned soldiers. Industries needed reorganization. Labor and capital were girding for a conflict. Would the United States continue its operation of railroads and merchant shipping? Liberty bonds must be brought to par value. Could high living-costs be lowered? Taxes must be cut, and plans made for the gradual payment of the huge debt. Would America be able to maintain its high place in world affairs? Peace brought many problems. It was not easy to return to "normalcy." Neither the world nor America could ever go back to 1914.

Unemployment. Hard times followed the war. Bankrupt Europe bought only necessities. Iron-and-steel production dropped; many factories closed, or ran only part time; and farmers of the South and West were despondent. Wages were

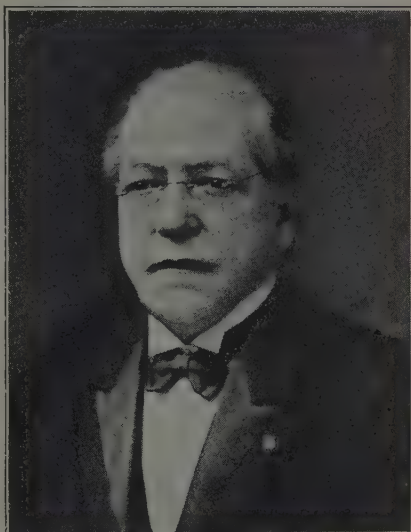
cut, yet the cost of living was even higher than during the war. Unorganized labor suffered severely. Immigration increased, and hundreds of thousands of returned soldiers sought work. Unemployment grew until from four to six million persons were idle. Times were indeed rather dark, and there was little relief for four years.

Labor Disturbances. Capital and labor were in sharp conflict. Unskilled laborers were unorganized and helpless. Competition for jobs was keen, and industry forced wage cuts to avoid losses. War wages were a thing of the past. Unions lost a third of their membership, yet they fought bitterly against wage reduction, and the open-shop policy which many business men sought to adopt. The union shop is frankly closed to non-unionists, but the open shop in many cases closes its doors to organized labor. Strikes and lockouts occurred in every industry. For the year 1919 the Labor Department listed 3374 strikes, with four million men involved.

The most serious disturbance was in the steel industry, where 300,000 men struck for better hours and a recognition of their newly formed union. A committee of the Church Federation reported the wretched condition of foreign workers in the steel mills, with their twelve-hour shift and week of seven working days. Public sentiment turned to the strikers, until charges of disorder became general. Radicalism was used as a smoke screen to frighten the public, and the strike was broken by armed guards and strike-breakers. In 1921, 600,000 miners in the soft and hard coal belts struck to prevent lower wages. Labor was too plentiful, now that the war demand for coal had ceased. Work was seasonal; unemployment was usual; the conditions of labor were wretched. Despite the skilled leadership of John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, there was considerable disorder. States called out their militias, and the mining companies hired strike-breakers and guards. Conflicts were most numerous in the soft-coal regions. After an idleness of several months, the miners returned to the pits at the old wages. They had at least prevented a cut. Operators recouped their losses by raising coal prices to new levels. The consumer again

suffered. A serious strike in the anthracite fields occurred during the fall and winter of 1925-1926, forcing the public to burn soft coal. This is the weapon which brings the hard-coal operators to terms. Conditions improved when the foreign demand for coal increased during the British coal strike, but discontent among miners threatens the peace of the coal regions.

In the summer of 1922 the railroads were tied up for a few weeks by the shopmen's strike. Gompers pointed out the difficulties under which the men labored, but in public and governmental circles the strike was considered little short of criminal. The railroads employed 60,000 guards, and the Department of Justice, which was not yet discredited, added hundreds of agents. The strike cost the railroads a fifth of their annual income, before it was finally broken by Attorney-General Daugherty, who ob-



SAMUEL GOMPERS

tained a sweeping blanket injunction against the strike-leaders and strikers, under the guise of protecting the mail and interstate commerce. His action had much to do with a Democratic revival in the fall elections.

These were the greatest strikes among the thousands with which the country was confronted. On the whole, labor prevented a drastic lowering of wages. In the building trades alone were unionists well situated. As private construction had ceased during the war, there was a tremendous building campaign in all the large cities to catch up with the shortage. Public works and millions of business buildings and new homes have

supplied work in plenty at extremely high wages for bricklayers, carpenters, and the allied trades.

The "Red" Fright. In connection with labor disorders a propaganda against "Reds" ran riot. No matter how just, strikes were charged to radical agitators. Capital, the press, and a certain type of politician played on the nation's fears of bolshevism, socialism, and radical unionism. The strength of the anarchistic I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) was grossly exaggerated. That American labor had ever fought against radicalism was conveniently forgotten. Some states passed restrictive legislation, limiting free speech and free press, proscribing foreign languages in the schools, and interfering with the freedom of the classroom. Fortunately, the Supreme Court stood as a bulwark against such legislation. Nativists used the Red menace as an argument for restriction of immigration; capital used it in the fight against unionism. Popular fear of a spread of Russian sovietism became a mania. Radicalism there was, and not without some cause, but its danger was doubtful.

The apostle of the fear of Red menace was Attorney-General Palmer. A section of the public actually expected uprisings and bomb-throwing on Labor and May days! Agents of the Department of Justice raided the meeting-places and homes of known Socialists, confiscating their letters and literature. Thousands of arrests were made, some on the slightest grounds. About 250 dangerous radicals were shipped to Finland. Others were soon deported as suspicious aliens. In New York the legislature unseated five duly elected Socialists despite the disapproval of as good a conservative as Mr. Hughes. If radicalism was growing, America was taking the wrong way to stop it. Making martyrs of radicals would only increase their following. Critics of Mr. Palmer thought that his espionage campaign was timed to popularize his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. If so, it failed; for America soon forgot the whole business and laughed at the passing "scare."

Restoration of Railroads. Despite a marked propaganda for continued Federal ownership the railroads were restored to private management, March 1, 1920, under the provisions of the

Esch-Cummins Act. The Interstate Commerce Commission valued the roads, with a mileage of nearly 251,000, at about nineteen billion dollars, which the owners considered too low and liberals far too high. Business was relieved, for its fear of government ownership was real. Railroad-managers pictured the roads as in a ruinous condition and pointed to the yearly deficit under government control as proof of its failure. Believers in public ownership urged that the government, under the circumstances, operated with success. It was a time of crisis. The two men who were successively Director-General of Railroads (McAdoo and Hines) were not experienced. Hence it was held that public ownership had not been given a fair trial. Railroad officials maintained that public ownership would place our transportation system in the hands of politicians who would use railroad jobs to pay political workers and raise wages to attract votes.

Railroad-owners were treated liberally — even lavishly, in the opinion of radicals and farmers. For two years they were guaranteed 6 per cent on their investment. They were granted loans of \$500,000,000 at low interest for new equipment and repairs. A new era in railroading resulted. No longer does the government try to enforce competition. Everything points to the merging of roads into a few systems operated on an efficiency basis. Even pooling is permitted under the regulation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is authorized to fix both maximum and minimum rates.

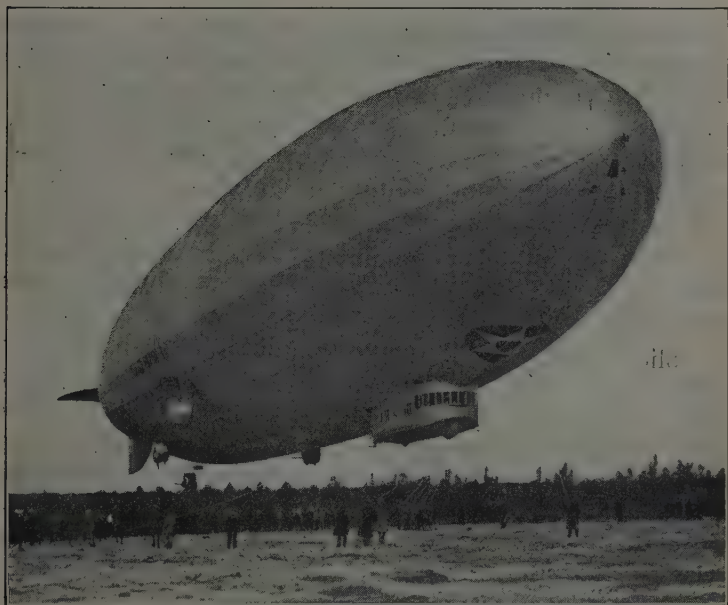
The Shipping Board. Congress (1920) passed an act permitting the sale of government ships, but the market was poor. Yards and ships costing three and a half billion dollars during the war were worth hardly an eighth of that sum. Freight rates dropped to a ruinous level, and we could not compete with foreign lines, which paid low wages. As a result, much of the shipping was tied at the wharves and an annual deficit marked the operation of the government-owned merchant marine. Ships which cost fortunes were sold for scrap, including 200 which the Ford Company bought (1925). Something must be done if the United States hopes to maintain its place on the high seas.

Industrial Development (1901-1920). Despite the bad post-war years American development has never been so great as in these two decades. Exports and imports in 1900 were respectively \$1,394,500,000 and \$849,900,000, as compared with \$8,228,700,000 and \$5,278,400,000 in 1920. The percentage of manufactured goods among exports increased from 35 to 51. By 1920 the general textile industries had nearly a million employees, with an output of \$4,600,000,000. From 1900 to 1920 the corn crop increased from 2,666,000,000 to 3,232,367,000 bushels; wheat from 658,500,000 to 787,128,000 bushels; oats from 943,000,000 to 1,526,000,000 bushels; and cotton from 4,717,000,000 to about 6,800,000,000 pounds. Such figures are dreary but startling. Northern Minnesota became the center of the iron-mining industry with its open-pit, cheap-mining methods. America controlled the world's iron-and-steel business, leaving England far behind. Our output in 1920 was four times that of 1900. Only England surpassed our production and foreign sale of coal. The aluminum business, concentrated in a few hands, developed into gigantic size. Minerals, oil, lumber, and machinery were produced as never before.

The Great Lakes empire thrived. A strong movement has gained headway for the provision of a highway for ocean-going vessels to the Atlantic Ocean by way of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River. This would remake the Great Lakes cities into oceanic ports. The "Soo" Canal between Lakes Superior and Huron now serves five times the shipping of the Suez and probably three times that of the Panama Canal. Renewed interest is seen in water transportation. The Erie Canal system has been improved at a cost of nearly \$200,000,000. The Cape Cod Canal (1914) affords a shorter and safer passage from Boston to New York. Our great harbors have been deepened and their wharves and piers made suitable for the largest ships.

New industries sprang into existence. In 1900 the output of the newly commercialized automobile (which suggests such inventive mechanics as Haynes, Duryea, and Olds) amounted to \$5,000,000; in 1920, to over \$3,000,000,000. New giants arrived full-grown. Henry Ford, a machinist and son of an Irish

immigrant, became the nation's wealthiest manufacturer of automobiles and tractors, with a fortune which defeats estimation. Scores of multimillionaires soon appeared in the automobile, tire, and accessories industries. New cities came into existence. For example, Detroit, a small city in 1900, passed the million mark in the 1920 census. The huge modern city has



A DIRIGIBLE RISING FROM THE GROUND

become possible through the cheap and speedy transportation furnished by electric street cars (surface, elevated, and subway lines). City traction companies control over 50,000 miles of trackage. Electric appliances, electric machinery, office equipment, adding machines, suggest new industries which have grown to mammoth proportions.

Flying machines, direct long-distance telephone service from New York to San Francisco and from New York to London (1927), photographic telegraphy, moving pictures, automobile

bus service, gas engines on farms, printing revolutionized by linotype and monotype inventions, wireless telegraphy, sound-amplifiers, radio, air-mail service — these suggest the economic and social revolution in our method of living which has taken place in the past score of years.

✓ **National Prohibition.** The cry of the little Prohibition party was at last heard. Temperance societies had long emphasized the wretchedness caused by excessive drinking. No organization waged a more spirited fight against intemperance than the Catholic Church through its bishops and societies. It advocated both temperance and voluntary total abstinence, rather than enforced abstinence by law. A number of Catholic societies refused membership privileges to saloon-keepers. Railroads and some industries discriminated against drinking men, as did insurance companies. Textbooks as well as reformers warned against the dangers of alcohol. Cities established more strict regulation. Drinking was no longer in favor as in the early decades of the republic. Maine had been the pioneer in legal prohibition; though for the later period Kansas took the lead. The powerful Anti-Saloon League took up the fight. Well financed and somewhat fanatical, it maintained lobbyists in Congress and in state legislatures. The South, in its fear of negroes and because of the political influence of the evangelical sects, proved a fertile field.

In 1913 there were nine states where liquor had been banished by law. In a number of states, counties had the right to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks. In this way large areas of the land were "dry," or at least legally so. The movement gained headway because of the close association of the saloon with vice and the refusal or failure of the distillers and brewers to reform their business and remain out of politics. Prohibition made little progress in industrial centers. Making people moral by law is essentially a survival of the old Puritan philosophy of conduct. The Anti-Saloon League, the Methodist and Baptist churches, reformers, and the Klan sought prohibition by constitutional amendment as the only means of national enforcement. War-time prohibition in America gave an impetus to the dry campaign.

In December, 1917, the prohibition amendment passed both Houses. The Anti-Saloon League watched the vote closely. Some congressmen who drank "wet" voted "dry" rather than face their "dry" constituents, who were far more active if not more numerous than the "wet" voters of their districts. Within two years the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified and added to the Constitution. In time all but a few states passed enforcement acts. On January 16, 1920, America officially went "dry." The manufacture, sale, and transportation of spirituous liquor were forbidden, and a rigid Federal enforcement act (the Volstead Act) was passed, defining intoxicating liquors as those with more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent alcoholic content. Fanatics would have stopped the use of wine for religious service, but fortunately they were unable to obtain an enforcement rule which would violate a fundamental principle of religious liberty.

It is a great experiment in moral legislation. "Drys" maintain that it is a success and that the law will ultimately be enforced; that the younger generation will lose the taste for strong drink; that morals in general will improve; that industry will thrive and the people will have more money to spend for the luxuries of life; that bank deposits will increase; and that there will be less poverty and higher living standards. "Wets" hold quite the contrary — that enforcement has been a failure; that it has been corrupt; that rich men can obtain liquor, but the poor can buy only bad liquor at a high price; that drunkenness has not decreased nor crime diminished; that the young, in a spirit of bravado, drink more; that prohibition has led to lawlessness, illegal drinking among high and low, illicit distilling, rum-running over the border and by sea, bootlegging, violence, political corruption, and home manufacture. They claim that enforcement has been costly and ineffective; that the revenues of the government, Federal and local, have been diminished, with the result that other taxes have been substituted; that enforcement has led to trouble with foreign nations; that it has annoyed wine-exporting France; that the law was passed by an aggressive minority temporarily in control; that it was forced on the nation by the less populous reform states and on

the states by the rural districts, which are over-represented in the legislatures; and that it was enacted when millions of men were in the army.

These are the claims and countercharges. A midway point would be nearer correct. It has become a political question which both parties hesitate to face. The wet-and-dry issue is nonpartisan, for both factions are strong in each party.

The Fight for Woman Suffrage. Manhood suffrage was finally won in the Jacksonian era after a fiercely contested campaign of two generations. Under the New Jersey constitution (1776) all persons owning a certain amount of property could vote, but in 1807 it was so amended as to disqualify women, negroes, and aliens. In 1848, under the leadership of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Stanton, the first women's rights convention met. As early as 1869, during the negro-suffrage agitation, Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe urged an amendment which would guarantee voting rights to women. Wyoming Territory, from the first, recognized women as voters and, on admission as a state, wrote an equal-suffrage plank into its constitution. Colorado, Utah, and Idaho soon followed. Again the democratic frontier led the nation.

Twelve states, including Illinois east of the Mississippi, had granted full woman suffrage by 1914. In addition, a number of states permitted women to vote for school and library commissioners. Within three years six more states, including New York, granted the suffrage. Montana elected the first woman to Congress. Slowly Wilson saw the light. Despite intense work the suffragists could see no end if each state had to be won. The South would prove impossible. Stirring up suffrage questions was not popular in a region where the Fifteenth Amendment was conveniently sidestepped. Many conservative men and women opposed the movement on one ground or another. Suffragists sought a constitutional amendment as the most effective method.

Such an amendment passed Congress and was submitted to the states for ratification (1919). The fight commenced in earnest. States where women voted ratified immediately. Women who braved jail made zealous lobbyists. The war service of

women gave new arguments, as well as the extension of suffrage in "backward" Europe. Finally thirty-five states ratified. The Tennessee legislature was ready to vote. In force suffragists invaded that fundamentalist state. The legislature wavered; the amendment was ratified by a single vote. Later it was repudiated, but too late. A state which votes against ratification can reconsider, but when a state once ratifies an amendment, the vote must stand. States of course determine the actual voting qualifications, but no longer can the suffrage be denied on grounds of race or sex. America, unfortunately, was only a follower in the emancipation movement, for a number of nations had already granted woman suffrage. However, women were able to vote in the 1920 presidential election. In the last few years women have taken an active part in politics. They are members of political committees, attend party conventions, serve on juries, and hold appointive offices; they have won numerous seats in legislatures and have elected a few women to Congress (including an appointed senator from Georgia). Politically, women are coming into their own.

Election of Harding. The nation was ready to turn from Wilson and the Democratic party, which had shown little interest in reconstruction or in tax reduction. In the preconvention campaign Herbert Hoover seemed popular as one of the few war heroes who retained a following. General Wood's boom died when a disclosure was made of capitalistic backing and enormous expenditures. Governor Lowden of Illinois was also weakened by reports that he was spending large sums of his own money. None of these aspirants were favored by the bosses and senatorial clique who controlled the Republican convention, which named Senator Warren G. Harding, a self-made journalist of Marion, Ohio, and an antileague opponent of Wilson. Harding was a "dark horse." Concerning him the nation knew little. On the refusal of Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin the convention named Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for vice president. Coolidge was quite unknown outside his state save for his reputation of breaking the much advertised Boston police strike.

The Democrats convened in San Francisco in recognition of

California's part in 1916. Their platform stood firmly by their war President and his League of Nations, which the Republicans condemned, though they vaguely favored some arrangement among nations to enforce peace. Palmer and McAdoo were strong contenders for the nomination, though the latter was weakened by the suggestion that he was the President's heir apparent. At best, Mr. McAdoo had hardly done enough to compel Democratic recognition. He had never held a high elective office, and there was no way of gauging his vote-attracting powers. Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York had a small following. On the forty-fourth ballot the convention selected Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. Outside Ohio the candidate was not known. The choice of the able Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt (a kinsman of President Roosevelt, who had died in January, 1919), for the vice presidency gave the ticket some strength.

There could be no doubt as to the result. It was true, as Lane, Wilson's former Secretary of the Interior, wrote to Governor Cox, "You cannot win as a Wilson man." Voters went to the polls to vote against Wilson rather than to vote for Harding or against Cox. The Republican victory was startling, "not a landslide but an earthquake," according to Mr. Tumulty, who quoted the unhappy invalid in the White House as saying:

The people will have to learn now by bitter experience just what they have lost. . . . We had a chance to gain the leadership of the world. We have lost it and soon will be witnessing the tragedy of it all.

Because of woman suffrage, the vote was enormous: Harding was elected with a plurality of 7,000,000 votes. The nation dealt the policy of entrance into the League a heavy blow.

The War Legally Ended. President Harding called a special session of Congress, which, on July 2, 1921, passed resolutions declaring peace with Austria and Germany. Thus, two and a half years after the Armistice, the war was technically ended and the nation returned to a peace footing in the fullest sense.

Fordney-McCumber Tariff. A revision of the tariff ended the Underwood schedules in 1921. The following year a strictly

Republican tariff was enacted, which increased rates even above those of the Taft administration. High rates were placed upon raw sugar, wool, and wheat. On the recommendation of the Tariff Commission the president can increase or lower duties on certain articles within wide limits. The law was bitterly assailed. It would prevent a decrease in living costs and limit our trade with Europe. If European exports to America were discouraged, how could the war-torn nations regain their feet and be in a position to pay their immense debts? In the fall elections the Democrats cut Republican majorities in both Houses and elected governors in eleven normally Republican states.

Budget Act. The Budget Act (1921) authorized the Director of the Budget (General Dawes was the first appointee), under the direction of the president, to prepare estimates of expenses and recommend bureau expenditures to Congress. This scheme is intended to curb departmental extravagance and aid in preventing a deficit or unnecessary surplus in the yearly governmental accounts. The budget has been helpful to Congress in determining items in the general-appropriation act. It does not prevent congressional freedom in voting appropriations or in raising or cutting the budget items submitted through the Director.

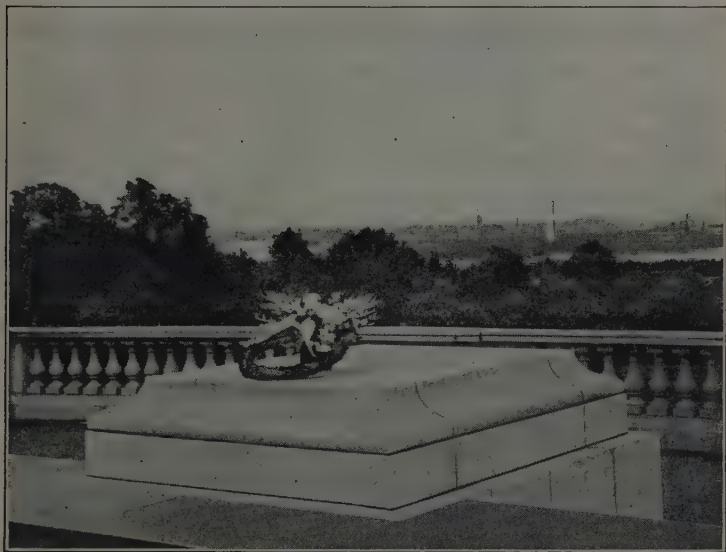
America accepts the World Court. The League of Nations created a permanent World Court (1921) with headquarters in the Carnegie Peace Palace at The Hague. John Bassett Moore, an American authority on international law, was selected as one of the eleven judges. President Harding and Secretary Hughes urged American acceptance, but the Senate failed to act. The World Court was also indorsed by President Coolidge. Finally (1926), the Senate (76 to 17) agreed to American adhesion with reservations which safeguard our interests, free us from any possible obligation under the Treaty of Versailles, and maintain our independence of the League of Nations. At the League of Nations' conferences, attended by fifty-four nations, including seventeen American republics, the United States has an official observer, and some Americans as private citizens have served on important international committees of investigation.

Disarmament Conference. In answer to an amendment by Senator Borah of Idaho to an appropriation act, President Harding issued invitations for an international conference to consider the limitation of armaments and several trying Pacific problems. Eight nations sent delegations, including Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and China. The great powers were quite hesitant. Japan was striving to keep pace with American naval construction, and we had initiated a building program which in time would give us first place among world powers. There was also a race in building naval bases and coast fortifications. It was claimed that Japan was anxious to end the open-door policy in China and to appropriate Chinese territory. She would write her own Monroe Doctrine for the Far East. There was loose talk about a future contest in the Pacific. America was worried about the British-Japanese alliance (1915). France and Italy, bankrupt as they were, built ships in a mad race. Great Britain too felt the strain, as she was aware that in bitter competition she could not keep up with the United States.

On November 11 the delegates shared in the elaborate ceremonies in connection with the burial of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery. Other nations had honored an unknown hero in memory of their nameless dead who had made the supreme sacrifice. In the conference America was well represented, as Harding had named strong men: Hughes, Root, Lodge, and Senator Underwood of Alabama. As presiding officer, Hughes struck the keynote with the frank thesis that rival naval building should cease, that the nations should agree on a relative tonnage basis for each power, and that surplus ships should be destroyed regardless of cost. The delegates were astounded. Anti-British lobbyists and "big navy" men appeared in force in Washington. Arthur Balfour, heading the British delegation, agreed in an equally earnest address. He would abolish the submarine, but Premier Briand, representing France, dissented. Nor would France agree to discuss a limitation of land forces. Yet France was hopelessly in debt, and her people were straining under high taxes to maintain a standing army larger than that of 1914. Fear of Germany had

not subsided. Admiral Kato, the chief of Japan's delegation, acquiesced most willingly in the whole program.

The destruction of about two million tons of naval shipping was agreed upon. The United States led by sacrificing 30 capital ships which were either built or under contract; Great Britain, 19; and Japan, 17. A ratio of $5:5:3:1\frac{2}{3}:1\frac{2}{3}$ was established for Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy.



TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER IN THE ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

Submarines, cruisers, and airships were not included, partly because of French objections. The rule of search and seizure was ordered for submarine warfare. Submarines sinking ships without saving the crew were declared guilty of piracy. Dangerous gases were prohibited in future wars. Japan withdrew from Shantung in China, the seizure of which had so grieved Wilson at Paris. Japan apparently accepted the open-door policy in China; China was freed. The British-Japanese alliance was dissolved. A four-power pact was arranged for a period of ten years in accordance with which the Pacific possessions of each nation

(including Holland) were to be respected and all differences settled by arbitration. In all, some eight treaties among the various powers were drafted. Treaties to which America was a party were ratified by our Senate and put in force (August, 1923). Despite the criticism of "big navy" men and suggestions that our navy as a fighting unit, because of the shortage of cruisers and auxiliary craft, would be far below England if equal to that of Japan, a great work had been accomplished. We gained a good deal in helping Europe save itself from disastrous naval competition. Relations with Japan were improved. In view of lower naval expenditures for the future, "junking" ships was not a loss to worry an extravagant nation.

President Harding's Death. President Harding, returning from an inspection tour in Alaska, fell sick and died in San Francisco (August 2, 1923). The grief of his widow was shared by the nation. The funeral obsequies were hardly over when congressional investigation uncovered governmental scandals unparalleled in our history. Few people believe that Harding was personally concerned with departmental corruption. He selected his friends unwisely, and of some of his friends the least said the better. He was a lovable man. The White House was the people's house under Harding, whereas for several years it had been a closed private home. Harding was democratic and friendly. He did not spare himself in shaking hands with the multitudes and with delegates to conventions which were held in the national capital.

Calvin Coolidge was sworn into office by his aged father in his home at Plymouth, Vermont. A typical son of the Puritans was now in the White House, the first since John Quincy Adams. Coolidge is a hard-working, silent man of average ability and sound education. As vice president, he had gained insight into his new duties, for Harding, like Washington, called the vice president into cabinet meetings. The nation was satisfied, for Coolidge was safely conservative. Like other vice presidents who have succeeded to the presidency through the death of a chief executive in office, President Coolidge retained his predecessor's cabinet, with which he had learned to work.

Departmental Scandals. Coolidge inherited a nasty mess, but he did not become panic-stricken. The lowest form of corruption was uncovered in the Veterans' Bureau under the direction of C. R. Forbes, who was finally convicted and sent to prison. It is estimated that the government and soldier patriots were defrauded out of \$200,000,000. The nation was aroused. A check-up on contractors showed possibilities in the way of corruption. Congressional investigations, like candid history, are not always relished. Yet they accomplish some good. They not only uncover fraud, but they put fear into officials who might otherwise be less honest. In prohibition enforcement there was considerable corruption, and any number of local agents were dismissed from time to time. Congress investigated the government of the District of Columbia, and one of the commissioners resigned under a cloud. The Alien Property office was under fire. This office managed German properties worth about \$400,000,000, which had been seized as a war measure. Sales of property and businesses brought surprisingly low figures. Some of the leaders were indicted, and at least one was convicted of fraud, though Attorney-General Daugherty was finally acquitted. Some investigations were merely Democratic attempts to embarrass the Republican administration, though Republican partisans retaliated by threatening to investigate Democratic war contracts and expenditures. Few investigations succeed. If they do succeed, conditions must indeed be noisome.

Senator Wheeler of Montana attacked the Department of Justice and was in turn attacked by that department without success. Attorney-General Harry Daugherty was not proven guilty of fraud as charged, but enough was brought out to show that his "Ohio gang" in the department were not all that high-minded law-enforcement officials should be. He was finally dismissed by the President for refusing Congress free access to his office files. The press of the land teemed with reports of all these scandals. Most of the names are unworthy of perpetuation, and, save as a warning, the scandals themselves might well be minimized as incidents in the nation's life. Coolidge appointed an

honest Attorney-General, under whose administration men charged with fraud and violation of the Federal law could expect no immunity for political or other reasons. Critics felt that the Department of Justice had not been active enough since the war in convicting corporations under the anti-trust laws and big violators of the prohibition amendment and income-tax law.

✓ **The Oil Scandal.** California naval oil reserves had been transferred with the consent of President Harding from the care of Secretary Denby of the Navy to that of Secretary A. B. Fall of the Interior. Thereupon Fall leased the lands to an old mining partner E. L. Doheny, who had risen from poverty to the position of an oil king. Mr. Doheny anticipated a profit of some \$200,000,000, but maintained that he was doing a patriotic service in preparing naval oil storage in case of a war on the Pacific. La Follette seems to have originated the investigation, which was carried on in a most thorough fashion by Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, one of the ablest lawyers in the Senate. Doheny, an old, mild-mannered man, was not convicted of criminal guilt; but in a civil suit the Supreme Court (Justice Butler reading the decision) declared the lease of the oil lands illegal. Meantime Mr. Denby resigned from the cabinet, though he was generally held guiltless of any wrongdoing. Secretary Fall, under pressure, also resigned. There was some criticism of the President for not forcing resignations on the first suspicion of corruption. Fall also leased the Teapot Dome oil reserve in Wyoming to the Sinclair oil interests. Public opinion demanded that the government institute a suit for cancellation of the lease and also for trial of the suspected parties for corruption.

Conditions were indeed bad, and Democrats hopefully turned the spotlight on the scandals. They expected that the oil issue would cause a popular uprising against Republican rule. Such dishonesty cannot be justified. ✓ Public servants should be honest beyond suspicion, and big business should not seek favors in irregular ways nor attempt to win wealth at the public expense. Yet the wave of moral indignation which arose when the people learned of these official scandals was greater than it would have been in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These

scandals do not indicate any deterioration in American political and business life. In fact, there has been relatively little corruption in the whole course of the Federal government.

Recent Immigration. The European immigration of 8,795,000 for 1901-1910 dropped to 5,735,000 in the next decade.¹ Of this number, more than a third returned to Europe during the war and the bad post-war years. Could America assimilate the millions pouring through Ellis Island, the new gateway for immigrants? Again, the Italians, Poles, and races of southeastern Europe made up the great bulk of the entrants. Canadian immigration was forced by hard times; Mexicans were coming in large numbers for economic and political reasons. However, the United States lost thousands of citizens who crossed the border to take up lands in western Canada. Yet the number of aliens was so tremendous that it gave force to a demand for sharp restriction.

Limiting Immigration. In 1913 and 1915 Congress passed literacy tests for immigrants, but the bills were vetoed respectively by Presidents Taft and Wilson. In 1917, just before the declaration of war, a similar law was passed over Wilson's veto. The President believed that America should not close the door of opportunity to Europe's oppressed millions. The head tax was raised; inspection was made more rigid. Immigrants between the ages of 16 and 55 were required to read some language. The test was not severe, but millions of native white Americans, the war taught us, especially in the South, which favored restriction, could hardly read and write. The law was not intended to improve the type of immigrants but to lessen the number.

Opponents of immigration predicted that after the war ten million aliens would soon arrive. A dread was inspired. Labor was worried with general unemployment, though hard times have always automatically cut down immigration. In the South

¹ Approximate figures for the years 1901-1910 and 1911-1920: Ireland, 339,000 and 146,000; Germany, 341,500 and 144,000; Austria-Hungary, 2,145,000 and 896,000; Italy, 2,046,000 and 1,109,100; France, 73,000 and 62,000; Poland, 865,000 and 475,000; Russia, 1,597,000 and 922,000; Greece, 167,500 and 184,000; Scandinavia, 505,000 and 203,000; Canada, 180,000 and 742,000; Great Britain, 525,000 and 342,000; and Mexico, probably 50,000 and 200,000.

there was opposition on religious and racial grounds; the South has a curious pride in its Anglo-Saxon blood. Opponents of immigration made much of foreign radicalism, hyphenated Americanism, war diseases, a Jewish invasion, and the supposedly lower type of the non-Nordic peoples of southern and eastern Europe. Descendants of older immigrant stocks showed a selfish fear of new immigrants, to whom they would deny the privileges granted to their fathers. The population of Chicago with 36 of every 100 foreign-born and that of New York with 41 of every 100 foreign-born were noted as horrible examples. The foreign character of industrial towns was shown by elaborate statistics.

Restriction Laws. In 1921 Wilson pocket-vetoed a rigid immigration-restriction act passed in the last days of the session, but the next session of Congress decreed that the number of entrants from any country must not exceed 3 per cent of the number of people from that country in the United States in 1910. Of a nation's quota only a fifth could land during a single month. Proponents of the law thought that it was not enforced rigidly enough. Therewith before its expiration a new quota act was passed with a 2 per cent maximum based on the 1890 immigrant population from each country, with the provision that the total number of immigrants after July 1, 1927, should be cut to 150,000 per year. The number from each nation would be determined in some manner on the basis of that nation's racial percentage in our 1920 population. Racial origins are quite impossible of translation into figures and percentages. In addition to cutting immigration, new immigration laws were frankly intended to favor the northern Europeans, especially the Germans, British, and Irish, at the expense of the newer immigration, whose representatives in America were far less numerous in 1890 than in 1910. In 1890 there was only a small Italian, Polish, Russian, Balkan, Hungarian, and Jewish population in the United States as compared with a large foreign-born population from northern Europe. The racial-origin law will cut the number further but will not so openly discriminate against the newer immigrants. Apparently regardless of the demands

of big business, liberals, and racial sympathizers, future immigration will quite likely be kept within narrow limits.

In the past, common labor has fallen to the lot of the new arrival. In the future, immigration will not be sufficient to supply the demand for unskilled labor. It must be done therefore by the native-born who have failed to make good through misfortune or lack of ability. The unskilled laboring class in the future will be composed of the children of the oldest as well as of the newest immigrant stocks. The fittest will survive and rise. Population will increase more slowly, and the development of industry and natural resources will not be so marked as in decades when immigrants furnished cheap labor in large volume.

Among the supporters of immigrant restriction was the Ku-Klux Klan. Other than its name and the high-sounding titles of its officers, this "invisible empire" has little in common with the earlier Southern society which had for its object the preservation of the state and the maintenance of the supremacy of the white population in the direction of state governments.

The object of the present Klan appears to be a strong antagonism to various elements of the population, especially Catholics, Jews, and negroes. It has had success in certain sections as did the Know-Nothing Movement of 1854.

The Klan does not name candidates but advises its members to vote for approved men of either party. It elected some United States senators and representatives and the governors of some states. Although its membership has never been very large, it has wielded an influence far beyond its numbers, and has brought once more to the fore the serious question of proscription on account of religion or race. With dissensions in its ranks, the publication of its ritual by the press and by congressional committees, the influence of the Klan has waned.

Our history has shown that patriotism does not belong to one racial stock or to one religion but is the inherent spirit of all our peoples. When the call for the World War went forth, all responded and went to the front, shoulder to shoulder, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, Nordic and Latin, all enlisted under the Stars and Stripes.



INDEPENDENCE DAY. AMERICAN SOLDIERS SALUTING THE STATUE
OF WASHINGTON, PARIS, JULY 4, 1918

From a painting by J. F. Bouchor, Official Painter to the French Armies

Political Conventions (1924). Coolidge, in a year and a half as president, won the confidence of the nation. Big business was well represented in his cabinet. He did little to merit partisan attack. His friends pictured him as a silent, strong man. Even his enemies admitted his silence. William Butler, a Massachusetts business man and political figure, managed his campaign with the skill of a Mark Hanna. When the Republican convention met, Coolidge was named on the first ballot; for vice president, Charles G. Dawes. Dawes had merited fame as a general purchasing agent of supplies for the army in France, as a Chicago banker, a philanthropist, a student of economics, first Director of the Federal Budget, and chairman of the Allied Reparations Commission. Dawes offered a happy contrast; he had the heroics which the President lacked and which the American people demand.



CALVIN COOLIDGE

The platform was not inspiring, but it stressed economy and tax reduction, the World Court but no League of Nations, and the prosecution of men in high or low places who had defrauded the government. The disarmament conference was pointed to with pride. For Harding there was a cautious word of sorrow. Farmers were to be relieved and manufacturers aided. Foreign debts were to be collected. There was some hope for Democrats, judging from their success in the off-year congressional elections, if they could capitalize the scandals of the Harding administration and keep the popular mind concentrated on oil in politics.

The Democratic convention was riotous. The party was split into two bitter groups. Mr. McAdoo had been busy for four years campaigning on his own behalf. A goodly number of delegates from the South and West were instructed for him. While not a member of the Klan, he did nothing to discourage its un-American support. Wilson's name, after his sad death in the preceding February, gained in glory and reflected a beam of light on McAdoo as his son-in-law. When news leaked out that he was serving as legal counsel for Doheny, McAdoo dropped his client. Yet the connection hurt him. McAdoo, favorite son and former resident of several states, was now of California, yet cartoonists failed to popularize him as a Western man despite a cowboy costume. Only Roosevelt could fit every uniform and any costume in which he was featured.

His chief rival was Governor Smith of New York. Like McAdoo, Smith traced a descent from the Emerald Isle. He was a product of New York, proud of the East Side whose sidewalks have furnished some of the greatest leaders of the present generation. He had the love of the people, for he was a magnetic, tolerant man. Against his character, his life, or his administration, his opponents could make no damaging charges. He was supposedly "wet," and the West and South at least vote "dry." McAdoo was presumably a "dry." This, however, was a minor matter. Smith was a Catholic. A major party had never chosen a Catholic candidate for the presidency or vice presidency. The Democratic party had always welcomed Irish support, but, save in three or four states and in rare congressional districts, had seldom featured Irish Catholics for Congress or the governorship. What are constitutional guaranties among politicians if a candidate is not available? Character and honesty count for less than running ability. Could Smith carry the South, which is politically "dry" but far from temperate? Could he carry the belt where the Klan, fundamentalism, nativism, and anti-Catholicism are the chief tenets of faith? Regardless of creed, Democratic politicians pondered over these questions. If nominated, could Smith win the election? Would the South prefer a Catholic president and offices or a Protestant

Republican and no postmasterships or revenue appointments? Would the West, where radical farmers and the Klan were strong, vote for a liberal who was neither a political "dry" nor a Protestant?

After a hard fight it was voted not to denounce the Klan by name. Underwood was one of the strongest opponents of the Klan. A number of Catholic leaders voted with the majority, and favored McAdoo as the stronger candidate rather than as necessarily the better one. The convention refused to indorse the League of Nations. A true Wilsonian could hardly run on such a platform. The convention deadlocked on the nominations, for McAdoo and Smith were almost evenly matched. Northern Democracy was pitted against the South and West. Had the party lost its Jeffersonian flavor? Bryan sang a swan song of brotherly love and beautiful toleration as he listed his presidential possibilities. He failed to win either side. Smith himself seemed the most disinterested person in New York, which went wild with music and bands playing "The Sidewalks of New York." McAdoo was disgusted, if one can so interpret his failure to campaign for the winning candidate.

On the one hundred and third ballot the convention named the able corporation lawyer and former ambassador to England, John W. Davis of New York and West Virginia. Smith stood by his party's choice. Bryan was annoyed (for Davis represented the Cleveland-Parker, conservative wing of the party), until the tired delegates selected Governor Charles Bryan of Nebraska for vice president. Walsh of Montana might have had the nomination if he had not rightly considered himself too big for the empty honor. It was hoped that "Brother Charles" would win old Bryanites of the West and that Davis would gain big business and hold his own in the East, especially in the depressed industrial and factory towns of New England.

Western progressives and labor selected La Follette and Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana to run on a platform which denounced corruption, the Klan, and Supreme Court "veto" of congressional legislation. Progressives promised farm relief, labor reform, economy, a general house-cleaning, and government

ownership of railroads. Conservatives were worried. Would La Follette carry the West and prevent the popular election of a president? In such a case it was doubtful whom Congress might select. The people were impressed with such idle fears and forgot the whole oil business.

The Coolidge Election. Davis campaigned unusually well. The radio made campaigning easier, for every candidate talked to unseen audiences of millions whenever he addressed any gathering. Davis denounced intolerance, the Klan, the League, and corruption. His platform pointed out that :

Never before in our history has the government been so tainted by corruption and never has an administration so utterly failed. The nation has been appalled by the revelations of political depravity which have characterized the conduct of public affairs.

Republicans dodged the scandal issue by waving the "red flag" and arousing the nation against the "dangerous" La Follette. They asked, Why not Coolidge and economy? La Follette's charges of a Republican "slush" fund failed to carry conviction.

The popular vote was 15,500,000 for Coolidge, 8,500,000 for Davis, and 4,500,000 for La Follette. The electoral vote was : Coolidge, 379 ; Davis, 139 ; and La Follette, 13 (only his liberal state of Wisconsin). Many Northern Democrats, disgusted with Southern control, turned to Coolidge or La Follette. Davis lost New York, which Smith carried for the governorship by a rousing majority, though opposed by the young Theodore Roosevelt. Democratic districts went Republican, and Coolidge's majority in both Houses increased. The most ardent Democrats wondered if their party had not crashed.

Coolidge's Own Administration. No president had won such a vote of confidence. Coolidge was now president in his own right. He made no unnecessary changes. As Secretary Hughes resigned to enter private legal practice and recoup his fortune, Frank B. Kellogg was made Secretary of State. Kellogg, a poor country boy, had climbed to leadership of the Minnesota bar, served as a senator, and on defeat for reelection had been appointed ambassador to England by President Harding. Mr. Stone was

elevated to the Supreme Court¹ and John G. Sargent was named Attorney-General. Few presidents have had an abler cabinet.

The Vice President won national attention by his war on the Senate rules, which he wanted to modify to prevent filibustering. Charles Warren's nomination for Attorney-General was defeated



THE SUPREME COURT

© Harris & Ewing

by the Senate through the temporary absence of the Vice President, whose casting tie ballot would have saved the day. This was the first time since Johnson's administration that the Senate has refused to ratify a cabinet appointment.

¹ Members of the Supreme Court, 1927:

	APPOINTED
WILLIAM H. TAFT (Chief Justice)	1921
OLIVER W. HOLMES	1902
WILLIS VAN DEVANTER	1910
JAMES C. McREYNOLDS	1914
LOUIS D. BRANDEIS*	1916
GEORGE SUTHERLAND	1922
PIERCE BUTLER†	1922
EDWARD T. SANFORD	1923
HARLAN F. STONE	1925

* While Judah P. Benjamin might have had an appointment, Associate Justice Brandeis is the first American Jew to sit on the Supreme Bench.

† Mr. Butler is the fourth Catholic on the Supreme Court: Chief Justice Taney, Chief Justice White, and Joseph McKenna.

Federal-Tax Reduction. A revised income-tax law (1921) reduced income taxes on individual and corporate earnings, so that revenues dropped about three fourths of a billion dollars. Under the Coolidge administration there was a steady reduction of taxes. A number of luxury taxes were abolished. Secretary Mellon urged a general reduction with special attention to large incomes, pointing out that wealthy men found it more profitable to withdraw their money from business and invest it in tax-exempt state and local securities. Congress, however, adopted its own plan and raised exemptions for the small-income class, thereby lessening the tax burden by \$400,000,000 (1924). Further reductions have been made. Reference to the income return sheets will make clear the present tax rates. In the meantime rigid economy and ordinary business methods have decreased the national debt by almost a billion dollars a year.

The states, counties, and municipalities have not followed the Federal government on the road to economy. There has been an orgy of spending. As tax-exempt bonds have been attractive to men of wealth, local units of government have found it easy to float bonds. Road, school, and city improvements have advanced beyond immediate demands. Hence state and local taxes have doubled and tripled since 1914. In only a few states, notably New York, is there a serious movement toward reduction and economy. High taxes are adding to the farmer's sorry plight in the grain and cotton belts.

/ **Foreign Debt.** European nations in humility sought and obtained loans during the war which amounted to about eight and a half billion dollars. Yet all was changed when the German danger had passed and the United States sought payment. The debtor nations were annoyed. America became most unpopular among her former associates. She was pictured as a Shylock who would have his money or his pound of flesh. In America there is an insistent element who would absolve all nations of their war debts. Some believe that the debt can never be collected and might as well be wiped out. But no party could go before the nation with such a program. The people at large believe that nations as well as individuals should economize and pay their

just debts, and the administrations of Harding and Coolidge urged payment on easy terms.

As France, Italy, and Belgium let us know that they could not pay anything to us until Germany made its reparation payments to them, General Dawes, as chairman of a committee on behalf of the Allied Reparations Commission, investigated Germany's ability to pay war damages and submitted a report which proved acceptable. Germany was ordered to pay to the full limit of her capacity, and her railroads and industries were subjected to supervision to insure payment. Germany was to be helped by an international loan which would aid in reorganizing her industries and reestablishing her disordered finances.

Debt Settlements. With unpaid interest the European debt amounted to about \$12,000,000,000 on July 1, 1926. As the United States paid interest on this to holders of war bonds, this burden prevented deeper cuts in taxation. In 1923 Great Britain agreed with Secretary Mellon to fund its indebtedness of \$4,600,000,000 and pay its gold bond or note bearing about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest within sixty-two years. Both nations accepted. Great Britain has always been scrupulously honest in paying its debts and can be counted upon to settle in full. Finland and Hungary, whose loans were small, also compromised in a similar manner (1924), as did Lithuania, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, and Rumania (1925). Italy compromised by agreeing to pay \$2,042,000,000 over a sixty-two-year period. The rate of interest averages less than 1 per cent. This, over a long period, is almost like cancellation. England was annoyed and France was indignant that Italy should be so favored. Yet Italy was unable to pay more, and unless its present economic improvement continues, it is doubtful if it can ever repay the full amount.

In April, 1926, after a good deal of bickering a second French debt commission arrived at a compromise with Secretary Mellon for a settlement at \$6,847,674,000 payable over a period of sixty-two years. One third of this is interest, though the rate is abnormally low. The agreement must be approved by the French chambers and our Senate. In the meantime the

United States was no longer loved in France. Our enormous services had been forgotten. Americans resented this lack of gratitude, for the bulk of our people felt that America had fought for an ideal and had saved Europe from certain destruction. The visit of American Legion members to France on the tenth anniversary of the war aroused a new French love for the United States.

Bonus Legislation. The demand for a soldiers' bonus became insistent after 1920, fostered as it was by the American Legion, a national organization of World War veterans, which has become a power in politics. Congress passed a bonus bill granting every soldier \$1 a day for every day of domestic service and \$1.25 for every day's foreign service. This would cost the Treasury about \$5,000,000,000. Not every veteran favored the bonus, and probably few veterans who were heavy tax-payers did so, for their increased taxes would be greater than their bonus allotment. President Harding courageously vetoed the bill, as he did bills raising Civil War pensions. It was pointed out that up to 1922 the government had paid \$2,500,000,000 to disabled soldiers. Cheap insurance was given to 600,000 men, and vocational training was provided for 100,000. Surely no government has done more for its veterans. Harding urged that patriotic service be not put on a mercenary basis. Yet veterans were not satisfied. They pointed to the war profits of business men and workers who remained at home while they endangered life and limb for democracy at \$1 a day. The Legion kept up the fight.

Another bonus bill passed by Congress was vetoed by Coolidge as in conflict with his economy program. Congress easily passed the bill over his veto, and veterans were given paid-up twenty-year insurance policies. The amount depends on the length of service with a maximum of about \$2000. This bonus measure will cost the government nearly \$100,000,000 a year.

Agricultural Slump. The post-war years brought ruinous times to the agricultural South and West. Nowhere else has the depression been so lasting. Cotton suddenly dropped from 39 to less than 20 cents a pound; hogs and cattle to less than half their former prices; sheep for a time brought little or nothing;

horses had no sale; wheat fell from \$2.14 a bushel to 90 cents; corn from \$1.59 to 62 cents; potatoes were left undug; hay did not sell for the cost of baling. Farmers were heavily in debt. During the war they had been encouraged to raise bumper crops and to extend their acreage. They had bought high-priced land and machinery on credit. Land values fell to a third of the war level, less in some instances than the mortgages with which they were blanketed. Land agents, loan companies, and small banks failed by the thousand, loaded as they were with mortgage paper and foreclosed lands which could not be sold. More than a million farmers and ranchers were bankrupt. In Montana and North Dakota men walked off the land which they had worked for years. Farms were idle. Renters could not be found. In the grain states whole counties were in bankruptcy. Western cities were little better off than the countryside, for their prosperity is dependent upon agriculture. Farmers were unable to buy. Small towns went into decay. The automobile and the huge mail-order houses destroyed the local merchant's market.

Farmers sold crops at less than the cost of production; for labor, machinery, and interest rates remained high. They bought at retail and sold at wholesale. Yet they were aware that the living costs in the East were at war levels. What became of the profits? They went to the railroads, grain speculators, cattle-buyers, and middlemen,—all exploiters of the farmer,—the disheartened farmers answered. How long can the West "board" the East at less than production costs? Can the nation long remain prosperous with the basic industry, agriculture, in so wretched a state? The Harding administration showed little interest in the economic problems of the South and the West.

The Nonpartisan League. Again the West sought political action through an agrarian third party. This time it was the rather socialistic Nonpartisan League which led the embattled farmers against Republican "false promises," railroad rates, excessive state taxes, and the commission and grain-elevator men. In North Dakota many experiments were tried as in Kansas, in the way of coöperative elevators and creameries,

and farmers' banks, but with comparatively little success. Farmers' friends were sent to the legislatures, and a few men were elected to Congress. The County Farm Bureau maintained active lobbies. The strong agricultural press exerted its influence. The farmer was told that time would heal his difficulties, and that prosperity would come when foreign trade demanded his products.

Some relief was obtained through the "farm bloc" in Congress. A few Nonpartisan Leaguers, Farmer-Laborites, and Progressives, under the leadership of Senators La Follette, Kenyon, Capper, and Shipstead, organized regardless of party to work for agricultural relief. Their strength lay in the fact that, with Congress about equally divided between Republicans and Democrats, they held the balance of power. Congress was interested again in irrigation. To aid in the exportation of farm products, \$400,000,000 were loaned. Federal Land Banks were authorized to loan on mortgages. An Agricultural Credits Act (1923) provided that farmers might borrow on live stock and growing crops. The Secretary of Agriculture was given some supervision over packing houses and stockyards, and certain corrective power over grain speculation. Yet five years passed and there was no improvement.

In 1925-1927 Congress considered the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief Bill. This was finally passed by Congress, but vetoed by the President on economic grounds (1927). President Coolidge lost strength in the West thereby, though he gained in the East. The West was the more annoyed because of the salary increase which Congress (1925) voted its members (\$7500 to \$10,000), the vice president, Speaker, and cabinet (\$12,000 to \$15,000).

Catholic Growth. From 1910 to 1920, Catholic communicants increased from 16,500,000 to about 20,000,000. This is approximately a third of the total church-going population, and between a fifth and a sixth of the total population. As Catholics are largely concentrated in Eastern dioceses and large cities, the fraction of the total population is as high as a third or even half in some localities. The material advance was quite as

great, in cathedral and church building, establishment of parochial schools, high schools, and colleges, the erection of charitable institutions, and the general progress of church activities.¹ The publication of the Catholic Encyclopedia was epoch-making in Catholic scholarship. The Church could look with pride on the rise in the political, business, and social scale of the representatives of the earlier immigrants, and with hope to the future success of the newer immigrant peoples. Her war record was glorious,² and no reconstruction program attracted more favorable comment than that issued by the bishops.

Eucharistic Congress. The international Eucharistic Congress was held in Chicago in June, 1926, with Cardinal Mundelein, his priesthood, and Catholic laity as hosts to visiting prelates, priests, and people from all over the world. This devotion of millions was a splendid spectacle. Americans of all creeds were interested. For the Catholic people, the congress was inspiring in its deep spirituality. Cardinal Bonzano, the papal legate and former apostolic delegate to the Church in America, was attended by an array of prelates such as the United States had never witnessed.

The Sesquicentennial Celebration. The successful Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, 1915, in commemoration of Balboa's discovery of the Pacific, was scarcely over when plans were begun for America's greatest World's Fair, at Phila-

¹ The importance of the Church can be suggested by figures for 1927: There are seventeen archbishops, including Cardinals O'Connell of Boston, Dougherty of Philadelphia, Hayes of New York, and Mundelein of Chicago, and ninety-nine bishops. The 24,990 priests would compare favorably with Bishop Carroll's total flock in 1789. There are 17,651 churches and chapels, ranging from St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City to a wayside mission in Wyoming; 76 universities and colleges for men and 63 for women, 52 summer schools, 92 normal schools, 179 colleges for boys and 732 academies for girls, 141 seminaries with 14,000 students, 7000 parochial schools with about 2,250,000 pupils, 296 orphan asylums, 128 homes for the aged, and over 600 hospitals. This indicates the Church's labors in preaching the gospel, in relief and social service, in caring for dependents, and in education.

² The N. C. W. C. has an authenticated list of over 760,000 Catholics in the service, although hundreds of parish lists have not been compiled. It is expected that, relative to the Catholic percentage of the total population, Catholics will show a record of 120 per cent. Of actual deaths in battle, the Catholic expectancy would be 17 per cent, though it was 23.

delphia, in the 150th year of American independence. Despite the elaborate program and huge expenses, the Sesquicentennial was hardly a financial or an industrial success. Few states showed real interest, and foreign powers were not enthusiastic in sending creditable exhibits. The day of the "world's fair" is probably over. However, the Liberty Bell was popularized, and the year itself gave the American people a new pride in the enormous growth of the country.

1926 Elections. In the congressional election, Republican candidates urged voters to stand by Coolidge and economy. It was hard to make farmers and the idle mill hands of New England believe in prosperity. A number of stanch Republicans were defeated in the primaries, or the general election. The defeat of Coolidge's close friend Senator Butler of Massachusetts, by ex-Senator David I. Walsh, a Democrat, was considered by some a rebuke to the President in his own state. Several "wet" senators and representatives were elected, despite active campaigning and liberal expenditures by the Anti-Saloon League. For the most part, these men favored modification of prohibition so as to permit the sale of light wines and beer. Unsatisfactory to them as the elections were, the Republicans retained their hold on the House and, with the aid of liberal Republicans, on the Senate.

The Senate appointed a committee headed by Senator James A. Reed of Missouri to investigate campaign funds and charges of unfair use of money. It was learned that in Pennsylvania over \$3,000,000 had been spent in a three-cornered fight for the Republican senatorial nomination between Senator Pepper, Governor Pinchot, a "dry," and Representative Vare, a modificationist. Vare was nominated and later elected, but the Senate would not allow him to take his seat. In Illinois the late Senator McKinley and Colonel Smith spent at least \$1,000,000 in a fight for the Republican senatorial nomination. Colonel Smith was nominated and elected over the Democratic candidate, despite reflections that he had accepted large gifts from Samuel Insull, a traction magnate, and other owners of public utilities. He also was denied admittance by the Senate.

In another investigation it was learned that the Anti-Saloon League spent an average of \$500,000 a year to "educate" the voters and employed several congressmen as lecturers. Harsh things were said concerning Baptist and Methodist attempts to regulate moral conduct by forcing legislation. The believers in primaries, as a means of lessening the power of bosses and the use of money, have suffered a rude shock. Most reformers overlook the fact that good government depends less on the machinery of government than on the intelligent interest and honesty of the voters and the fairness of the press. Senator Reed, however, performed a useful though unpopular service, and as a result of the investigation it is to be hoped that the use of money in politics will be more generally condemned.

Improvement of Air Service. No nation has labored more successfully to improve its air service. So much has been done in this and other countries that planes of the war period are now antiquated. An American navy seaplane flew by way of Newfoundland, the Azores, and Lisbon to England (1919). American flyers have won fame in speed flights. They have been the first to fly around the world. In 1924 Lieutenants Lowell Smith, Eric Nelson, and their mechanics started forth from California and completed a round-the-world flight of 26,100 miles. One of the planes is on exhibition in the National Museum. Amundsen's polar explorations of 1925 and 1926 were rivaled by the Virginian Richard E. Byrd, who flew over the pole (1926) and returned to accept the plaudits of the nation. The fall of the dirigible *Shenandoah* was the most serious disaster, though brave army and navy flyers are lost with unfortunate regularity. Another dirigible, the *Los Angeles*, has proved very successful. In May, 1927, Charles A. Lindbergh in his plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, flew alone on the first nonstop flight from New York to Paris. Apparently the spirit of the sons of the Vikings is not dulled in America. Within a fortnight another airplane flew in a nonstop flight from New York to within a few miles of Berlin. Soon a successful nonstop flight was made from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands (2100 miles). At present airplanes are used for commercial carriage between a number

of cities, in carrying mail, in forest-fire and iceberg patrol, for weather observations, for sky-writing advertisements, and for photographic purposes. "Hops" have been made from coast to coast, to Panama and other Central American points, and to South America. An investigation of our air service by a commission under Dwight W. Morrow resulted in the appointment of special Assistant Secretaries of War, of the Navy, and of



AN IRRIGATED FIELD NEAR THE RIO GRANDE

Commerce to look after this sphere of national activity, and in larger appropriations for the purpose of bringing our aircraft to the highest degree of efficiency.

The Mexican Situation. Aside from farm relief, no problem so embarrassed the Coolidge administration as did the Mexican situation. President Calles, who was inaugurated in 1924 for a four-year term, proved to be a tyrant under the veil of a constitutional ruler. He was a radical who conducted a bitter campaign against Christianity in an effort to subject the Catholic Church to his personal government. Priests were deported, jailed, and even executed on charges of "disloyalty." Churches and religious properties were seized. Religious services were discon-

tinued for many months. The Mexican press was censored; there was no freedom or right of conscience below the Rio Grande under his legalized military autocracy. Yet this is a domestic question which the Mexican people must settle for themselves. The Church may lose materially, but she will gain spiritually through the heroism of her priesthood and the loyalty of the great majority of Mexicans. The Coolidge administration demanded that American lives and property rights be protected. A disordered Mexico under radical control is, however, a menace to the peace and welfare of the United States.

Through Calles's influence, Obregón was elected president, but before taking office he was assassinated by a fanatic. Thereupon the Mexican Congress named Portes Gil provisional president. Ambassador Morrow sought to protect American investments by working with the Mexican administration. Seething discontent under despotism inspired another revolution in 1929.

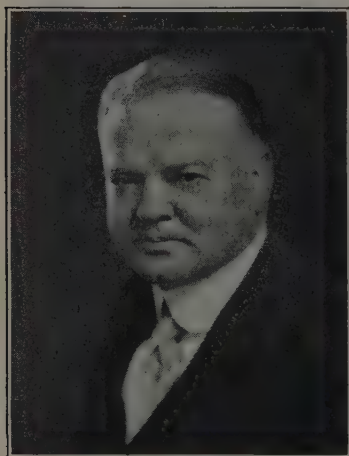
✓ **The Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact.** Secretary Kellogg and the French minister of foreign affairs, Briand, drafted a compact which renounces war and pledges the peaceful settlement of international disputes. This agreement outlawing war was signed in Paris by the German Reich, Belgium, Italy, Japan, Great Britain and its self-governing dominions, as well as by the United States and France (August 27, 1928). Later forty-four nations agreed to the general principles of the peace pact, and even critics admit that the treaty is a noble effort to end war. The treaty was ratified by the United States Senate with one dissenting vote (January 15, 1929). Coolidge, despite this diplomatic victory, recommended additional cruisers, which he held necessary for adequate naval preparation.

On his return from Paris, Kellogg paid an official visit to Dublin, where he was received royally in appreciation of the welcome which had been accorded to President Cosgrave on his American tour and to the German-Irish crew of the *Bremen*, which accomplished the first westward flight over the Atlantic.

The Presidential Campaign of 1928. The Republicans named Herbert Hoover of California and Senator Charles E. Curtis of Kansas as their candidates. Hoover, a mining engineer whose

activities had carried him to all parts of the world, served during the World War as organizer of Belgian relief and as food-controller under President Wilson. He was Secretary of Commerce in President Coolidge's cabinet and headed the relief work during the devastating Mississippi River floods.

The Democratic party nominated Alfred E. Smith, whose efficient administration during four terms as governor of New York made him the natural choice. Smith, as a Catholic, challenged



HERBERT HOOVER



ALFRED E. SMITH

the constitutional principle that America has no religious tests for office-holding. In addition his connection with Tammany and his frank desire to modify the unenforceable prohibition laws made Smith less popular in certain sections. With Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas as vice-presidential candidate, it was hoped to hold the dry South in the Democratic column.

In the intensity of the campaign, platforms were forgotten. Republicans urged the Coolidge record, prohibition enforcement, and agricultural relief in an extra session of Congress. Stressing prosperity, they disregarded the plight of the farmer and unemployment in the coal and textile industries. Smith was described as a state-socialist who as a "wet" would nullify the Constitu-

tion. Hoover, with inbred Quaker toleration, aimed to keep the campaign on a high level, even reprimanding followers who in the heat of the fight made use of the anti-Catholic prejudice. In vain did Smith thrill audiences from Boston to Omaha and millions of radio-listeners. He offered a constructive, outspoken program: modification of prohibition legislation; national control of water power and of mineral deposits; divorce of oil and corruption from politics; limitation of immigration on a more just basis; tariff revision and farm relief based on scientific investigation; and the development of inland waterways.

The Election. With women voting on a large scale, there was an enormous ballot, which gave a Republican landslide: Hoover, 21,429,109 popular votes (444 electoral votes); Smith, 15,005,497 popular votes (87 electoral votes). Smith failed to carry New York, which elected a Democratic governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and lost Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Missouri.

The Inauguration of Hoover. President-elect Hoover made a good-will tour to Latin America, thus continuing a Coolidge policy of closer contact with the southern republics. On his return he gave attention to his inaugural address and the selection of a capable cabinet: Secretaries Mellon and Davis were continued; Henry L. Stimson, governor-general of the Philippines, as Secretary of State; William D. Mitchell of Minnesota as Attorney-General; Charles F. Adams of Massachusetts as Secretary of the Navy; James W. Good of Iowa as Secretary of War; Walter F. Brown of Ohio as Postmaster-General; Robert P. Lamont of Illinois as Secretary of Commerce; Ray L. Wilbur as Secretary of the Interior; and Arthur M. Hyde of Missouri as Secretary of Agriculture.

One can close this book with a note of optimism. The thirteen little colonies of 1776 have grown into a nation that is the greatest of world powers. New York has replaced London as the world's financial capital. The Constitution of 1787 has grown to meet the changing needs of the nation. The framers established a permanent government which guarantees the equal rights to freedom, opportunity, and happiness of our

citizens. Church and State are separated, to the advantage of both. Religious, social, political, and industrial opportunities abound for the honest, hard-working, and aspiring individual. There is danger from neither reactionary nor radical forces. The nation does not face the menace of either militarism or extreme pacifism. There is little or no sectionalism. The post-war depression will pass away; the economic future appears brighter; the nation is at peace; its people are contented. With confidence the United States can face the future.

References

W. KAEMPFERT, *Popular History of American Inventions*; GEORGE ILES, *Inventors at Work*; CARDINAL GIBBONS, "Catholics in Public Life" (*North American Review*, March, 1909); JAMES J. WALSH, *Our American Cardinals*; *Catholic Builders*, Vol. II, pp. 260-271, Vols. III-V; *The Official Catholic Year Book for 1928* (Kenedy's); JOHN A. LAPP, *Justice First*; *The Catholic Encyclopedia* has a mass of material for the student of American history and Church history. See articles on America, the various states, the dioceses, and biographical notes on Catholic missionary, ecclesiastical, and lay leaders. Its editors are publishing *Universal Knowledge* in twelve volumes.

Bibliography

For current events, the *Literary Digest*, *Nation*, *Independent*, *New Republic*, *New York Times Current History*, *Catholic Charities*, *America*, and the *Commonweal*. As no one can write of his own times with detachment and perspective, the student must always read with critical care. Current books are reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, *Catholic Historical Review*, *Catholic Educational Review*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and the *Historical Outlook*. CALVIN COOLIDGE, *Foundations of the Republic*, *Price of Freedom*, *Have Faith in Massachusetts*; sketches of President Coolidge by H. GREENE, R. D. SAWYER, and W. A. WHITE; N. M. BUTLER, *Is America Worth Saving?*; A. J. BEVERIDGE, *The State of the Nation*; WILLIAM McDUGALL, *Is America Safe for Democracy?*; ARTHUR CAPPER, *Agricultural Bloc*; H. A. GASTON, *Nonpartisan League*; J. M. MECKLIN, *Ku Klux Klan*; A. A. BRUCE, *Nonpartisan League*; P. F. BRISSENDEN, *The I.W.W.*; J. G. BROOKS, *American Syndicalism*; *American Year Book* for 1925, 1926, and 1927; JAMES J. DAVIS, *The Iron Puddler*; H. B. CROTHERS and RUTH HUDNOT, *Problems of Citizenship*; J. A. RYAN, *Declining Democracy*; MICHAEL PUPIN, *From Immigrant to Inventor*; W. S. BENSON, *The Merchant Marine*; SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE¹

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is

¹ The original copy of the Declaration of Independence is kept in the Department of State in Washington. The Declaration was adopted July 4, 1776, and was signed by the members representing the thirteen states August 2, 1776. John Hancock, whose name appears first among the signers, was president of the Congress.

a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all

political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK

NEW HAMPSHIRE	NEW JERSEY	CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton
JOSIAH BARTLETT	RICHARD STOCKTON	
WILLIAM WHIPPLE	JOHN WITHERSPOON	VIRGINIA
MATTHEW THORNTON	FRANCIS HOPKINSON	GEORGE WYTHE
MASSACHUSETTS BAY	JOHN HART	RICHARD HENRY LEE
SAMUEL ADAMS	ABRAHAM CLARK	THOMAS JEFFERSON
JOHN ADAMS	PENNSYLVANIA	BENJAMIN HARRISON
ROBERT TREAT PAINE	ROBERT MORRIS	THOMAS NELSON, JR.
ELBRIDGE GERRY	BENJAMIN RUSH	FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	CARTER BRAXTON
RHODE ISLAND	JOHN MORTON	NORTH CAROLINA
STEPHEN HOPKINS	GEORGE CLYMER	WILLIAM HOOPER
WILLIAM ELLERY	JAMES SMITH	JOSEPH HEWES
CONNECTICUT	GEORGE TAYLOR	JOHN PENN
ROGER SHERMAN	JAMES WILSON	
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON	GEORGE ROSS	SOUTH CAROLINA
WILLIAM WILLIAMS	DELAWARE	EDWARD RUTLEDGE
OLIVER WOLCOTT	CÆSAR RODNEY	THOMAS HAYWARD, JR.
	GEORGE READ	THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
NEW YORK	THOMAS M'KEAN	ARTHUR MIDDLETON
WILLIAM FLOYD	MARYLAND	GEORGIA
PHILIP LIVINGSTON	SAMUEL CHASE	BUTTON GWINNETT
FRANCIS LEWIS	WILLIAM PACA	LYMAN HALL
LEWIS MORRIS	THOMAS STONE	GEORGE WALTON

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. CONGRESS

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.¹

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Election of Members. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,² which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.³ The actual

¹ The term of each Congress is two years. It assembles on the first Monday in December and "expires at noon of the fourth of March next succeeding the beginning of its second regular session, when a new Congress begins."

² The apportionment under the census of 1910 is one representative for every 212,407 persons.

³ The word "persons" refers to slaves. The word "slave" nowhere appears in the Constitution. This paragraph has been amended (Amendments XIII and XIV) and is no longer in force.

enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority¹ thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers. Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker² and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. SENATE

Number of Senators: Election. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. [Repealed in 1913 by Amendment XVII.]

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive¹ thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies. [Modified by Amendment XVII.]

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation.

¹ Governor.

² The Speaker, who presides, is one of the representatives; the other officers — clerk, sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, chaplain, doorkeeper, etc. — are not.

When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. BOTH HOUSES

Manner of electing Members. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.¹

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. THE HOUSES SEPARATELY

Organization. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Rules. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their

¹ This is to prevent Congress from fixing the places of meeting of the state legislatures.

attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills become Laws. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Resolutions, etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish post-offices and post-roads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,¹ and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,² and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; — And

Implied Powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.³

¹ Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war, authorizing them, under certain conditions, to capture the ships of the enemy.

² The District of Columbia.

³ This is the famous elastic clause of the Constitution.

SECTION 9. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.¹

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus² shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder³ or ex-post-facto law⁴ shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken. [Extended by Amendment XVI.]

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports,

¹ This refers to the foreign slave trade. "Persons" means "slaves." In 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves. This clause is, of course, no longer in force.

² An official document requiring an accused person who is in prison awaiting trial to be brought into court to inquire whether he may be legally held.

³ A special legislative act by which a person may be condemned to death or to outlawry or banishment without the opportunity of defending himself which he would have in a court of law.

⁴ A law relating to the punishment of acts committed before the law was passed.

shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [¹ The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

¹ This paragraph in brackets has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

Time of choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.¹

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

Vacancy. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.²

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Military Powers; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Treaties; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United

¹ The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, preceding the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of February 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the following February.

² This has now been provided for by the Presidential Succession Act of 1886.

States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Filling of Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

Message; Convening of Congress. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information¹ of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. UNITED STATES COURTS

Courts established; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases

¹ The president gives this information through a message to Congress at the opening of each session. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to Congress. Jefferson, however, sent a written message to Congress. This method was followed until President Wilson returned to the earlier custom.

affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;¹—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON

Treason defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Punishment. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State,

¹ This has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment.

shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Fugitive Slaves. No person¹ held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

Admission of States. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How proposed; how ratified. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which

¹ "Person" here includes slave. This was the basis of the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850. It is now superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment, by which slavery is prohibited.

may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supremacy of Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.¹

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

¹ There were sixty-five delegates chosen to the convention: ten did not attend; sixteen declined or failed to sign; thirty-nine signed. Rhode Island sent no delegates.

NEW HAMPSHIRE	PENNSYLVANIA	VIRGINIA
JOHN LANGDON	BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	JOHN BLAIR
NICHOLAS GILMAN	THOMAS MIFFLIN	JAMES MADISON, JR.
	ROBERT MORRIS	
MASSACHUSETTS	GEORGE CLYMER	
NATHANIEL GORHAM	THOMAS FITZSIMONS	NORTH CAROLINA
RUFUS KING	JARED INGERSOLL	WILLIAM BLOUNT
	JAMES WILSON	RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT
CONNECTICUT	GOUVERNEUR MORRIS	HUGH WILLIAMSON
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON	DELAWARE	
ROGER SHERMAN	GEORGE READ	SOUTH CAROLINA
	GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.	
NEW YORK	JOHN DICKINSON	JOHN RUTLEDGE
ALEXANDER HAMILTON	RICHARD BASSETT	CHARLES C. PINCKNEY
	JACOB BROOM	CHARLES PINCKNEY
NEW JERSEY	MARYLAND	PIERCE BUTLER
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON	JAMES M'HENRY	
DAVID BREARLEY	DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS	GEORGIA
WILLIAM PATERSON	JENIFER	WILLIAM FEW
JONATHAN DAYTON	DANIEL CARROLL	ABRAHAM BALDWIN

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary

AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. ARTICLE I.¹ Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Militia. ARTICLE II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Soldiers. ARTICLE III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Unreasonable Searches. ARTICLE IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon

¹ These amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the Constitution. The first ten were offered in 1789 and adopted before the close of 1791. They were for the most part the work of Madison. They are frequently called the Bill of Rights, as their purpose is to guard more efficiently the rights of the people and of the states.

probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Criminal Prosecutions. ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Suits at Common Law. ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Bail, Punishments. ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Reserved Rights and Powers. ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Suits against States. ARTICLE XI.¹ The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of electing President and Vice-President. ARTICLE XII.² The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—

¹ Proposed in 1794; adopted in 1798.

² Adopted in 1804.

the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Slavery abolished. ARTICLE XIII.¹ *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Negroes made Citizens. ARTICLE XIV.² *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of

¹ Adopted in 1865.

² Adopted in 1868.

the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Negroes made Voters. ARTICLE XV.¹ *Section 1.* The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Income Tax. ARTICLE XVI.² The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.² The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Direct Election of Senators. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

¹ Adopted in 1870.

² Ratified in 1913.

National Prohibition. ARTICLE XVIII.¹ *Section 1.* After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Woman Suffrage. ARTICLE XIX.² *Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Ratified in 1919. In force in 1920.

² Ratified in 1920.

APPENDIX III

THE AMERICAN'S CREED ¹

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.

IMPORTANT DATES

This text includes numerous dates in order to make the subject matter easier to follow. Few of them need to be memorized; by no means all the following, though each is important:

- 1492, October 12 Columbus's discovery of America.
- 1607 The founding of Jamestown.
- 1619 First legislative assembly; arrival of first negro slaves, in Virginia.
- 1620 Arrival of the *Mayflower*.
- 1649 Religious Toleration Act in Maryland.

¹ Written by William Tyler Page, clerk of the House of Representatives, awarded a prize in a national competition, and now widely approved as a national creed.

- 1763 End of Seven Years' War; expulsion of French from North America.
- 1775, April 19 Battles of Lexington and Concord, beginning of Revolutionary War.
- 1776, July 4 Declaration of Independence.
- 1783 End of the war; independence recognized.
- 1787 Framing of the Constitution.
- 1789 Washington inaugurated president; present government established.
- 1803 Purchase of Louisiana.
- 1807 Fulton's steamboat.
- 1812 Second War of Independence commences.
- 1815 Battle of New Orleans.
- 1819 Purchase of Florida.
- 1820 Missouri Compromise.
- 1829 First railroad operated.
- 1844 First telegraph message sent.
- 1845 Annexation of Texas.
- 1848 Acquisition of the Southwestern region from Mexico.
- 1850 Omnibus Bill, or the Compromise of 1850.
- 1861-1865 The War between the States.
- 1863 Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1866 Permanent Atlantic cable completed.
- 1867 Purchase of Alaska.
- 1869 Completion of transcontinental railroad.
- 1876 Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia; invention of telephone.
- 1898 Declaration of war against Spain; annexation of Hawaii; annexation of Philippine Islands and Porto Rico.
- 1914 Panama Canal opened.
- 1917, April 6 Declaration of war against Germany.
- 1918, November 11 Armistice ends fighting in World War.

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

No.	PRESIDENT	YEAR BORN	YEAR OF DEATH	STATE FROM WHICH ELECTED	POLITICAL PARTY	DATES OF SERVICE	VICE PRESIDENT
1	George Washington	1732	1799	Virginia		1789-1797	John Adams
2	John Adams	1735	1826	Massachusetts	Federalist	1797-1801	Thomas Jefferson
3	Thomas Jefferson	1743	1826	Virginia	Democratic-Republican	1801-1809	{ Aaron Burr George Clinton
4	James Madison	1751	1836	Virginia	Democratic-Republican	1809-1817	{ George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
5	James Monroe	1758	1831	Virginia	Democratic-Republican	1817-1825	Daniel D. Tompkins
6	John Q. Adams	1767	1848	Massachusetts	Whig-Republican . . .	1825-1829	John C. Calhoun
7	Andrew Jackson	1767	1845	Tennessee	Democratic ¹	1829-1837	{ John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
8	Martin Van Buren	1782	1862	New York	Democratic	1837-1841	Richard M. Johnson
9	William H. Harrison	1773	1841	Ohio	Whig	{ 1841 (1 month)	John Tyler
10	John Tyler ²	1790	1862	Virginia	Whig	1841-1845	
11	James K. Polk	1795	1849	Tennessee	Democratic	1845-1849	George M. Dallas
12	Zachary Taylor	1784	1850	Louisiana	Whig	1849-1850	Millard Fillmore
13	Millard Fillmore ²	1800	1874	New York	Whig	1850-1853	
14	Franklin Pierce	1804	1869	New Hampshire	Democratic	1853-1857	William R. King
15	James Buchanan	1791	1868	Pennsylvania	Democratic	1857-1861	J. C. Breckinridge

¹ Democratic = modern Democratic party² Succeeded on death of president

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS (CONTINUED)

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

xxv

No.	PRESIDENT	YEAR BORN	YEAR OF DEATH	STATE FROM WHICH ELECTED	POLITICAL PARTY	DATES OF SERVICE	VICE PRESIDENT
16	Abraham Lincoln	1809	1865	Illinois	Republican ¹	{ 1861-1865 1865 (April)	Hannibal Hamlin
17	Andrew Johnson ²	1808	1875	Tennessee. . .	Republican	1865-1869	Andrew Johnson
18	Ulysses S. Grant . .	1822	1885	Illinois	Republican	1869-1877	{ Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	1822	1893	Ohio	Republican	1877-1881	William A. Wheeler
20	James A. Garfield .	1831	1881	Ohio	Republican	1881 (6 months)	Chester A. Arthur
21	Chester A. Arthur ²	1830	1886	New York . . .	Republican	1881-1885	
22	Grover Cleveland .	1837	1908	New York . . .	Democratic	1885-1889	Thomas A. Hendricks
23	Benjamin Harrison .	1833	1901	Indiana	Republican	1889-1893	Levi P. Morton
24	Grover Cleveland .	1837	1908	New York . . .	Democratic	1893-1897	Adlai E. Stevenson
25	William McKinley .	1843	1901	Ohio	Republican	{ 1897-1901 1901 (Sept.)	Garrett A. Hobart
26	Theodore Roosevelt ²	1858	1919	New York . . .	Republican	{ 1901-1905 1905-1909	Theodore Roosevelt
27	William H. Taft . . .	1857		Ohio	Republican	1909-1913	 Charles W. Fairbanks
28	Woodrow Wilson . .	1856	1924	New Jersey . .	Democratic	1913-1921	James S. Sherman
29	Warren G. Harding	1865	1923	Ohio	Republican	1921-1923	Thomas R. Marshall
30	Calvin Coolidge ² . .	1872		Massachusetts .	Republican	{ 1923-1925 1925-1929	Calvin Coolidge Charles G. Dawes

¹ Republican = modern Republican party

² Succeeded on death of president

TABLE OF STATES

STATE	ENTERED UNION	CAPITAL	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION 1920	REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ¹
Delaware		Dover	2,370	223,003	1
Pennsylvania		Harrisburg	45,126	8,720,017	36
New Jersey		Trenton	8,224	3,155,900	12
Georgia		Atlanta	59,265	2,895,832	12
Connecticut		Hartford	4,965	1,380,631	5
Massachusetts		Boston	8,266	3,852,356	16
Maryland	Original States	Annapolis	12,327	1,449,661	6
South Carolina		Columbia	30,989	1,683,724	7
New Hampshire		Concord	9,341	443,083	2
Virginia		Richmond	42,627	2,309,187	10
New York		Albany	49,204	10,385,227	43
North Carolina		Raleigh	52,426	2,559,123	10
Rhode Island		Providence	1,248	604,397	3
Vermont		Montpelier	9,564	352,428	2
Kentucky		Frankfort	40,598	2,416,630	11
Tennessee		Nashville	42,022	2,337,885	10
Ohio	1803	Columbus	41,040	5,759,394	22
Louisiana	1812	Baton Rouge	48,506	1,798,509	8
Indiana	1816	Indianapolis	36,354	2,930,390	13
Mississippi	1817	Jackson	46,865	1,790,618	8
Illinois	1818	Springfield	56,665	6,485,280	27
Alabama	1819	Montgomery	51,998	2,348,174	10
Maine	1820	Augusta	33,040	768,014	4
Missouri	1821	Jefferson City	69,420	3,404,055	16

¹ Add 2 (for the senators) to obtain electoral vote; twice the electoral vote gives the state's vote in a national political convention.

TABLE OF STATES (CONTINUED)

STATE	ENTERED UNION	CAPITAL	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION 1920	REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ¹
Arkansas	1836	Little Rock	53,335	1,752,204	7
Michigan	1837	Lansing	57,980	3,668,412	13
Florida	1845	Tallahassee	58,666	968,470	4
Texas	1845	Austin	265,896	4,663,228	18
Iowa	1846	Des Moines	56,147	2,404,021	11
Wisconsin	1848	Madison	56,066	2,632,067	11
California	1850	Sacramento	158,297	3,426,861	11
Minnesota	1858	St. Paul	84,682	2,387,125	10
Oregon	1859	Salem	96,699	783,389	3
Kansas	1861	Topeka	82,158	1,769,257	8
West Virginia	1863	Charleston	24,170	1,463,701	6
Nevada	1864	Carson City	110,690	77,407	1
Nebraska	1867	Lincoln	77,520	1,296,372	6
Colorado	1876	Denver	103,948	939,629	4
North Dakota	1889	Bismarck	70,837	645,680	3
South Dakota	1889	Pierre	77,615	636,547	3
Montana	1889	Helena	146,997	548,889	2
Washington	1889	Olympia	69,127	1,350,621	5
Idaho	1890	Boise	83,888	431,866	2
Wyoming	1890	Cheyenne	97,914	194,402	1
Utah	1896	Salt Lake City	84,990	449,396	2
Oklahoma	1907	Oklahoma City	70,057	2,028,283	8
New Mexico	1912	Santa Fe	122,634	360,350	1
Arizona	1912	Phoenix	113,956	333,903	1

¹Add 2 (for the senators) to obtain electoral vote; twice the electoral vote gives the state's vote in a national political convention.

CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

LENGTH OF SERVICE

JOHN JAY ¹	1789-1795
JOHN RUTLEDGE ²	1795
OLIVER ELLSWORTH	1796-1800
JOHN MARSHALL	1801-1835
ROGER B. TANNEY	1836-1864
SALMON P. CHASE	1864-1873
MORRISON R. WAITE	1874-1888
MELVILLE W. FULLER	1888-1910
EDWARD D. WHITE	1910-1921
WILLIAM H. TAFT	1921-

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

DATE	WHITE	COLORED	TOTAL ³	IMMIGRATION DURING DECADE
1790	3,172,006	757,208	3,929,214	
1800	4,306,446	1,002,037	5,308,483	
1810	5,862,083	1,377,808	7,239,891	
1820	7,862,166	1,771,656	9,633,822	
1830	10,537,378	2,328,642	12,866,020	143,439
1840	14,195,805	2,873,648	17,059,453	599,125
1850	19,553,068	3,638,808	23,191,876	1,713,251
1860	26,991,491	4,441,830	31,443,321	2,598,214
1870	34,337,292	5,392,192	39,818,449	2,314,824
1880	43,402,970	6,580,793	50,155,783	2,812,191
1890	55,166,184	7,903,572	63,069,756	5,246,613
1900	66,990,788	8,833,994	76,303,387	3,844,420
1910	81,736,957	9,827,763	91,972,266	8,795,386
1920	94,820,915	10,889,705	105,710,620	5,735,811

NOTE. In addition, in 1920 Alaska had a population of about 55,000; Porto Rico, 1,300,000; Hawaiian Islands, 256,000; the Philippines, about 10,350,000; the Virgin Islands, 26,000; American Samoa, 8000; Guam, 13,275; the Panama Canal Zone, 22,858.

¹ Resigned.

² Not approved by the Senate on account of his failing mentality.

³ After 1860 the total also includes the relatively small number of Indians and Orientals. Variations will be found in all statistics.

INDEX

- Abnaki Indians, 230
 Abolition movement, 411 f., 414
 Acadia, 145, 146, 150 f.
 Adams, Charles Francis, 463, 480, 512, 515
 Adams, John, 175, 179, 191; and Declaration of Independence, 192; peace commissioner (1783), 232; minister to England, 240; elected vice president, 268, 272; as president, 286 f.; defeated for reelection, 291
 Adams, John Quincy, 331, 463, 718; secretary of state, 334; Monroe Doctrine, 351; as president, 355, 356 f.; on right of petition, 413
 Adams, Samuel, 163, 173, 175 f., 177 f., 182, 190, 265
 Addams, Jane, 647
 Agriculture, in colonies, 131, 139; in 1850's, 433; depression after Civil War, 523 f.; and machinery, 538; during World War, 684; since the World War, 725 f., 732 f.
 Aguinaldo, Emilio, 617
 Alabama, region of, 21; a state, 342, 381; secedes, 443; reconstruction in, 506
 Alabama claims, 465, 514 f.
 Alamo, battle of, 389
 Alaska, purchase of, 509, 510; gold discovery in, 596; boundary dispute, 628
 Albany Plan of Union, 149
 Alden, John, 76
 Alexander VI, Pope, 14
 Alger, R. A., 569, 609
 Alien Property office, 719
 Alien and Sedition Acts, 288 f.
 Allen, Ethan, 185
 Allouez, Father, explorations of, 34
 Altgeld, Governor J. P., 589 f.
 Amendments to Constitution, 274; Eleventh, 293 n.; Twelfth, 293; Thirteenth, 497, 501; Fourteenth, 501 f.; Fifteenth, 508; Sixteenth, 645; Seventeenth, 632; Eighteenth, 711; Nineteenth, 712 f.
 American Expeditionary Force (A. E. F.), 677 f., 688 f.
 American Federation of Labor (A. F. L.), 552, 588; and the World War, 683 f.
 American Legion, 732
 American Protective Association (A. P. A.) movement, 601, 604
 Americus Vesputius, 14
 Amherst, General Jeffrey, 153
 Anæsthetics, discovery of, 378
 Anarchists, 589, 622
 Anderson, Major Robert, at Fort Sumter, 446 f.
 André, Major John, 220 f.
 Andros, Sir Edmund, 81, 95, 98, 106
 Anglican Church in the colonies, 132, 144, 161, 166 f.
 Annapolis Convention, 253
 Anthony, Susan B., 712
 Antietam, battle of, 461
 Antimasons, 356, 375 f.
 Anti-Saloon League, 710 f., 736 f.
 Appomattox, surrender at, 492
 Arbitration, Alabama claims, 515; Bering Sea, 578; Venezuelian dispute, 588; Alaskan boundary, 628
 Argall, Samuel, 55
 Argentina, 349
 Argonne, fighting in the, 691
 Aristocracy, decline of, 373; decline of, in the South, 580
 Arizona, 23, 400, 617
 Arkansas, region of, 32, 36; secession of, 448, 483; reconstruction in, 496 f., 506
 Armada, Spanish, 26, 45 f.
 Armistice, 693
 Arms Conference, 716 f.
 Arnold, Benedict, 184 f., 188, 208, 217, 220 f., 226
 Arthur, Chester A., 519, 557; as president, 558 f.
 Articles of Confederation, 237 f.
 Asbury, Francis, 231, 294 n.
 Astor, John J., 307, 392, 516
 Atchison, David R., 424
 Atlanta campaign, 484 f.

- Austin, Moses, 388
 Austin, Stephen, 388
 Australian ballot, 594 n.
 Austria-Hungary, 465, 607; debt settlement of, 731
 Automobile industry, 708 f.
 Aviation, development of, 682, 709, 737
 Ayllón, explorations of, 21
 Aztecs, 17

 Bacon's Rebellion, 59
 Badin, Stephen, missionary, 296
 Baffin, explorations of, 44
 Baker, Newton D., 664, 676, 687, 690
 Balboa, 15, 16
 Baldwin, Abraham, 255
 Baldwin, M. W., locomotive manufacturer, 380
 Ballinger, R. A., 643
 Baltimore, Lord. *See* Calvert
 Baltimore, Md., 139, 151; British attack, 326; cathedral in, 358; Union troops fired on, 447
 Bank, National (first), 278; (second), 363 f.
 Banks, Nathaniel P., 456 f.
 Banks, state, 384
 Baptist Church, 231, 414, 710, 738
 Barbary pirates, 241, 287
 Barnard, Henry, 377
 Barré, Isaac, 170
 Barry, Captain John, 217, 229
 Barton, Clara, 494
 Baruch, Bernard M., 679
 Bayard, James, 331
 Bayard, Thomas F., 564
 Beauregard, General P. G. T., 447, 452, 471 f., 490
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 412, 427, 562
 Belknap, W. W., 514
 Bell, Alexander G., 535
 Bell, John C., 440 f.
 Belleau Wood, 691
 Belmont family, 516 n., 571, 587, 648
 Benjamin, Judah P., 445, 498 n.
 Bennett, James G., 535, 635
 Bennington, battle of, 207
 Benson, Admiral W. S., 690
 Benton, Thomas H., 365, 424 f.
 Bering Sea controversy, 578
 Berkeley, Sir William, 58 f., 68, 71, 106
 Beveridge, Albert J., 646, 647
 Biddle, Nicholas, 307, 363
 Bienville, explorations of, 36
 Big business, in politics, 573 f., 593 f., 617; and Cuba, 603; and Wilson, 653
 Birney, James G., 391, 411
 "Black Codes," 499 f.
 Black Friday, 511, 524
 Black Hawk War, 371
 Blaine, James G., 515, 557 f., 562, 569, 576 f., 583, 626
 Blair, Francis P., 506
 Bland-Allison Act, 528
 Bliss, Tasker H., 695
 Blockade of South, 451
 Boone, Daniel, 158
 Borah, William E., 700
 Border states and secession, 448 f.
 Boston, founded, 84; schools in, 87, 173; evacuation of, 189; taxes on imports at, 242; toleration in, 296
 Boston Massacre, 174
 Boston port closed, 178
 Boston Tea Party, 177
 Bowdoin, Governor James, 252
 Boxer revolt, 621
 Braddock's campaign, 150
 Bradford, William, 74, 78, 80
 Bragg, General Braxton, in Mexican War, 398; in Civil War, 472, 483 f.
 Brandywine, battle of, 204
 Brébeuf, Jesuit missionary, 28
 Breckinridge, J. C., 430, 438, 441
 Brewster, William, 74
 British Orders in Council, 316, 318, 321
 Brown, B. Gratz, 512
 Brown, General Jacob, 325
 Brown, John, 428, 433
 Bryan, Charles W., 727
 Bryan, William J., 592 f.; campaign of 1896, 595 f.; campaign of 1900, 617; treaty with Colombia, 631; campaign of 1908, 641; campaign of 1912, 648; Secretary of State, 650, 666, 674 f., 697, 727
 Buchanan, James, 396, 421, 424, 429; and Mexican War, 400; president, 430 f.; and secession, 445
 Budget law, 715
 Buell, General Don C., 471, 473
 Bull Run, battles of, 452, 458
 Bunker Hill, battle of, 184
 Burgoyne, General John, 184, 204, 207
 Burke, Edmund, 178, 181
 Burnside, General A. E., 467, 483

- Burr, Aaron, 291 f., 308 f.
 Butler, Senator A. P., 428
 Butler, General Ben F., 472, 490, 509, 563
 Butler, Senator William, 725, 736
 Byrd, Richard E., aviator and explorer, 737
- Cabinet, organization of, 273; vice president in, 718; salaries in, 734
 Cabot, John, 40, 104
 Cabot, Sebastian, 40, 100
 Cabral discovers Brazil, 14
 Cadillac founds Detroit, 35
 Cahokia, 35
 Calhoun, John C., 320, 322, 334, 368, 390, 412; and Monroe Doctrine, 351; and Adams, 356; "Exposition" of, 366; death, 417
 California, region of, 21; seizure of, 399 f.; missions, 402 f.; gold discovery in, 403, 526; admitted as a state, 415
 Calvert, Benedict, 71
 Calvert, Cecil, foundation of Maryland, 64, 69
 Calvert, George, colonizing activities, 62
 Calvert, Leonard, 64
 Camden, battle of, 225
 Cameron, Simon, 438, 440, 446, 516 n.
 Canada, and American Revolution, 188 f.; and War of 1812, 324; rebellion in, 387; relations with, 642
 Canals: Erie, 344 f., 708; building of, 380; decline of, 533; Panama, 630 f.; Cape Cod, 708
 Cannon, Joseph G., 631, 641, 645
 Cantigny, 690
 Carey, Mathew, 272 n., 329
 Carnegie, Andrew, 563, 571, 573, 588 f.
 Carolinas, founded, 71 f.; population in 1760, 136; social and political conditions, 142, 169; Revolution in, 186, 190, 224 f.; Sherman in, 486 f.; reconstruction in, 506
 Carroll, Charles, 139, 189, 192 n., 197, 255, 265, 269 n., 272 n., 379
 Carroll, Daniel, 255, 256 n., 269, 272 n.
 Carroll, Bishop John, 189, 229, 269, 290, 294 f.
 Carteret, Sir George, 71, 106
 Cartier, Jacques, 24 f.
 Cass, Lewis, 390, 402, 421
 Catholic Church, 37, 296, 408, 448, 551, 555, 564 f., 591, 606, 626; in Greenland, 1 f.; the Sulpician missionaries in New France, 28, 31, 35, 38; colleges of, 28, 36, 38, 409; in New France, 35 f.; in England, 40 f., 46, 49; in colonies, 48, 52, 55, 110, 113, 132, 134, 138, 143; in Maryland, 62 f.; missions in Southwest, 146; in 1789-1800, 294 f.; Georgetown College, 295, 358; seminary at Baltimore, 295; in Pennsylvania, 297; in 1815, 357 f.; in 1815-1830, 358 f.; in Northwest, 359; in California, 402; and education, 408, 735 n.; in 1830-1852, 409 f.; and Know-Nothings, 422 f.; and Civil War, 464 f., 494; and labor, 551 f.; after Civil War, 555 f.; and Indian Bureau, 565 f.; mission schools, 566; conservatism of, 591; in 1889, 599 f.; Catholic University of America, 599 f.; in American life, 599 f.; and Cahenslyism, 600; and Philippines, 614, 620; and World War, 674, 676, 687 f., 735 n.; and temperance, 710; in 1910-1920, 734 f. *See* A. P. A., Nativism, Toleration
 Catholics, in American Revolution, 229 f.; toleration for, 250 f.; Federalist attitude toward, 280; in War of 1812, 330; in Civil War, 464 f., 494; in Spanish-American War, 615; in World War, 676, 735 n.
 Cattle ranching, 545 f.
 Cavalier, immigration, 58
 Cedar Mountain, battle of, 458
 Censorship in World War, 686
 Champlain, Samuel de, 27 f.
 Chancellorsville, battle of, 476
 Channing, William E., 377, 412
 Chantilly, battle of, 459
 Charleston, South Carolina, 72, 139, 177, 190
 Chase, Salmon P., 412, 438, 446, 489, 505, 520, 524
 Chase, Samuel, 179, 189, 265, 302
 Château-Thierry, 690
 Chattanooga campaign, 472 f., 483 f.
 Cherokee Nation, war with, 214; *vs.* Georgia, 371
 Chicago, 381, 434, 539, 590
 Child Labor Law, 669
 Chile, 349, 577 f.
 China, immigration from, 403, 516, 530, 554, 599; relations with, 621 f., 635, 716 f.

- Church and State, separation of, 275, 376, 739; in politics, 564
- Churches, during Revolution, 230; and slavery, 413 f.
- Cincinnati, 381, 539
- Civil-service reform, need for, 362, 510; promised by Republican party, 516; of Arthur, 519, 558 f.
- Civil War, 443 f.; call for volunteers, 447; in the East, 455 f.; in the West, 469 f.; in Virginia, 487; opposition to, 488 f.; cost of, 492
- Claiborne, William, 68
- Clark, Champ, 645, 648
- Clark, George Rogers, 215, 306
- Clark, William, 306
- Clay, Henry, 320 f., 331, 334, 354 f., 363, 385, 387, 390, 402, 416
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 653
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 629
- Cleaveland, Moses, 309
- Cleveland, Grover, 504, 551, 560, 593, 631, 727; election of, 562; as president, 564 f.; defeat of, 569 f.; veto power, 579; reelection of, 583 f.; and Hawaii, 584; and Venezuela, 587 f.; and Pullman strike, 591; and Cuba, 604
- Clinton, De Witt, 321, 344
- Clinton, George, 308, 321
- Clinton, Sir Henry, 184, 213, 219, 224, 227
- Clothing industry, 538
- Coal industry, 543; strikes in, 625 f., 704
- Cold Harbor, battle of, 488
- Colfax, Schuyler, 506
- Colleges (universities): Harvard, 87, 125, 230, 249, 377; Yale, 114, 125, 230, 376, 421 n.; Brown, 125; Dartmouth, 125, 376; Columbia, 134; Rutgers, 134; University of Pennsylvania, 134; William and Mary, 144; Princeton, 230, 234, 649; University of Virginia, 377, 421; Oberlin, 378; in the South, 582; land-grant colleges, 678
- Colombia, relations with, 629 f., 631
- Colonial attempts at union, 145, 149, 161
- Colorado, region of, 22, 23, 36, 400; a state, 516; silver mining in, 528
- Columbia, South Carolina, 349, 487
- Columbia River explored, 306
- Columbus, Christopher, 8 f.
- Commerce, Department of, created, 624
- Concord, battle of, 183
- Confederacy, Southern, government of, 444 f.; strength of, 449 f.; collapse, 492
- Congregational Church, in colonies, 86, 93, 166; and the Revolution, 230
- Conkling, Roscoe, 558
- Connecticut, 63; settlement, 92; Fundamental Orders of, 92; charter of, 94, 98, 121, 126; in the Revolution, 219; and Western lands, 245; retains old charter, 248; ratifies Constitution, 265; and War of 1812, 323 f.; manufactures of, 336; growth of toleration in, 372, 376
- Conscription, in Civil War, 475 f.; in World War, 676 f., 689
- Conservation, 638, 643
- Consolidation in business, 538 f., 571 f.
- Constitution, framing of the, 254 f.
- Constitutional Convention, 254 f., 257 f.
- Continental army, 200
- Continental Congress, First, 178 f.; Second, 186 f.
- Convention system, 373
- Cooke, Jay, 492, 525, 532
- Coolidge, Calvin, quoted, 34; vice president, 713, 715; presidency of, 718 f., 728 f.; election of, 725 f.; on soldiers' bonus, 732; on farm relief, 734
- Cooper, Peter, 379
- Copper-mining, 543 f.
- Corinth, Mississippi, capture of, 471, 474
- Cornwallis, Charles (Lord), 204, 225 f., 228
- Coronado, explorations of, 22
- Corruption, under Grant, 511 f.; under Harding, 718 f.
- Cortelyou, G. B., 632, 638
- Cortés, Hernando, 17, 23
- Cotton, John, 89, 90
- Cotton crops, 342; and strength of Confederacy, 437, 450
- Cotton manufactures, 336, 412
- Council of National Defense, 679
- Cowpens, battle of, 225
- Cox, James M., 714
- Crawford, William H., 334, 351, 354 f.
- Crédit Mobilier, 512 f., 530
- Creel, George, 686
- Crèvecoeur, Fort, 31
- Crime of 1873, 525 f.
- Cromwell, Oliver, 21, 58, 69, 83, 97
- Crown Point, 150, 186
- Crusades, 2 f.
- Cuba, discovery of, 12; Spanish conquest,

- 15, 21; after the Seven Years' War, 154;
relations with, 400, 603 f.; United States
in, 610 f., 613, 617 f.
- Cumberland Road, 340
- Curtis, Benjamin R., 431, 505
- Curtis, George W., 559
- Cushing, Thomas, 179
- Custer's last fight, 548
- Cutler, Manasseh, 246
- Dale, Governor Thomas, 54
- Dallas, George M., 391, 405
- Daniels, Josephus, 650
- Daugherty, Harry M., 705, 719
- Davenport, John, 93
- Davis, Cushman K., 613
- Davis, Jefferson, 398, 425, 443 f., 472, 484,
489, 491
- Davis, John W., 727
- Davison, H. P., 686
- Dawes, Charles G., 715, 725 f., 729
- Dawes Act, 565
- Day, William R., 613
- Dayton, Jonathan, 256
- Deane, Silas, 179, 209
- Dearborn, Henry, 299, 324
- Debs, Eugene V., 648, 686
- Decatur, Stephen, 313 f.
- Declaration of Independence, 192 f.
- Delaware ratifies Constitution, 264
- Delaware settlements, 108
- Democracy, lack of growth of, 133, 248 f.,
371 f., 374
- Democratic party, 363; and Know-Noth-
ings, 424; in 1860, 438; and Civil War,
461, 488. *See* Election
- Denby, Edwin, 720
- Denmark, relations with, 212, 465, 655 f.
- De Smet, Peter J., missionary, 548 n.
- De Soto, Hernando, 19, 21 f.
- D'Estaing, Admiral, 218 f.
- Detroit, 32, 35, 156, 217, 324, 709
- Dewey, Admiral George, 608, 627
- Diaz, Bartholomew, explorations, 6, 7
- Dickinson, John, 169, 172, 175, 187, 192,
256
- Dingley tariff, 596, 644
- Dinwiddie, Robert, 149
- Disarmament Conference, 716 f.
- District of Columbia, 164; government of,
301; and slave trade, 416
- Dix, Dorothea, 494
- Dongan, Governor Thomas, 105
- Doheny, E. L., 720, 726
- Dorr's Rebellion, 372
- Dougherty, Dennis, Cardinal, 735 n.
- Douglas, Stephen A., 421, 424 f., 427 n.;
debates with Lincoln, 431 f.; and election
of 1860, 437 f., 450
- Drake, Sir Francis, 43 f., 46
- Dred Scott decision, 430 f.
- Drexels, 571
- Duane, James, 179
- Duane, William, 364
- Dubois, Bishop John, 296
- Du Lhut, explorer, 34
- Dunmore, Governor, 186
- Dunmore's War, 158
- Du Pont powder works, 312
- Duquesne, Governor, 149
- Dutch in New Netherland, 100, 129
- Early, Jubal A., 477, 490
- East India Company, 48
- Eaton, Dorman B., 559 f.
- Edison, Thomas A., 534, 679
- Education, in colonies, 87, 103, 106, 133,
134, 143; land grants for, 247. *See* Col-
leges
- Edwards, Jonathan, 292
- Election, of 1789, 268; of 1792, 280 f.; of
1796, 286 f.; of 1800, 291 f.; of 1804,
308 f.; of 1808, 318; of 1812, 321 f.; of
1816, 324; of 1820, 334; of 1824, 354 f.;
of 1828, 357 f.; of 1832, 363 f.; of 1836,
382; of 1840, 385 f.; of 1844, 390 f.; of
1848, 402; of 1852, 421 f.; of 1856,
430 f.; of 1860, 437 f.; of 1864, 489; of
1866, 503; of 1868, 506; of 1872, 512;
of 1876, 515 f.; of 1880, 557; of 1884,
562 f.; of 1888, 569 f.; of 1892, 583 f.;
of 1896, 592 f.; of 1900, 616 f.; of 1904,
631 f.; of 1908, 640 f.; of 1910, 645 f.;
of 1912, 646 f.; of 1916, 669 f.; of 1920,
713 f.; of 1924, 725 f.; of 1926, 736 f.
- Election reforms, 632 f., 641
- Electoral vote, counting the, 517, 518 n.
- Electric railways, 709
- Elizabethan period, 41
- Elizabethan sea dogs, 43 f.
- Ellsworth, Oliver, 257, 259
- Emancipation Proclamation, 466 f., 497
- Embargo Act, 317
- Emerson, Ralph W., 412

- Emigrant Aid Society, 427
 Endicott, John, 83, 89
 England, kings of, 60; in 1763, 154; constitution of, 163 f.; America's friends in, 172, 187; diplomatic relations with, 282 f., 284, 314 f., 316, 318, 578, 627; immigration from, 347 f.; and Monroe Doctrine, 350 f.; and Texas, 389; and Civil War, 450, 460, 462 f., 467 f., 479; and Venezuela, 587 f.; and Spanish-American War, 607 f.; during World War, 662; and Disarmament Conference, 716 f.; and war debt, 731. *See* Immigration
 Episcopal Church, in the colonies, 51, 58, 72, 85, 122; and Revolution, 231; disestablished in Virginia, 251
 Ericsson, John, builder of *Monitor*, 452
 Espionage Act, 685
 European war debts, 730 f.
 Evarts, William M., 413, 498 n., 505, 518
 Everett, Edward, 413, 426, 440 f.
 Excise taxes, 279, 454
 Fairbanks, Charles, 631 f.
 Fair Oaks, battle of, 457
 Fall, A. B., 720
 Falmouth, Maine, 188
 Faneuil Hall, 174
 Farragut, Admiral David G., 472, 481
 Federal Farm Loan Act, 669
 Federal Land Banks, 669, 734
 Federal Reserve Act, 652 f.
 Federal Trade Act, 653
Federalist, The, 266
 Federalist party, 253, 264, 284 f.; in power, 290, 294; opposes Louisiana Purchase, 305; defeat of, 308; opposes War of 1812, 327 f.; and immigration, 348; death of, 329
 Fenian invasion of Canada, 514
 Fillmore, Millard, 402, 417, 424
 Fish, Hamilton, 510, 515, 562, 626
 Fisk, James, 511
 Fitzsimons, Thomas, 217 n., 256, 269, 272 n.
 Fletcher *vs.* Peck, 310
 Florida, discovery of, 19; in Queen Anne's War, 146; first attempt to purchase, 305; purchase of, 342 f., 344; secession, 443; reconstruction in, 506, 517
 Flour milling, 539
 Floyd, John B., 445, 470
 Ford, Henry, 674, 707 f.
 Fordney-McCumber Act, 714
 Forestry Service, 639
 Forrest, General Nathan, 470
 Forts: Edward, 207; Snelling, 307; Hatteras, captured, 452; Monroe, captured, 452; Donelson, captured, 470; Henry, captured, 470
 Fortunes, growth of large, 492 f., 522, 573 f., 632, 709
 "Fourteen Points," 692
 France, explorations and American settlements, 24 f.; and American Revolution, 203, 210, 211, 218 f., 233 f.; Revolution in, 280; American relations with, 286 f.; "naval war" with, 288; and Texas, 389; and Civil War, 460, 479 f.; and Spanish-American War, 607; and Disarmament Conference, 716 f.; and World War debt, 731
 Franklin, Benjamin, 130, 134, 169 f., 186, 189, 192, 195, 209 f., 232, 255
 Frederick the Great and American Revolution, 154, 204, 211
 Fredericksburg, battle of, 456, 467 f.
 Free Soil party, 402, 422
 Freedmen's Bureau, 499 f.
 Frémont, John C., 392, 399, 430, 456 f., 469, 489
 French Canadians, 436, 553. *See* Immigration
 French and Indian War, 148 f., 203
 Frick, H. C., 571, 590, 638
 Frietchie, Barbara, 460
 Frobisher, Martin, 43, 44
 Frontenac, Count de, 29, 31, 145
 Frontier influence, 163. *See* West
 Fugitive-Slave Law, of 1793, 352; of 1850, 417; and fugitives, 414, 417 f.
 Fur trade, 158
 Gadsden, Christopher, 179
 Gadsden Purchase, 400
 Gage, General Thomas, 156, 178
 Gallatin, Albert, 299, 301, 310, 322, 331, 412
 Galloway, Joseph, 179
 Gama, Vasco da, 7
 Garfield, H. A., fuel administrator, 684 f.
 Garfield, James A., president, 557 f.
 Garrison, L. M., 650, 664
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 411, 413
 Gary, E. H., 571, 638

- Gates, General Horatio, 268
 Genêt, Edmond, 281 f.
 Geographical knowledge, early, 8 f.
 George III and the Revolution, 181, 184
 Georgia, region of, 21; planting of, 136 f.; and Stamp Act Congress, 172; ratifies Constitution, 265; Chisholm *vs.*, 293; in conflict with United States, 310, 370 f.; secession of, 443; Sherman in, 486; reconstruction in, 506, 508; Ku-Klux Klan in, 723, 724
 Gerard, James W., 667, 671
 Germans, in colonies, 72, 110, 128, 130, 133 f., 137 f., 176; in Revolution, 231; immigration of, 349, 388, 405 f., 436; and slavery issue, 440, 448; during World War, 685 f. *See* Immigration
 Germantown, battle of, 205
 Germany, states of, and Civil War, 465; and Spanish-American War, 607 f.; relations with, 627; and United States during World War, 662 f., 664; war with, 674 f.
 Gerry, Elbridge, 257, 262, 287, 321
 Gettysburg, battle of, 478 f., 480
 Ghent, Treaty of, 330 f.
 Gibault, Pierre, 215
 Gibbons, James (Cardinal), 551 f., 600, 620
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 47
 Girard, Stephen, 349
 Gladstone, William E., on the Southern Confederacy, 464
 Glass, Carter, 652
 Goethals, G. W., 681
 Gold, discoveries of, 403 f., 596
 Gold standard, 592, 595
 Gompers, Samuel, 679
 Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 96
 Gorham, Nathaniel, 257
 Gorman, Arthur P., 564
 Gould, Jay, 511, 516 n., 563, 571
 Grand Army of the Republic, 579
 Granger, Gideon, 299
 Grangers, the, 567 f.
 Grant, Ulysses S., 688; in Mexican War, 397; estimate of McClellan, 461 f.; in the West, 470; at Vicksburg, 481 f.; at Chattanooga, 483 f.; in general command, 484; Wilderness campaign, 487 f.; in the East, 490; appointed Secretary of War, 505; elected president, 506; as president, 510 f.; and third term, 557; and civil service, 559
 Grasse, Count de, 226
 Great Britain. *See* England
 Great Lakes, French posts on, 30, 32, 34; development of and shipping on, 347, 435 f., 534, 708
 Great Lakes Naval Training School, 678
 Greeley, Horace, 438, 446, 498 n., 512
 Greenback party, 521 f., 523 f., 563, 567 f.
 Greene, Nathanael, 184, 191, 197, 199, 219, 226, 232
 Greenland, 1, 40
 Grenville, George, ministry of, 168
 Groseilliers, explorations of, 32
 Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Treaty of, 399
 Guam, 613
 Guilford Court House, battle of, 226
 Gunpowder Day, 123, 250
 Gutenberg, John, 9
 Haiti, 12, 352, 655
 Hakluyt, Sir Richard, 43
 Hale, Nathan, 199
 Halleck, General W. H., 458, 469, 471, 481
 Hamilton, Alexander, 228, 257, 259, 273, 275 f., 284, 290 f., 308, 361
 Hampton Roads conference, 491
 Hancock, John, 171, 174, 176, 181 f., 186, 194, 219, 238, 253, 265
 Hancock, Winfield S., 468, 478, 549, 557
 Hanna, Mark A., 592, 601, 610, 631, 725
 Hardee, General W. J., 474, 486 f.
 Harding, Warren G., 631, 728; election of, 713 f., 715; Disarmament Conference, 716 f.; death of, 718; and bonus legislation, 732 f.
 Harlem Heights, battle of, 199
 Harpers Ferry, 433, 456, 460
 Harriman, E. H., 571, 636, 638
 Harrison, Benjamin, signer of Declaration, 179
 Harrison, Benjamin, 560, 579, 583; election of, 569 f.; administration of, 570 f.
 Harrison, William Henry, 319, 324, 569; election of, 385 f.; and civil service, 559
 Harte, Bret, quoted, 531 n.
 Hartford, 92
 Hartford Convention, 328 f., 368
 Hawaii, annexation of, 583 f.
 Hawkins, Sir John, 43
 Hay, John, open-door policy, 621
 Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 629, 655
 Hayes, Patrick (Cardinal), 687, 735 n.

- Hayes, Rutherford B., 509; election of, 515 f., 528, 552, 555 f., 559
- Hayne, Robert Y., 366 f.
- Heintzelman, Samuel P., 457
- Helper's *Impending Crisis*, 420
- Hendricks, Thomas A., 515, 562 f.
- Hennepin, Louis, missionary, 34
- Henry, Patrick, 163, 168, 171, 176, 179, 186, 192, 215, 250, 255, 266
- Henry the Navigator, 5, 6
- Hepburn vs. Griswold, 524
- Herkimer, Nicholas, 208
- Hessian soldiers, 197, 203, 207, 212
- Hill, David B., 564, 583, 592, 601
- Hill, James J., 532, 571, 624
- Hines, W. D., 707
- Hitchcock, Senator Gilbert, 700
- Hoar, E. R., 510
- Hobart, Garret A., 592
- Hobson, Richmond P., 611
- Holland, and American Revolution, 203, 211; commercial treaty with, 240
- Holmes, Justice Oliver W., 303, 729 n.
- Homestead Act, 541
- Homestead strike, 589 f.
- Hood, General John B., 485
- Hooker, General Joseph, 468, 476 f., 484
- Hooker, Thomas, 92
- Hoover, Herbert, 662, 684, 713
- Hopkins, Mark, financier, 530
- Hopkins, Stephen, 169 f., 179
- House, Colonel E. M., 655, 695
- Houston, Sam, 389, 440, 443
- Howard, General Oliver O., 476, 478
- Howe, Elias, invents sewing machine, 378
- Howe, Julia Ward, 494, 712
- Howe, Admiral Richard, 197, 219
- Howe, General William, 184, 189, 198, 204, 213
- Hudson, Henry, explorations, 44, 100, 146
- Hudson's Bay Company, 32, 158, 284, 308
- Hughes, Charles Evans, 628, 634, 637, 669 f., 697, 706, 715 f., 728
- Hughes, Archbishop John, 408, 464, 466, 475 f.
- Huguenot colonists, 19 f., 27, 72, 114, 130, 134, 138, 151
- Hull, William, 324
- Huntington, Collis, 529, 571
- Hurley, Edward N., 681
- Hutchinson, Anne, 89 f.
- Hutchinson, Thomas, 171, 173 f., 177
- Iberville, explorations of, 35
- Iceland, discovery of, 1
- Illinois, region of, 35; enters Union, 247, 341; population, 381
- Immigration, colonial, 113, 128; Federalist hostility to, 288; and cheap lands, 311; and Erie Canal, 345; to 1820, 347 f.; 1820-1830, 348 f.; and factories, 378; 1831-1850, 404 f.; and development of industry, 436; 1851-1860, 436; and Civil War, 475; 1861-1880, 550, 553; 1881-1900, 596 f.; opposition to, 597, 599, 721 f.; 1901-1920, 668, 721. *See* Germans, Irish immigration, Scotch-Irish
- Impeachment, of Federal judges, 302; of President Johnson, 505 f.
- Impressment of sailors, 314
- Income tax, 454, 632, 645, 680, 730
- Indentured servants, 56 f., 58, 113, 131
- Independence, movement toward, 189 f.
- Independent Treasury, 385
- Indiana, region of, 35 f.; enters Union, 247; admitted to the Union, 341; population, 381
- Indians, in New England, 12, 17 f., 78, 95; Yaqui, 22; missions for, 23, 547 f.; in Northwest, 32, 34, 36, 283, 306 f.; and Puritans, 90 f.; in New York, 105; massacres by, 146, 148, 319; in British service, 214; removal to Indian Territory, 371; in Far West, 547 f.; Chief Red Cloud, 548; Indian policy, 565 f.
- Industrial disorders, 552 f., 588 f., 638. *See* Strikes
- Industrial expansion, in 1850's, 433 f.; after 1860, 520 f.; during World War, 667 f., 676; 1901-1920, 708 f.
- Ingersoll, Jared, 170, 256
- Initiative and referendum, 633
- Injunctions in labor disputes, 591, 654
- Internal improvements, 310, 344, 347, 365. *See* Canals, Great Lakes, Railroads
- Interstate Commerce Commission, 569, 593, 624, 636, 642, 654, 707
- "Intolerable" acts, 178, 180
- Intolerance. *See* Toleration
- Inventions, 311, 708 f.
- Ireland, 117, 173; and American Revolution, 212 f.; and Civil War, 465 f.
- Ireland, Archbishop John, 551, 591, 606
- Irish, in American Revolution, 222, 229 f.; in Civil War, 466

- Irish immigration, 291, 294, 347 f., 359, 405 f., 419, 436, 466, 530; to colonies, 58, 67, 110, 113, 128, 130 f., 133, 138, 143; to Texas, 388. *See* Immigration
- Iron and steel business, 538, 543, 581
- Iroquois Indians, 27 f., 105, 145 f., 149, 208
- Island No. 10 captured, 471
- Italy, 607; and Disarmament Conference, 716 f.; war debt of, 731. *See* Immigration
- Jackson, Andrew, 325; at New Orleans, 329 f.; in Florida, 342, 344; fight for the presidency, 355, 357; rule of, 361 f.; hostility to the Bank, 363; and Nullification, 369; and Indians, 371; and Texan annexation, 390
- Jackson, T. J. ("Stonewall"), 456 f., 461, 468, 476, 504
- Jamaica, 12
- James I, 51, 74
- James II and New York, 104
- Jamestown, founded, 51; in Bacon's Rebellion, 59, 139
- Japan, relations with, 634; and Disarmament Conference, 716
- Jasper, Sergeant, 190
- Jay, John, 179, 232, 238, 241, 266; in Spain, 209; Chief Justice, 274, 303; and Jay Treaty, 282 f.
- Jefferson, Thomas, 176, 181, 186, 226, 250 f., 272, 312; drafts Declaration of Independence, 192; and Ordinance of 1784, 245; Secretary of State, 273, 277; opposes National Bank, 278; on Jay Treaty, 283; a party leader, 284 f.; vice president, 286, 289; election, 291 f.; attack on, by parsons, 292; presidency of, 298 f.; purchases Louisiana, 304; and Tripolitan War, 313; and embargo, 317; on Monroe Doctrine, 351; on the Missouri Compromise, 354; views on education, 377
- Jenckes, Thomas A., 559
- Jesuit martyrs, 28, 29, 143, 148, 294; in New France, 31, 35 f.; under Dongan, 106; and Far West missions, 548
- Jesuit Relations*, 34
- Jews, 114, 130, 137, 722, 723; and war relief, 687
- Jogues, Isaac, Jesuit martyr, 29, 102
- Johnson, Andrew, 472; vice president, on reconstruction, 497 f.; break with Congress, 500 f.; impeachment of, 505 f.
- Johnson, Senator Hiram, 646, 647, 670, 700
- Johnson, R. M., 382
- Johnson, William Samuel, 257
- Johnston, General Albert S., 470, 471
- Johnston, General Joseph E., 457, 482, 484, 491, 492, 518
- Joliet, Louis, 32
- Jones, John Paul, 217
- Judiciary, Federal, organized, 272; Republican attack on, 302. *See* Marshall, Supreme Court, Taney
- Judiciary Act, 293
- Justice, Department of, 705, 720
- Kalb, Baron Johann de, 206, 225
- Kansas, region of, 36; settlement and civil war in, 427; a state, 429; and Fourteenth Amendment, 502
- Kansas-Nebraska Act, 423, 424 f., 430
- Kaskaskia, 35; surrenders to Clark, 216, 217
- Kearney, Dennis, anti-Chinese agitator, 554
- Kearny, Colonel Stephen, 399
- Kellogg, Frank B., 728
- Kelly, John, Tammany leader, 516 n.
- Kenesaw Mountain, 485
- Kennebec, settlement of, 52
- Kent, Chancellor James, 372
- Kentucky, region of, 21, 158; a state, 284, 309; secession movement in, 448 f.; Civil War in, 469
- Key, Francis Scott, 326
- King, Rufus, 257
- King George's War, 146
- King Philip's War, 95
- King William's War, 144 f.
- King's Mountain, battle of, 225
- Knights of Columbus, 687
- Knights of Golden Circle, 489
- Knights of Labor, 551 f., 588
- Know-Nothings, 391, 422 f., 724; Douglas on, 426; and the Republican party, 429 f., 438; Lincoln on, 440
- Knox, General Henry, 273, 290
- Knox, P. C., 624, 701
- Kossuth, Louis, in America, 423
- Ku-Klux Klan, in South, 507 f., 509; the new, 710, 723 f., 726 f.

- Labor, Department of, created, 624
 Labor, during Civil War, 522 f.; organization of, 549 f.; demands of, 588 f. *See* American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor, Strikes, United Mine Workers
 Labor legislation, 594, 636
 Labor party, 569
 Labrador, 2, 24
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 206 f., 219; at Yorktown, 227
 La Follette, Robert M., 645, 647, 688, 700, 720, 727 f., 734
 Lalemant, Jesuit martyr, 28
 Land, grants of, to colleges, 543; grants of, to railroads, 529 f.
 Land policy, 310 f., 341, 382 f., 541 f.
 Land system, in colonies, 131, 139 f.
 Lane, Franklin K., 714
 Langdon, John, 257
 Lansing, Robert, 695
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, explorations of, 30
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 17, 37
 Latin-American relations, 349 f., 400 f., 576 f., 587 f., 626 f., 631, 658
 Latvia, 731
 Laud, Archbishop William, 82, 93
 Laurens, Henry, 232, 238, 255
 Law, John, speculations of, 35
 Lawrence, Captain James, 327
 League of Nations, 697 f., 702, 714, 725, 727
 Le Caron, missionary, 27
 Lee, Charles, 187, 199 f.; treachery of, 214
 Lee, Richard Henry, 170, 179, 191; and Declaration of Independence, 192; in Constitutional Convention, 266
 Lee, General Robert E., 239, 433, 448, 457 f., 467, 476, 490, 688; invades Maryland, 460 f.; invades North, 477 f.; surrenders, 492; and Washington and Lee University, 498
 Leif the Lucky, explorations, 1
 Leisler, Jacob, 106
 Le Moyne, Jesuit missionary, 29
 L'Enfant, Pierre, 269 n., 299, 300 n.
 León, Ponce de, 19
 Lewis, John L., labor leader, 704
 Lewis and Clark expedition, 306 f.
 Lexington, battle of, 182
 Liberal Republican party, 509, 512, 538
 Liberalism, growth of, 163
Liberator, 411
 Liberia, 353
 Liberty Loans, 680 f.
 Liggett, General Hunter, 691
 Lincoln, Abraham, 370, 430, 444, 456, 481; and Black Hawk War, 371; and Mexican War, 397; debates with Douglas, 431; elected president, 438 f.; inaugural of, 445 f.; war powers of, 453 f.; and McClellan, 458 f., 461; and Trent Affair, 463 f.; reflection of, 489; assassination of, 493 f.; and Indians, 547
 Lincoln, General Benjamin, 208, 224, 228, 252
 Lincoln, Levi, 299
 Lincoln, Robert T., 558
 Lindbergh, Colonel Charles, 737
 Linn, Senator Lewis, 394
 Livingston, Robert, 192, 304
 Lobbyists in Washington, 651
 Locke, John, 72
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 562, 640, 701, 716; on Marshall, 303
 Logan, General John A., 562
 Long, John D., 610
 Long Island, settlement of, 94, 100, 103; battle of, 198
 Longstreet, General James, 458, 468, 478, 483, 484
 Lookout Mountain, battle of, 484
 Louisburg, capture of, 148
 Louisiana, region of, 35; purchase of, 156, 304 f., 390; admission as a state, 306; secession of, 443; reconstruction in, 496 f., 517
 Lowell, factories of, 337 f., 412
 Lowell, James Russell, 446
 Lumber business, 116, 539
 Lundy, Benjamin, 411
Lusitania, the sinking of, 666
 Lynch, Dominick, 269
 Lyon, Matthew, 289
 McAdoo, William G., 650 f., 679, 707, 714; in 1924, 726 f.
 McClellan, George B., and Mexican War, 397; an engineer, 435; in West Virginia, 449; during Civil War, 453, 455 f., 458 f., 460 f., 461, 467, 488; runs for presidency, 489
 McCloskey, John (Cardinal), 555
 McCormick, Cyrus, 378
 McCulloch, Hugh, 523

- McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, 335
 Macdonough, Thomas, 325
 McDowell, General Irvin, 452, 456, 468
 McHenry, James, 255, 265, 290
 McIlvaine, Bishop, 465
 MacLay, William, 272
 Mackay, John W., 535
 McKenna, Justice Joseph, 601, 729 n.
 McKinley, William, 560 f., 583, 613; and
 Tariff Act, 576, 585; and Hawaii, 584;
 elected president, 592 f.; reelected,
 616 f.; assassinated, 622
 McReynolds, James C., 654, 729 n.
 Madison, Dolly, 290
 Madison, James, 250 f., 253, 255, 258, 266,
 289, 320 f., 351, 372
 Magellan, Ferdinand, 16
Maine, destruction of, 605
 Maine, settlements in, 95, 96; admission as
 state, 353
 Mallory, S. P., 445
 Malvern Hill, battle of, 457
 Manila Bay, battle of, 607 f.
 Mann, Horace, 377
 Manufactures, restriction of, 116; rise of,
 312, 336 f., 536; growth of, 596 n.
 Marbury *vs.* Madison, 303
 Marcos, Friar, 22
 Marcy, William L., 362, 396, 413, 421
 Marquette, Jacques, explorations of, 32
 Marshall, John, 266, 287, 290, 302, 309 f.,
 335, 367, 372
 Marshall, Thomas B., 648
 Martin, Luther, 255, 259, 265, 309
 Maryland, foundation of, 61; charter of,
 63; relations of, with Indians, 66; pros-
 perity of, 67; and Revolution of 1689,
 68; under Puritans, 69; penal laws in,
 70 f.; on eve of Revolution, 176; ratifies
 Constitution, 265; suffrage in, 372;
 Civil War in, 448, 460
 Mason, George, 192, 250 f., 255, 262, 266
 Mason, James M., 463, 480
 Mason, John, 96
 Mason and Dixon's line, 109
 Massachusetts, towns established in, 83,
 84; suffrage in, 75, 372; theocracy in,
 86; education in, 87; persecution of dis-
 senter, 88; hostility of, to England, 95 f.;
 loss of charter, 97; charter of 1691, 99;
 political conflicts in, 121; on eve of
 Revolution, 173, 176, 178; ratifies Con-
 stitution, 265; in War of 1812, 323;
 manufactures in, 336; toleration in, 377
 Mather, Cotton, quoted, 113; and witch-
 craft, 124
 Maximilian in Mexico, 480 f.
Mayflower, 76
Mayflower Compact, 76 f.
 Meade, General George, 217 n., 468, 477,
 487
 Meagher, General Thomas F., 466
 Mechanicsville, engagement at, 457
 Mecklenburg resolutions, 186
 Medieval travelers, 3
 Mellon, Andrew W., 730 f.
 Memphis, capture of, 472
 Menéndez in Florida, 19 f.
 Merchant marine, 161, 314 f., 534, 668,
 681 f.
Merrimac, 451 f.
 Merritt, Wesley, at Manila, 609
 Methodist Church, 138; and Revolution,
 231; and slavery, 414; and prohibition,
 710
 Mexico, conquest of, 16 f., 21, 22; Uni-
 versity of, 23; independence of, 349;
 war with, 396 f.; French occupation of,
 480; relations with, 656, 738 f.; Ameri-
 can invasion of, 657 f.; and Germany,
 672; immigration from, 721
 Mexico City, 17, 21, 398
 Michigan, 247, 341, 381, 502
 Middle colonies, 127 f.
 Mifflin, Thomas, 179, 208, 232, 237 f., 279
 Miles, Nelson A., 498 n., 549, 590, 610, 613
 Minnesota, region of, 32, 34; explorations,
 307, 502; flour milling at Minneapolis,
 539
 Minority parties, purpose of, 563
 Minuit, Peter, 102 f.
 Mississippi, region of, 21, 35; a state, 310,
 342; population, 381; reconstruction
 in, 506, 508
 Mississippi River, 15, 21, 30 f., 241, 469 f.,
 483, 580
 Missouri, admitted to Union, 342, 354; de-
 feats secession, 448; Civil War in, 483
 Missouri Compromise, 353 f., 425 f.
 Mitchell, John, labor leader, 625 f.
 Mobile, 35; capture of, 452
 Molasses Act, 119 f., 169
 "Mollie Maguires," 553
 Monmouth, battle of, 214

- Monroe, James, minister to France, 286;
and Louisiana Purchase, 304; minister
to England, 317; Secretary of State,
322; presidency of, 334 f.
- Monroe Doctrine, declaration of, 359 f.;
and Napoleon III, 480; and Spain, 604,
615; and Roosevelt, 626 f.; and Wilson,
657, 658; and Covenant of the League
of Nations, 697
- Montana, 306, 528
- Montcalm, Marquis de, 151, 153
- Monterey, capture of, 397
- Montgomery, Richard, 188
- Monticello, 298, 300
- Montreal, founded, 26, 28; English capture
of, 154
- Moore, John Bassett, 715
- Morgan, J. P., 571, 587, 593, 624, 626, 638,
643, 679, 686
- Mormons, 375; in Utah, 395, 591
- Morris, Gouverneur, 245, 256, 281
- Morris, Robert, 192, 218, 256, 301 f.
- Morrow, Dwight W., 738
- Morse, Samuel, 378
- Morton, Levi P., 569
- Morton, O. P., 509, 515
- Morton, Thomas, 81
- Motley, J. L., 510
- Mott, Lucretia, 494, 712
- Moultrie, Colonel, 190, 224
- Moylan, Stephen, 217, 229
- Mundelein, George (Cardinal), 735 n.
- Municipal reforms, 633
- Murfreesboro, battle of, 473 f.
- Napoleon, sells Louisiana, 304; trade rela-
tions with, 316, 319
- Narváez, explorations of, 19, 21
- Nasby, Petroleum V., 503
- Nashville, founded, 158
- Nast, Thomas, 512
- National Bank, First, 278; Second, 335,
363
- National Banking Act, 520
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, 687,
688, 736
- National debt, 276, 278, 332, 492, 694
- National War Labor Board, 683
- Nationalism, growth of American, 162, 166,
333
- Nativism, 406 f., 722 f., 726 f. *See* Alien
and Sedition Acts, Know-Nothings
- Nativist riots, 408
- Navigation Acts, 117, 160, 162
- Navy, in Revolution, 217 f.; in War of
1812, 326; in Spanish War, 607 f., 610;
improvement of, 635; in World War,
690. *See* Perry, Macdonough
- Neale, Archbishop Leonard, 295
- Negro, during Civil War, 449; problem of
freedom of, 499; present status of, 508,
582; education of, 582
- Negro rule in South, 506 f.
- Negro suffrage, 497, 502, 504
- Nelson, Thomas, 192
- Neutrality Proclamation, of 1793, 281; of
1914, 660 f.
- Nevada, 400; silver mines in, 528
- New Amsterdam, settlement of, 100
- New England, town life in, 85 f.; Con-
federation of, 95; under Andros, 98; in
1690, 112 f.; social life in, 113 f., 123;
towns, 114; Catholic Church in, 296,
358; and embargo, 318; and War of
1812, 322 f., 327 f.; toleration in, 376;
negro voting in, 502
- Newfoundland, 40, 47, 62, 146
- New France, 144 f.; establishment of, 24 f.
- New Hampshire, settlements in, 97; politi-
cal conflicts in, 121; and Stamp Act
Congress, 172; ratifies Constitution,
265; toleration in, 376
- New Haven colony, founded, 93; merged
with Connecticut, 94
- New Jersey, 96, 106; in Constitutional Con-
vention, 258; ratifies Constitution, 264
- New Mexico, 23, 400, 416, 425, 617
- New Netherland, settlement of, 100 f.
- New Orleans, established, 36; battle of,
329; capture of, 452, 472, 480
- Newport, evacuation of, 220
- Newspapers, early, 126, 127, 249; censor-
ship of, 289; Republican, 291; number
of, 536; in 1896, 594
- New York City, 129, 242, 435; British
evacuation of, 237
- New York State, 94, 98, 169, 172 f.; Eng-
lish seize, 104 f.; government of, 105,
132; under Andros, 106; shipbuilding in,
131; on eve of Revolution, 176; and
Articles of Confederation, 240; ratifies
Constitution, 266; Catholic Church in,
297, 358; suffrage widened in, 372; negro
suffrage in, 502

- Nicaragua, conquest of, 17; canal route, 628 f.
- Nicolet, Jean, explorations of, 32
- Nicolls, Colonel Richard, 103
- Nonimportation agreements, 174 f., 178, 180 f.
- Nonintercourse Act, 317
- Nonpartisan League, 733 f.
- Norse discoveries, 1
- North, Lord Frederick, 175, 177, 181, 187
- North Carolina, settlement of, 72; and Stamp Act Congress, 172; refuses to ratify Constitution, 266; enters Union, 266; secedes, 448
- North Dakota, 306; agrarian revolt in, 733 f.
- Northern Securities case, 624
- Northwest, settlement of, 283; growth of, 341
- Northwest Ordinance, 246 f.
- Northwest Passage, 24, 44
- Nova Scotia, 21, 27, 40. *See* Acadia
- "Nuns of the battlefield," 494
- O'Brien, Captain Jeremiah, 218
- O'Connell, Daniel, on slavery, 466
- O'Connell, William (Cardinal), 735 n.
- O'Connor, Charles, 498 n., 516 n.
- Odoric, Friar, in the East, 3
- Oglethorpe, James, 136 f.
- Ohio, region of, 36, 148; statehood, 247, 309; population, 381; and negro voting, 502
- Oil business, 540 f., 720
- Oklahoma, 23
- Olney, Richard, 587, 626
- Oregon, American claims to, 307, 390 f.; boundary compromise, 394 f.; in election of 1876, 517
- Oregon Trail, 307, 392, 424
- Osceola and the Seminole uprising, 371
- Otis, James, 163, 167, 169 f., 171, 173
- Paca, William, 179, 192 n.
- Pacific Ocean, discovery of, 15
- Packing, meat, 539, 563, 571; investigations of, 637, 643
- Page, Ambassador W. H., 655
- Paine, Thomas, 191, 200
- Palmer, A. Mitchell, 706, 714
- Panama, Republic of, 629 f.
- Panama Canal, 16, 404, 617, 628, 655, 708
- Panama Congress, 352, 356
- Pan-American Conference, 627
- Pan-American Union, 577
- Panic, depression after 1783, 241; of 1818, 338; of 1837, 383 f.; of 1857, 437; of 1873, 525 f.; of 1893, 585 f.; of 1907, 637 f.
- Paper money, during the Revolutionary War, 202 f.; after Revolution, 243; in Civil War, 521 f., 527
- Parcel post, organized, 643
- Parker, Alton B., 632, 648
- "Parsons' Cause," 168
- Party organization, 373 f.
- Paterson, William, 256, 258
- Patroons in New Netherland, 102
- Payne-Aldrich tariff, 644
- Pea Ridge, battle of, 471
- Peary, Commodore Robert E., 635
- Pemberton, General John C., 474, 482
- Pendleton, Edmund, 179
- Pendleton Civil Service Act, 559 f.
- Penn, William, 107; heirs of, 170, 196
- Pennsylvania, settlement of, 108; boundary dispute with Maryland, 109; government of, 109, 132; and the Sugar Act, 169; conservatives in, 176; ratifies Constitution, 264; internal improvement in, 345; in Civil War, 478 f., 490
- Penrose, Boies, 516 n., 610
- Pension-bonus, World War, 732
- Pensions, Civil War, 579
- Pepperell, Sir William, 148, 196
- Perez, Juan, 10
- Perry, Oliver Hazard, on Lake Erie, 324
- Perryville, battle of, 473
- Pershing, General John J., in Mexico, 658; in World War, 687 f., 691
- Peru, conquest of, 17, 22
- Petersburg, surrender of, 491
- Philadelphia, founded, 109; in colonial days, 128, 131, 133; in the Revolution, 177, 213, 242; manufactures in, 336; world's fairs at, 535, 736
- Philippines, discovery of, 16; seized by England, 154; acquired by United States, 613 f.; insurrection in, 619 f.
- Phillips, Wendell, 412, 440
- Pickering, Timothy, 280, 290, 317
- Pickett, General George E., 468, 479
- Pierce, Franklin, 421 f., 424, 428, 430
- Pierce, William, 255

- Pike, Zebulon, explorations of, 307
 Pillow, General Gideon J., 470
 Pinchot, Gifford, 639, 643, 736
 Pinckney, Charles, 255
 Pinckney, Charles C., 255; in Paris, 286;
 defeated for vice president, 291; for presi-
 dent, 308
 Pinckney, Thomas, treaty with Spain, 282;
 defeated for vice president, 286
 Pinzón, explorations of, 12, 15
 Pitt, William, 152, 172, 177, 179
 Pittsburgh, 153, 381; wealth of, 573
 Pizarro conquers Peru, 15, 17
 Platt, Thomas C., 558
 Plymouth Colony, account of, 73 f.; con-
 solidated with Massachusetts Bay, 81;
 contributions of, 81, 95
 Pocahontas, 54
 Polar explorations, 635 f.
 Political parties, early rise of, 284; under
 Monroe, 334 f. *See* parties by name
 Polk, James K., 385; elected president,
 390 f.; and Oregon, 395
 Polk, General Leonidas, 458, 459, 470
 Polo, Marco, 3
 Ponce de León, 14
 Pontiac, conspiracy of, 156
 Pope and peace moves, 606, 693
 Population, colonial, 112, 128, 129 f., 136;
 in 1812, 323; in 1860, 437. *See* Ap-
 pendix III for census returns
 Populist party, 567, 582 f.
 Porter, Admiral David D., 472, 481 f.
 Porter, General Fitz-John, 458
 Port Hudson, capture of, 483
 Porto Rico, discovered, 14; invaded by
 Americans, 613; annexed, 618
 Portuguese explorations, 6 f.
 Post office, 161, 187, 535
 Powderly, Terence, 551 f., 601
 Powhatan, Chief, 52, 54
 Preparedness, lack of, in Spanish-American
 War, 609, 611, 614; fight for, in 1914-
 1917, 664
 Presbyterian Church and slavery, 414
 Prescott, Colonial William, 185
 Presidency, elections for, 260, 261; two-
 term limit, 308; nomination for, 354;
 under Jackson, 365; nomination for, by
 convention, 373; right of removal, 504;
 succession to, 518
 Primary elections, 594 n., 633
 Princeton, battle of, 204; Congress at, 236
 Prison reform, 249, 376
 Privateers, in American Revolution, 218;
 in War of 1812, 327
 Progressive party, 645 f., 735
 Prohibition, 632, 710 f., 726; in Maine,
 418 n.
 Prohibition party, 563, 594 n., 617
 Public schools, 377 f.
 Pulaski, Count Casimir, 206, 224
 Pullman Company, 558; strike, 590
 Pure Food and Drugs law, 637
 Puritans, in England, 58, 73, 82; in Mary-
 land, 67; migration of, 84
 Putnam, Israel, 184, 187, 197
 Putnam, Rufus, 246
 Quakers, in Maryland, 69; in Plymouth,
 81; in Massachusetts, 89; in New
 Netherland, 103; in New Jersey, 107;
 in Pennsylvania, 128, 130 f., 133, 167,
 176; in the Revolution, 232; and slav-
 ery, 250, 414
 Quartering Act, 173
 Quay, Matthew, 516 n., 570
 Quebec, 26 f.; conquest of, 153 f.; Bishop
 Briand of, 190
 Quebec Act, 155 f., 178, 187, 230, 306
 Queen Anne's War, 145
 Quincy, Josiah, 175
 Railroads, first, 379 f.; growth of, 434 f.;
 military importance, 436; building after
 Civil War, 525, 529 f., 532; of North-
 west, 525, 624; combination of Western,
 533; land grants to, 542; abuses, 566 f.;
 and Grangers, 568, 575; failure of, 585;
 strikes on, 589 f.; regulation of, 617,
 636; evaluation of, 642, 707; labor and,
 668; during World War, 679 f., 706 f.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 43, 47 f.
 Randall, Samuel, 562, 564
 Randolph, Edmund, 255, 266, 273, 309 f.,
 372
 Randolph, Edward, collector of colonial
 customs, 98
 Randolph, Peyton, 179, 238
 Rasle, Sébastien, 230
 Ratification of the Constitution, 263 f.
 Reclamation, 639 f.
 Reconstruction, Lincoln's plan of, 495 f.;
 under Johnson, 497 f.; Congressional,

- 497, 500, 503 f., 506 f.; under Grant, 509; after World War, 699, 703 f.
- Red Cross, 494 n., 662, 686
- Reed, Senator James, 736 f.
- Reed, Thomas B., 561, 570, 578, 645
- Reed, Walter, 618
- Regulators of North Carolina, 166
- Reid, Whitelaw, 583, 613
- Representative assembly, first, 55
- Republican party founded, 424, 429. *See* Election, of 1856, etc.
- Revere, Paul, 178, 182
- Revolution, eve of, 160 f., 181 f.; organization of, 190, 195 f.; campaign of 1776, 197 f.; financing the, 202 f.; army of, 202; campaign in West, 214, 219; campaign in South, 223 f.; disbanding of forces, 236
- Revolution of 1688, in Virginia, 61; in Maryland, 70; in New England, 99; in New York, 106 f.
- Rhode Island, 63, 87; settlements in, 90; toleration in, 91; charter, 92, 248; not in Confederation of New England, 95, 121; and the Revolution, 174; and Articles of Confederation, 240; paper-money craze in, 244; enters the Union, 266; manufactures of, 336; suffrage in, 372
- Richard, Father Gabriel, 296
- Richelieu and New France, 27 f., 36
- Richmond, capital of Confederacy, 444, 456, 457
- Right of petition, 413
- Roanoke, settlement of, 47
- Roanoke Island, capture of, 452
- Robinson, John, 74
- Rochambeau, Count, 222, 227, 236
- Rockefeller, John D., 540, 571, 644
- Rolfe, John, 54
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 714
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 362; and anthracite strike, 525 f.; on Civil-Service Commission, 560; opposes Blaine, 562; and education of Indian children, 566; and war with Spain, 605, 610, 612, 614; vice president, 616 f.; and friars' land claims, 620; as president, 622 f.; elected, 631 f.; and Russo-Japanese War, 633; and big business, 636 f., 642; breaks with Taft, 643 f.; Progressive candidate, 646 f.; opposed trade combinations, 654; in 1916, 669
- Root, Elihu, 626, 634, 640, 647, 655, 697, 716
- Rosecrans, General W. S., 473 f., 483
- Rosenwald, Julius, 679
- Royal African Company, 180
- Royal governors, 121 f., 132, 173
- Rumania, 731
- Russia, and American Revolution, 212; cedes Pacific claims, 352; relations with, 392; and Civil War, 465; and Spanish-American War, 607; in Russo-Japanese War, 633 f.
- Rutledge, John, 255
- Ryan, John D., 682
- Ryan, Thomas F., 571, 648
- St. Augustine, founded, 19 f.; plundered, 146
- St. Clair, Arthur, 238, 283
- St. Lawrence, Gulf of, 26
- St. Louis, 306, 307, 381
- St. Marys, settlement at, 64, 70
- St. Mihiel, 601
- Salaries, Federal, 513, 734
- Salem, 84, 124, 178
- Salt Lake City, 396
- Salvation Army, 687
- Samoa Islands, 621
- Sampson, William T., 610
- Sandys, Sir Edwin, 55, 57, 76
- San Francisco, 44, 402, 404; exposition at, 735
- Sanitary Commission in Civil War, 494
- San Jacinto, battle of, 389
- San Juan, battle of, 612
- Santa Anna, 398
- Santa Fe, 23, 399
- Santa Fe Trail, 307
- Santangel, Louis, 10
- Santiago, battle of, 612 f.
- Santo Domingo, relations with, 510, 627 f., 655
- Saratoga, surrender of British at, 208
- Sargent, John G., 729
- Savannah, capture of, 486
- Saybrook colony, 89
- Scandinavians, 436, 554. *See* Immigration
- Schley, Winfield S., 610
- Schofield, John M., 485, 487, 505
- Schools, in Latin America, 23; in New France, 28; colonial, 125 f., 143 f.
- Schurz, Carl, 440, 478, 512, 559, 562

- Schuyler, Philip, 187, 277
 Schwab, C. M., 571, 682
 Scotch-Irish, in Carolinas, 72; in colonies, 113, 116, 130, 138, 158, 161, 176; in Whisky Rebellion, 279
 Scots, 137, 139, 186. *See* Immigration
 Scott, Thomas, 533
 Scott, Winfield, 422, 446, 453
 Seabury, Samuel, 294
 Searches and seizures, 314 f.
 Secession of Southern states, 443 f.
 Sectionalism, in colonies, 142, 166; in the nation, 352 f.; and Civil War, 465
 Senate, criticism of, 574, 737; direct election of, 632
 Separatists, at Scrooby, 73 f.; in Holland, 74 f.
 Serra, Junipero, missionary, 402
 Seven Years' War, 151
 Sevier, John, 158
 Sewall, Arthur, 593
 Seward, William H., 408, 417, 426, 430, 438, 440, 446, 463 f.; purchase of Alaska by, 509; and *Alabama* claims, 514
 Seymour, Horatio, 506
 Shafter, William R., 612, 614
 Shays, Daniel, rebellion of, 252
 Shenandoah valley, 456, 460
 Sheridan, Philip H., 466, 474, 480, 490, 547, 549
 Sherman, James S., 640
 Sherman, John, 518, 562, 569, 605
 Sherman, Roger, 179, 192, 257
 Sherman, William Tecumseh, 470 f., 481, 484 f., 549
 Sherman Anti-Trust Act, 575 f., 624, 638, 653
 Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 576, 585 f.
 Shields, General James, 456 f., 466
 Shiloh, battle of, 470 f.
 Shipping Board, 668, 681 f., 707
 Shirley, William, 146, 150
 Sickles, Daniel E., 477, 478, 603
 Sigel, Franz, 471, 490
 Silver issue, 526 f., 544 f., 592 f.
 Sims, William S., 690
 Sinclair Oil Company, 720
 Slater, Samuel, 336
 Slave trade, 43, 119, 146, 180, 249, 388, 416
 Slavery, Las Casas and, 17; introduction of, 56; in New England, 114; in the North, 131; in Georgia, 137; in the South, 141; in the Northwest, 245; after the Revolution, 249; gradual abolition of, in the North, 250; ratio in population, 260; and cotton gin, 312; growing hostility to, 352 f.; and Mexican War, 401; in politics, 401, 410 f.; defended in South, 412 f.; during 1850's, 416, 419 f.; in territories, 430 f.; abolition of, 497
 Slidell, John, 396, 463
 Smith, Alfred E., 714, 726
 Smith, Gerrit, 412, 433
 Smith, Captain John, 52, 53, 75
 Smuggling, colonial, 120, 162, 168
 Social reforms, 357, 632 f.
 Socialism and other radical movements, 574, 583, 598, 617, 645, 648, 663, 674, 706
 Sons of Liberty, 171, 176
 Soto, Hernando de, explorations of, 19, 21 f.
 South, colonies in, 136 f.; growth of Southwest, 342; in 1861, 449 f.; economic development of, 579 f.
 South Carolina, established, 72; economic life of, 141; ratifies Constitution, 265; nullification and, 368 f.; secession of, 443. *See* Reconstruction
 Spain, of Columbus, 10; explorations of, 23; in Seven Years' War, 154; in American Revolution, 203, 209, 232, 234; relations with, after Revolution, 240, 282; in Cuba, 603 f.; war with, 603 f., 614 f. *See* Cuba, Florida
 Spalding, John Lancaster, 626
 Specie Circular, 383
 Specie payments, 524, 526
 Sports, 537
 Spottsylvania, battle of, 487
 Stamp Act, 169; repeal of, 172, 174
 Stamp Act Congress, 171
 Standard Oil Company, 563, 572, 593, 636, 642
 Standish, Myles, 76, 78, 81
 Stanford, Leland, 529
 Stanton, Edwin M., 446, 458, 481, 504
 Stanton, Elizabeth, 712
 Stark, John, 184, 207
 "Star-Spangled Banner," 326
 States, boundary disputes, 242; early constitutions, 247 f.; national assumption of debts, 277
 Steamboats, on Ohio, 310; on Western waters, 347; decline of river navigation, 533
 Stephens, Alexander, 443, 444; vice president of Confederacy, 490 f.

- Stettinius, E. R., 679
 Steuben, Baron von, 206
 Stevens, Thaddeus, 500, 504, 509
 Stevenson, A. E., 583 f.
 Stone, Harlan, 728
 Storer, Bellamy, 601
 Stowe, Harriet B., 418, 465
 Strikes, 589 f., 654; after the World War, 704 f.
 Strong, Caleb, 257
 Stuart, J. E. B., 477, 478
 Stuyvesant, Peter, 103
 Submarine warfare, 665 f., 671 f.
 Suffrage, in colonies, 80, 85, 91, 93 f., 99, 132; in early constitutions, 248; widening of, 263, 372
 Sullivan, General John, 179, 188, 198 f., 214, 218
 Sumner, Charles, 426, 428, 440, 500, 502, 509, 514
 Sumter, Fort, 446 f., 487
 Superior, Lake, mineral deposits, 32
 Supreme Court, jurisdiction of, 304; criticism of, 431, 524; and reconstruction, 504; personnel, 729 n.
 Surplus revenue, 384
 Sweden, colony of, 103; and American Revolution, 212
 Swiss in America, 138. *See* Immigration
- Taft, William Howard, 561, 623, 631, 729 n.; governor of Philippines, 620; presidency of, 640 f.; defeat of, 646 f.; and labor, 654, 683; and League of Nations, 697; and immigration, 721
 Tammany Society, 292, 466, 516, 648
 Taney, Roger B., 431, 489, 563 f., 729 n.
 Tariff, war between states after Revolution, 242; Hamilton's views on, 279; of 1816, 337; of 1824 and of 1828, 339; opposition of South to, 366; of 1833, 370; of 1842, 387; of 1846, 437; during Civil War, 454, 537 f.; of 1883, 561 f.; under Cleveland, 565; McKinley, 576, 578; Wilson-Gorman, 586; in 1897, 596; Payne-Aldrich, 644; Underwood, 651 f.; Fordney-McCumber, 714 f.
 Tariff Commission, 644, 715
 Taxation, and representation, 164; during the Revolution, 202 f., 279; in the Civil War, 454; in the World War, 680; reduction in, 730
- Taylor, Zachary, 371, 396 f.; president, 402, 559
 Tea-tax controversy, 175 f.
 Tecumseh, rising of, 319, 324
 Telegraph lines, 534
 Telephone, 535
 Temperance movement, 375, 418 n., 594
 Tennessee, 158; enters Union, 284; population of, 309; secession of, 448; in Civil War, 472, 484; and reconstruction, 496 f.
 Tenure-of-Office Act, 504
 Territories, government of, 246
 Texas, explorations in, 21, 23, 32; revolution of, 388 f.; annexation of, 389 f., 391; and Compromise of 1850, 416; secession of, 443; in Civil War, 483; reconstruction in, 499, 508
 Textile industry, 538, 581
 Thomas, General George H., 470, 484 f., 505
 Thurman, Allen G., 569
 Ticonderoga, 153, 185, 189, 207
 Tilden, Samuel J., 515
 Tippecanoe, battle of, 319
 Tobacco culture, 47, 54, 56, 140, 342
 Toleration, in Maryland, 61, 64, 66 f.; lack of, in Plymouth, 80; lack of, in Massachusetts Bay, 85, 88, 122; lack of, in Connecticut, 93; in New York, 105; in New Jersey, 107; in Pennsylvania, 110; in central colonies, 128; growth of, 222, 247, 250 f., 376 f., 592; in Louisiana, 306; at present, 726 f.
 Tompkins, Daniel, 334
 Tonty, Henri de, explorations of, 30
 Toombs, Robert, 427, 443, 445
 Tories, 181 f., 191; treatment of, 196 f.; in South, 224 f.
 Townshend Acts, 173, 175
 Trade routes, early, 4
 Transcontinental railroads, 404, 424, 529 f., 631
 Traveling, in colonies, 124, 160; improved methods of, 380 f.
 Treaties: Penn's treaty with Indians, 109; Peace of Ryswick, 145; Peace of Utrecht, 146; Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 148; Peace of Paris (1763), 154; treaty of alliance with France, 211; treaty of 1783, 233 f.; treaty with Holland, 240; Jay Treaty, 282 f.; peace with Tripoli, 313; Treaty of Ghent, 330 f.; Webster-Ashburton Treaty, 388; Treaty of

- Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 399 f.; Treaty of Paris (1898), 613; Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 629; Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 629; treaty with Panama, 630; Treaty of Portsmouth, 633; Versailles Peace Conference, 695 f. *See also* Arbitration, Florida, Louisiana, Oregon
- Trent* affair, 463 f.
- Trenton, battle of, 203
- Trevett vs. Weeden, 244
- Triangular trade, 118
- Tripolitan War, 313 f., 323
- Trist, Nicholas, 399
- Trusts, 571; and Roosevelt, 623 f., 636 f.; under Taft, 642 f.; prosecution of, 654
- Tryon, Governor, 197, 219
- Turner, Nat, insurrection, 412
- Turnpike roads, 310
- Tyler, John, vice president, 385 f.; as president, 387 f.; and Texas, 390
- Typewriter, invention of, 536
- Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 418
- "Underground Railroad," 414
- Underwood, Oscar, 645, 648, 651 f., 716, 727
- Unemployment after World War, 703 f.
- Union Pacific Railroad, 529 f.
- Unions, trade, 375. *See* American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor
- Unitarians, 251, 376
- United Mine Workers, 704
- United States Steel Corporation, 572 f., 638, 654, 682; and labor, 704
- Universalists, 376
- Unknown Soldier, tomb of, 716
- Utah, 400, 416, 425; a state, 592
- Vaca, Cabeza de, explorations of, 21
- Vail, Theodore N., 535
- Valley Forge, 205, 213
- Van Buren, Martin, 355 f., 362, 375, 402; Secretary of State, 361; elected president, 382; defeated for reelection, 385 f.
- Vanderbilt, Commodore, 498 n., 533, 571
- Vane, Sir Harry, 88
- Vare, William S., 736
- Vasco da Gama, 7
- Venezuela, relations with, 587 f., 627
- Vera Cruz, 17, 44, 397; American occupation of, 657
- Vergennes, Count, 210, 232
- Vermont, 242; enters Union, 284; Church and State in, 376
- Verrazano, explorations of, 24, 100
- Versailles, Peace Conference at, 695 f.; Treaty of, 698 f.
- Veterans' Bureau, 719, 732
- Vicksburg campaign, 472, 480 f.
- Villard, Henry, railroad-builder, 532
- Vincennes surrenders to Clark, 216
- Vinland, discovery of, 2
- Virginia, charter of 1606, 51; planting of, 51 f.; John Smith in, 53 f.; charter of 1609, 54 f.; representative assembly, 55; slavery in, 56; as royal colony, 57 f., 79; in French and Indian War, 150; and the Sugar Act, 169; and Revolution, 172, 176, 186; ratifies Constitution, 266; internal improvements in, 346; secession of, 448; capture of Alexandria, 452; reconstruction in, 496, 508
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 289, 303, 368
- Virginia Plan of Union, 258
- Virginia Resolutions, 170 f.
- Virginia Toleration Act, 251
- Virgin Islands, purchase of, 655 f.
- Volstead Act, 711
- Walker, Robert J., 429, 445
- Wallace, Lew, 470, 490
- Walloons, in New Netherland, 100
- Walsh, David I., 736
- Walsh, Frank, 683
- Walsh, Thomas J., 720
- Wanamaker, John, 570
- War of 1812, 319 f.; financing of, 322; campaigns, 323, 324, 325; results of, 332
- "War" with France, 288
- Warren, Charles, 729
- Warren, Joseph, 182, 185
- Washington, capitol at, 299 f.; burned by British, 326; growth of, 378; and Civil War, 446
- Washington, George, 149 f., 176, 179, 184; commander in chief, 187, 189, 197; retreats through New Jersey, 199; at Trenton, 204; at Yorktown, 228; retires from army, 237; and slavery, 250; at Constitutional Convention, 255, 266; elected president, 268; inauguration of, 269; description of, 272; and party life, 285, 287; farewell address and death of, 290 f.

- Wayne, Anthony, 219, 283
 Weaver, James B., Populist candidate, 582
 Webster, Daniel, 247 n., 402; debate with Hayne, 366 f.; Ashburton Treaty, 388; on Oregon, 394; and Irish famine, 405 n.; and Compromise of 1850, 417
 Webster, Pelatiah, 262 n.
 Weed, Thurlow, 440, 465
 Welles, Gideon, 446
 Welsh in Pennsylvania, 110
 Wesley, John, 137, 231
 West, before the Revolution, 148, 156; western lands, 175; cession of lands in, 245; attitude of Constitutional Convention toward, 260; new states of, 284; settlement of, 309, 340, 381, 406; political power of, 322, 386; opening of Far West, 424 f., 541, 543 f.; and woman suffrage, 712; depression after World War, 733 f.
 Western Reserve, 309
 West Indies, Spain in, 14 f.; French in, 36 f.; trade with, 116 f., 120, 169, 315, 378; immigration from, 130; British acquisitions in, 146, 154; relations with, 655
 Westinghouse, George, 529
 West Point Military Academy, 237
 West Virginia a state, 449
 Weymouth, expedition of, 48
 Wheeler, Burton, 719, 727
 Wheeler, Joseph, 612
 Wheeler, William A., 517
 Whig Party, 363; and Mexican War, 397; and Kansas-Nebraska Act, 425 f.; death of, 429
 Whisky Rebellion, 279
 Whisky ring of St. Louis, 513
 White, Andrew, Jesuit missionary, 64
 White, Edward D., 729 n.
 White, Henry, 695
 White, John, of Roanoke, 47
 Whitefield, George, 137
 White Plains, battle of, 199
 Whitman, Marcus, 392
 Whitney, Eli, 311
 Whitney, W. C., 564, 571
 Whittier, John G., 412
 Wilderness Campaign, 487 f.
 Wilkinson, James, 308, 324 f.
 Willard, Daniel, 678
 Williams, Roger, 80, 89
 Williamsburg, battle of, 456
 Wilmot Proviso, 401 f.
 Wilson, James, 256
 Wilson, Woodrow, on *Mayflower* Compact, 77; election of, 648 f.; inaugural, 650; and big business, 653; and Mexico, 657 f.; neutrality proclamation, 660; and labor, 669; reelection of, 669 f.; war message, 674; "Fourteen Points," 692; repudiation of, 695; triumph in Europe, 695 f.; at Versailles, 696 f.; and League of Nations, 697 f.; collapse of, 700; and woman suffrage, 712; and immigration, 721, 722
 Windom, William, 558, 570
 Wingfield, Edward M., 52
 Winthrop, John, 83, 85, 89 f.
 Wisconsin, region of, 32, 35; enters Union, 247, 341
 Wise, Henry A., on Know-Nothings, 424
 Witchcraft delusion, 80, 124
 Wolcott, Oliver, 280, 290
 Wolfe, James, 153
 Women, and abolition, 411; and suffrage, 712 f., 714
 Wood, Leonard, 605, 612, 617, 688, 713
 Woodford, S. L., 606
 World Court, 715, 725
 World War, American neutrality, 659; relief work during, 660 f., 686 f.; United States enters, 670 f.; our army in, 678; financing the, 680 f.; cost of, 693; peace with Central Powers, 701, 714. *See* American Expeditionary Force
 World's Fair, at Philadelphia, 535, 735; at Chicago, 584, 590
 Wright, Orville and Wilbur, 682
 Writs of Assistance, 167
 Wyoming, 400
 Wythe, George, 255
 X Y Z affair, 287
 Yazoo land frauds, 310
 Yeardley, Sir George, 55
 Yellowstone National Park, 639
 Yorktown, campaign of, 227 f., 456
 Yosemite National Park, 639
 Young Men's Christian Association in World War, 687
 Young Women's Christian Association in World War, 687
 Yucatan, discovery of, 15

